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THE

HISTORY

Edward OF Dowsett

ENGLAND.

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Written in FRENCH by

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MAPS, GENEALOGICAL TABLES, and the HEADS and MONUMENTS of the KINGS.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

BOOK X. SECT. II.

12. RICHARD II. *furnamed of* BOURDEAUX.

EDWARD III. having finiſhed his glorious life, it was naturally Richard his grandſon that was to aſcend the throne, as repreſenting the late prince of Wales his father. But though Edward himſelf had ſo ordered it, many people were apprehenſive, the execution of his laſt will would meet with great obſtacles. Richard had three uncles who might diſpute the crown with him, and ſupport their pretenſion with plauſible reaſons. The young prince could claim the crown only by right of repreſentation, of which there had been no precedent, at leaſt with reſpect to the crown, ſince the Norman conqueſt. However lawful this right might be with regard to private perſons, by the general diſpoſition of the laws, it did not neceſſarily follow that it was inconteſtable concerning the crown. In France, for example, the ſucceſſion of the kingdom was not regulated by the laws of private eſtates. In Spain, the kings, who for a century had been poſſeſſed of the crown of Caſtile, were deſcended from a prince that obtained it in prejudice of his nephews, ſons of his eldeſt brother: nay, a natural ſon was then in actual poſſeſſion, though among private perſons baſtards had no right to the inheritance of their fathers. In Artois, the aunt, by the judgment of the

1377. It is feared Richard's uncles would diſpute the crown with him. Reaſons of it.

1377. peers of France, was preferred to the nephew, who repreſented his father. A quite contrary deciſion of the ſame court, with regard to Bretagne, had occaſioned in that dukedom a war, which at length was ended to the advantage of the uncle againſt the niece, and wherein Edward himſelf had maintained the right of the uncle. This was ſufficient to afford the duke of Lancaſter, the eldeſt of the three brothers, a very plauſible pretence, if he had intended to ſeize the crown, as was ſuſpected by the late prince of Wales his brother, the king his father himſelf, and all England. To this may be added, that Richard's youth, who was but in his eleventh year, and the expiration of the truce with France ſeemed to furniſh the duke with freſh reaſons to demand the crown, which he was better able to defend than a minor of eleven years old. But on the other hand, though the duke of Lancaſter ſhould have had ſuch a thought, he might have been diverted from it by the conſideration of the diſpoſition of the Engliſh in favour of young Richard, whom the memory of his illuſtrious father rendered extremely dear to them, and for whom the king his grandfather had deſigned the crown. Whether this conſideration prevented his uncles from taking advantage of his youth, or it was from a pure motive of moderation and equity, inſtead of thinking to ſupplant him, they were the firſt to do him homage. The duke of Lancaſter, who was ſtyled in England king of Caſtile, ſatisfied his ambition with governing the ſtate during Richard's minority, and the princes his brothers were no leſs inclined than he, to perform their father's laſt will. So all fears vaniſhing, Richard was crowned without oppoſition, on the 16th of July, four and twenty days after the death of Edward [a].

Richard crowned. Act. Pub. VII. p. 157. Walſing.

At

a As the coronation oath was ſomewhat larger than that already mentioned by our hiſtorians, and becauſe this form, with ſome ſmall alterations, has been adminiſtered to all ſucceeding kings and queens ever ſince, it may not be improper to inſert it. "I. That he "would permit the church to enjoy all "her liberties; that he would reve-"rence her miniſters, and maintain "the truth. II. That he would re-"ſtrain violence and all oppreſſion, in "all ſorts of men: that he would "cauſe good laws to be every where "obſerved, eſpecially thoſe of St. Ed-"ward, king and confeſſor: and would "alſo cauſe all evil laws or cuſtoms to "be abrogated. III. That he would be "no reſpecter of perſons, but would give "right judgment between man and "man, and would chiefly obſerve mer-"cy in all his decrees or judgments, as "God ſhould ſhew mercy to him." Then the archbiſhop led the king (the lord-marſhal walking before him) to all the four ſides of the ſcaffold, and ſhewing the king to the people, declared the purport of the oath he had now taken, and aſked them, if they would be ſubject to this prince as their lawful ruler, and be obedient to his commands? this ceremony though not mentioned

At this coronation it is, that we meet with the firſt mention in hiſtory of a champion, who appeared completely armed in Weſtminſter hall, where the king dined, and throwing his gantlet on the ground, challenged all perſons who ſhould diſpute the king's title to the crown. The original of this cuſtom, which is ſtill preſerved, is unknown, but it is certainly of an older date than the coronation of Richard II. ſince ſir John Dimmock, who performed then the office of champion, was admitted to it by virtue of a right annexed to a manor held by him in Lincolnſhire [b]. 1377. The king's champion, Walſing.

Immediately after the ſolemnity, the young king created Thomas of Woodſtock his uncle earl of Buckingham [c], and Guiſchard d'Augoleme, his governor, earl of Huntingdon [d], at the ſame time conferring the title of earl of Notiingham upon John de Mowbray, and that of earl of Northumberland upon Henry Percy, who was alſo earl marſhal [e]. Several honours conferred. Iem. Act. Pub. VII. p. 160.

Edward's Truce with France was expired ſince April the firſt, without the leaſt preparation by the Engliſh to renew the war. Whether the late king's illneſs occaſioned this negligence, or it was prepoſterouſly imagined, that France, ſatisfied with the great advantages ſhe had gained, would remain in quiet, there was in England a ſurpriſing remiſſneſs [f]. It was quite otherwiſe in France, where Charles V. was diligently preparing to take advantage of the indolence of the Engliſh. When that monarch was informed that Edward was no longer able to act, he gave orders to levy troops on all ſides. So, when he heard of his death, he was ready to bring five armies into the field. He ſent the firſt into Guienne to complete the expulſion of the Engliſh out of that province, the ſecond into Auvergne, the third into Bretagne, the fourth into Artois, and the fifth he kept with him, in order to aſſiſt the reſt in caſe of neceſſity. Beſides theſe Negligence of the Engliſh as to the war. Charles V. brings five armies into the field. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 328 Walſing.

tioned before in any of our hiſtorians, was no innovation, but ſeems to be a remainder of the old Engliſh cuſtom of electing the king, as may be obſerved, by comparing the manner of the coronation, and election of king Edward the confeſſor, and William I. with this action, and which has been obſerved ever ſince. Tyrrel, vol. III. p. 829. Walſing. p. 195.

[b] The manor of Scrivelby, in right of Margaret his wife, daughter of ſir John Marmion.

[c] With a penſion of a thouſand marks. Walſing. The 22d of July, this ſame year, he was appointed high conſtable of England. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 152.

[d] With the like penſion. Walſing.

[e] He performed the office of earl marſhal, at the coronation, by writ from the king, ſaving to every one their right, becauſe that office was claimed by Margaret, heireſs of Thomas Brotherton, late earl of Norfolk, and marſhal of England.

[f] Orders were however given for ſecuring the coaſts of Kent and Eſſex. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 154, 155.

1377. armies, he had likewiſe equipped a ſtrong fleet, which was ordered to infeſt the coaſts of England. As the Engliſh were wholly unprepared, the French landed in ſeveral places, burnt Haſtings, Portſmouth, Dartmouth, Plymouth, and defeated ſome troops aſſembled by the prior of Lewes, to put a ſtop to their ravages. They were repulſed at Winchester, but landed in the iſle of Wight, where they plundered all the inhabitants, and after a fruitleſs attempt to take Cariſbrook caſtle [g], retired with their booty.

The French ravage the coaſts of England. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 162. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 313.

All this happened whilſt the Engliſh were employed in placing Richard on the throne, as the moſt urgent affair. Mean time, there was neither fleet nor troops to repulſe the enemies. As the king was not of age to govern the ſtate himſelf, the duke of Lancaſter and the earl of Cambridge his uncles took upon them the adminiſtration of affairs, till the meeting of the parliament in October, but uſed with great caution the authority they had aſſumed, for fear of breeding prejudices againſt them, that might be detrimental to them in the approaching parliament. The duke of Lancaſter was not beloved, he was accuſed of abuſing his power in the end of the late reign, and treating the ſubjects a little too haughtily. He had eſpecially incurred the ill-will of the Londoners, by cauſing them to be puniſhed for the tumult raiſed on Wickliff's account. Though ſince the death of the king his father, he had been reconciled to the city [h], that proceeding was conſidered only as the effect of his policy, and it was feared, he would aſſume his former haughtineſs if entruſted with the adminiſtration. As he knew what people thought of him, he behaved very circumſpectly, apprehenſive as he was of being excluded from the regency to which he aſpired. But all his precautions were not capable to prevent the murmurs of the people already prejudiced againſt him. The little care the two princes took to guard the coaſts, was openly complained of, without conſidering they had neither fleet, nor troops, nor money, nor even any lawful authority to raiſe extraordinary forces. Another accident helped very much to incenſe the people againſt them. The Scots having taken by ſurpriſe the caſtle of Roxbo-

The king's uncles govern the ſtate.

Walſing.

The people complain of their negligence.

[g] Bravely defended by ſir Hugh Tyrrel, a knight of Eſſex. Walſing. Upon account of theſe invaſions, orders were iſſued out for arming the clergy. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 169.

[h] On the day king Edward died, the citizens ſent deputies to prince Richard, [illegible] at Kingſton, at the head of whom was John Philpot, to acknowledge Richard for their lawful ſovereign, and requeſt that he would pleaſe to honour them with his preſence, and nearer reſidence; and they ſubmitting all differences between the duke of Lancaſter, and them to the young king, matters were ſoon adjuſted. Walſing.

rough,

rough, the loſs was aſcribed to the negligence of thoſe, who governed the realm [i]. 1377.

The parliament's firſt care, which met in October, was to ſettle the adminiſtration of the government during the king's minority. For that purpoſe, they appointed ſeveral governors to the king, to take care of his education, and ordered that his three uncles ſhould be regents of the kingdom; but joined with them ſome biſhops and lay lords [k]. This precaution was founded on the danger of truſting the perſon and affairs of a minor king to the ſole management of the neareſt relations, who in their adminiſtration might have ſelf-intereſted views. This was a great mortification to the three princes, and particularly to the duke of Lancaſter, who had flattered himſelf with the hopes of being ſole regent [l].

The Scots ſeize Roxborough. Walſing.

The parliament appoints regents. Rot. Parl. 1 Rich. II. M. 1, &c. Walſing.

This affair being finiſhed, the parliament granted the king a ſupply [m], for the maintenance of the war, but it was clogged with this condition (which plainly ſhewed, they were reſolved to be upon their guard during the minority) that the money ſhould be lodged in the hands of Philpot and Walworth, two eminent aldermen of London, who were ordered to take care, it ſhould be expended only in repulſing the French and Caſtilians in league againſt England. Moreover, it was declared, that the ſupply granted the king, ſhould not be drawn into a precedent, but for the future, what ſhould be neceſſary for maintaining his houſhold, and defraying the charges of the war, ſhould be ſupplied out of his ordinary revenues. After that, the parliament admitted an accuſation againſt Alice Pierce, favourite of the late king,

Grants money to the king upon hard conditions. Cotton's Abridg. Walſing.

Alice Pierce baniſhed. Walſing.

[i] But Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, entered Scotland, at the head of ten thouſand men, waſted and plundered the country for three days, eſpecially the earl of Dunbar's lands; for it was he that had ſurpriſed Roxborough. Walſing.

[k] Namely, the biſhops of London and Saliſbury; Edmund, earl of March, Richard, earl of Arundel, William, lord Latimer, John, lord Cobham, ſir Roger de Beauchamp, and ſir Richard de Stafford, knights bannerets; John Knyvet, Ralph de Ferreres, John Devereux, and Hugh de Segrave, knights batchelors. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 161. In this parliament, ſir Peter de la Mare, knight of the ſhire for Herefordſhire, was choſen ſpeaker of the commons, being the firſt upon record. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 155.

[l] He thereupon withdrew from court, and retired to Kenelworth caſtle; but, probably, it was not till after the parliament here mentioned, for it is certain, the duke was at this parliament. Walſing. Tyrrel, p. 832.

[m] Two fifteenths and two tenths out of cities and boroughs; the fifteenths of all lands whatſoever, and tenths of all manner of goods; to be levied between that and Candlemaſs enſuing; and to be depoſited in the hands of William Walworth, and John Philpot, merchants of London. Cotton's Abridg. p. 156. Walſing. p. 200.

1377. who being convicted of several misdemeanours [n], received a sentence, whereby all her estate was confiscated to the king's use, and herself condemned to banishment. But this woman, who had an able and intriguing head, quickly found means to be recalled by the king, and restored to her estate [o]. Before the parliament broke up, Richard confirmed king John's two charters, and gave his assent to several acts, relating to the contests between England and the court of Rome.

Cotton, Ib.

1378. It was not without reason that the duke of Lancaster was hindered from having the sole management of affairs. This prince was of a proud and haughty temper, which suffered him not to regard his inferiors, particularly in affairs where his interest was concerned. Presently after the breaking up of the parliament, he gave a proof of his violent temper by an action which showed what he would have done, if the whole power had been lodged in his hands. As he had a a claim to the kingdom of Castile, he thought it might be of some advantage to gain to his interest the young earl of Denia, a Castilian lord, then at London. The father of that young earl, being taken at the battle of Najara by two English knights, was brought into England, where he had remained several years in the custody of those who took him prisoner. At length, by leaving his son in hostage he obtained leave to return home, where he died before his ransom was paid. The duke of Lancaster hoping to make friends in Castile by means of the young captive earl, so managed it, that the king ordered the two knights to release him. But as there was no mention of the ransom, they concealed their prisoner, and made him promise he would not discover himself. This disobedience exasperating the duke of Lancaster, he

Violence committed by the duke of Lancaster, Walsing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 178, 179.

[n] The articles alledged against her, were, 1. That she, in the time of Edward III. procured sir Nicholas Dagworth to be recalled from Ireland, where he was sent: and 2. That she procured from the same king a remittance of three hundred pounds, due from Richard Lyons to the exchequer; and farther, procured him a grant of a thousand marks, as a gift. But, as sir Robert Cotton observes, the record proves no such heinous matter; only that she was in such credit with Edward III. as she sat at his bed's head, when all of the council and of the privy chamber, stood waiting without doors, and that she moved those suits which they dared not; and these two suits for which she was condemned, seemed very honest; her mishap was, that she was friendly to many, but all were not so to her. Abridgment, p. 158.

[o] She married, not long after the sentence, sir William de Windesore, a person of note; and notwithstanding this ordinance, they both in the next parliament, petitioned for a revocation for divers errors therein recited, and thereupon obtained a reversal of the same. Rot. Parl. 2 Rich. II. N. 36.

sent

sent the two knights to the Tower, from whence however they made their escape, and took refuge in the church of Westminster. The sanctuary was not capable of saving them. The duke of Lancaster sending soldiers into the church [p] to bring them away, one of the knights [q] was retaken, but the other [r] defending himself, was slain with a monk who too warmly took his part. The archbishop of Canterbury excommunicated all that were concerned in the breach of the church's privileges, but the duke's authority prevented any farther prosecution of the affair. Sometime after, the king taking upon him to pay the Spanish earl's ransom, it was discovered to the people's great admiration, that the young lord, not to be forced to break his promise, had attended in a footman's habit the person to whom he had given his word. 1378.

Mean time, the duke of Lancaster, who was vexed to see the money granted the king by the parliament, in the hands of two citizens of London, promoted not the equipment of the ships for the defence of the coasts. This affected negligence occasioned many complaints. But he pretended he could not form any project, lest it should not be approved by those who had the management of the money. In fine, he so importuned the other regents, that the two aldermen were ordered to put into his hands the sums they were charged with. He promised for his part, that the coasts should be better guarded, and the merchant ships protected. However, he still delayed sending out a fleet, because he expected from Bayonne some ships which were to join those he equipped. The duke gets the money granted in parliament into his hands. Walsing.

Whilst the fleet was preparing, the earls of Arundel [s], and Salisbury [t] had orders to go to Normandy, and take possession of Cherbourg, which the king of Navarre had promised to deliver to the English. They had scarce left the coasts of England, when they were met by some Spanish men of war, who fiercely attacked them [u], and did them some damage. Notwithstanding this obstacle, they put a garrison into Cherbourg, which afforded the English an inlet into Normandy, as Calais did into Picardy. The king of Navarre delivers Cherbourg to the English. Froissart. Act. Pub. VII. p. 196, 201.

[p] Sir Alan de Buxhull, constable of the Tower, and sir R. Ferrars, with fifty armed men. Walsing.

[q] John Shakel.

[r] Robert Haule: he was buried under a brass plated stone in Westminster abbey. Walsingham calls them valiant 'squires, and says, they belonged to sir John Chandos, p. 214.

[s] Richard Fitzalan.

[t] William de Montacute.

[u] Namely, a squadron commanded by sir Philip and Peter Courtney, two brothers. Sir Peter escaped, but sir Philip was taken prisoner. Tyrrel, p. 839.

Before

1378. Before the fleet deſigned for the guard of the coaſts was quite ready, Mercer, a Scotch pirate, ſeeing the Engliſh neglected the northern ſeas, entered the port of Scarborough, and carried away the merchantmen that lay there. This ſucceſs inſpiring him with greater hopes, he long cruized in thoſe ſeas, and took conſiderable prizes. The damage ſuſtained by the merchants, cauſed freſh complaints againſt the duke of Lancaſter, who ſo ill performed his promiſe. Philpot, full of indignation to ſee the Engliſh merchants expoſed to the ravages of the pirate, undertook at his own expence, what the duke neglected to do with the publick money. He fitted out ſome ſhips, and with a thouſand ſoldiers, went in queſt of the Scotch pirate, whom he defeated, and taking him priſoner, returned in triumph to London. This action, which gained him the applauſes of the people, offended the regents, who thought it of dangerous conſequence, to ſuffer a private perſon to undertake a thing of that nature, without the government's permiſſion. But he made ſo good a defence, and with ſo much modeſty, that he was diſmiſſed without further trouble.

Philpot defeats a Scotch pirate, who did great damage to the Engliſh merchants. Walſing.

Schiſm in the church. Walſing. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 9.

The late ſchiſm formed in the church by the double election of Urban VI. and Clement VII. employed the parliament ſome time, which met in October 1378. France eſpouſed the cauſe of Clement, and perhaps that was the principal reaſon of England's declaring for Urban. However, as the matter is ſtated by the friends of Clement themſelves, it cannot be denied, that his election was very irregular. The riſe of the ſchiſm was this.

Riſe of the ſchiſm.

Gregory XI. leaving Avignon, upon certain pretended revelations, in order to reſide at Rome, died March the 7th, 1378. Of the three and twenty cardinals then in being, ſix remained at Avignon, one was a legate, and the ſixteen others, of whom twelve were Frenchmen, and four Italians, were at Rome when Gregory died. Theſe being entered the conclave to proceed to the election of a pope, were greatly embarraſſed. Their intent was to chooſe a Frenchman, but as they foreſaw the people of Rome would oppoſe it, they reſolved to give them a ſeeming ſatisfaction, by pretending to elect an Italian. But they agreed firſt among themſelves, that as ſoon as they were at full liberty, they would chooſe another, who ſhould be the true pope, a project which could hardly fail of begetting a ſchiſm. According to the agreement, of which we could have no certainty, but by their own confeſſion, they elected the archbiſhop of Bary, a Neopolitan, who aſſumed the name of Urban VI.

The

The election was notified to all chriſtian princes as canonical, even by the cardinals the electors, and for ſome time they themſelves acknowledged Urban for head of the church. And yet, whether in conſequence of their agreement, or, as ſome affirm, becauſe Urban treated them too haughtily, theſe ſame cardinals leaving Rome on pretence of the great heat, met at Anagnia, and elected one of the cardinals of Avignon, who ſtyled himſelf Clement VII. The two elections by the ſame perſons, long employed the moſt noted divines in Europe, and occaſioned a ſchiſm, which laſted above thirty years. It ought not to ſeem ſtrange, that it was ſo difficult to decide, which of the popes was head of the church: It would have been much eaſier to find good reaſons to reject them both. However, the ſchiſm divided all Chriſtendom, each ſtate declaring for one or other of the two popes, not ſo much on account of the right of the parties, as for political reaſons. France, whoſe intereſt it was that the pope ſhould reſide at Avignon, joined with Clement, and for a contrary reaſon, England thought it more advantageous to adhere to the pope of Rome. 1378.

Whilſt the two pontiffs were darting their ſpiritual thunders againſt one another, the duke of Lancaſter equipped his fleet, which had been ſo long preparing. His deſign was not only to guard the coaſt, as he had engaged: he had in view a more important expedition. This was to reſtore the duke of Bretagne, diſpoſſeſſed by the king of France, with the connivance of the lords of Bretagne, whom he had gained to his intereſts. The unhappy prince, ſeeing himſelf abandoned by moſt of his ſubjects, came into England towards the end of Edward's reign, to demand his aſſiſtance, but upon the death of his father in law, retired to the earl of Flanders, his relation and ally. During his ſtay in that country, a French envoy, who was going to Scotland, being ſtopped on the way by the earl's order, Charles pretended it was done by the duke of Bretagne's inſtigation, and inſiſted upon the earl's diſmiſſing him from his court. The earl, not believing his being vaſſal obliged him to that condeſcenſion, furniſhed the king by his refuſal, with the pretence he was apparently ſeeking, to be revenged of the duke another way. He ſent into Bretagne an army to complete the ruin of that unfortunate prince, who was unable to reſiſt him. England was too much concerned to ſupport him, not to make ſome effort in his favour. The duke of Lancaſter finding his fleet ready for ſea, went on board himſelf, and ſet ſail for Bretagne, where he laid ſiege to St. Malo. But he met with ſo many obſtacles

The duke of Lancaſter undertakes to reſtore the duke of Bretagne, Froiſſart. Act. Pub. VII. p. 195.

Walſing. but cannot bring it about.

1379. obſtacles from Du Gueſclin, who commanded the French army in thoſe parts, that he was forced to deſiſt from his enterpriſe.

The duke of Bretagne delivers Breſt to the Engliſh. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 184, 190, 195.

This ill ſucceſs would have perhaps diſcouraged the Engliſh, had not the duke of Bretagne repaired to England, and offered to deliver to the king the town of Breſt, during the war, provided he would lend him an aid proportioned to his wants. So advantageous an offer inſpired the king's council with freſh hopes, ſince it would enable them to make from that ſide a powerful diverſion, which could not but be very troubleſome to France. And indeed, if the Engliſh had wiſely improved their advantages, it would have been in their power to invade France from four ſeveral quarters, Guienne, Picardy, Normandy, and Bretagne, by means of Bourdeaux, Calais, Cherbourg, and Breſt, which gave the Engliſh ſo many inlets into that kingdom. Richard's council reſolving to embrace ſo favourable a juncture, accepted the duke of Bretagne's offer, and made with him a treaty, upon the foot propoſed by himſelf. The parliament, which was conſulted on the affair, approving the council's deſigns, granted a very conſiderable aid, to execute a project that was likely to procure great advantages to the ſtate. Beſides the party the duke of Bretagne had ſtill in his own country, ſeveral of his adverſaries began to wiſh for his reſtoration, not being able to bear without great uneaſineſs, the inſolence of the French. But as the ſtrong holds were in the hands of the friends of France, the faithful ſubjects could undertake nothing, unleſs ſupported by the Engliſh, who were with all poſſible diligence preparing the promiſed ſupplies.

The court reſolves to aſſiſt him.

The Scots take Berwick. Buchanan. Walſing. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 3.

Mean while, the king of France, who ſaw the gathering ſtorm, took meaſures to divert it, by procuring from Scotland, a diverſion, to hinder the Engliſh from carrying their arms abroad. The king of Scotland, gained by the preſents and promiſes of the French monarch, ſuddenly broke the truce, and took Berwick caſtle by ſurpriſe [w], the town having been diſmantled in the former wars. The earl of Northumberland [x], governor of the northern counties, ſurpriſed at the loſs of that place, which was imputed to his negligence, drew together a body of troops [y], with ſuch ſpeed, that he

The earl of Northumberland retakes it.

[w] It was ſurpriſed towards the latter end of November, 1377, by Alexander Ramſey, and forty two young fellows, in the middle of the night, when the centinel was aſleep. Buchan. l. 9. Sir Robert de Boynton was governor. Walſ.

[x] Henry de Percy.

[y] To the number of about ten thouſand, viz. three thouſand men at arms, and ſeven thouſand archers. With whom were John Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, the lords Nevil, Lucy, Stafford, &c. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 6.

was

was at Berwick before the Scots had notice of his deſign. 1378.
Immediately after he inveſted the caſtle, and ſeizing a bridge, the only paſs by which ſuccours could be thrown into the place, puſhed the ſiege ſo vigorouſly, that in nine days he took it by ſtorm. Douglaſs [a], who was advancing to raiſe the ſiege, finding himſelf diſappointed, haſtily retired, to avoid a battle. He was purſued by the earl of Northumberland, who, to retard the enemies retreat, detached a body of ſix hundred men [a], under the conduct of ſir Thomas Muſgrave [b], with orders to amuſe them, without engaging too far. But whilſt he was himſelf advancing with the reſt of his army, he had intelligence, that his detachment was fallen into an ambuſh, and entirely defeated [c]. Henry Percy his ſon, ſignalized himſelf, as well at the ſiege of Berwick, as in the late action, and gave ſuch ſignal proofs of his great courage, which gained him the ſurname of Hotſpur. The plague beginning to rage in the northern counties, obliged the two nations to a better obſervance of the truce without a new treaty [d].

A detachment of Engliſh defeated.

Mean time, the preparations for the aſſiſtance of the duke of Bretagne were vigorouſly carrying on. But as the expence roſe higher than was imagined, the parliament [e] granted the king another ſupply, the burden whereof was entirely borne 1379.

Tax upon the nobles and clergy.

[a] Archibald Douglaſs, whom Froiſſart calls conſtable of Scotland, l. 2. c. 6.

[a] Rapin by miſtake ſays ſix thouſand. This body conſiſted only of three hundred lances, and the ſame number of archers. See Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 7.

[b] Sir Thomas Muſgrave.

[c] About a hundred and forty of the Engliſh were taken priſoners, and with them ſir Thomas Muſgrave. Ibid.

[d] A parliament was held this year, which met at Glouceſter, October 20, and granted the king the former ſubſidy of wool, leather, and wool-fells, for three years: of wool, forty three ſhillings and fourpence the ſack; of woolfells as much, that is, for every two hundred and forty of them (accounting a hundred and twenty to the hundred;) and for leather four pounds ſix ſhillings and eightpence every laſt, which were exported by denizens and ſtrangers, beſides the ancient cuſtom. And, as an additional grant, they gave beſides, thirteen ſhillings and fourpence for every ſack of wool, as much for every two hundred and forty wool-fells, and for every laſt of leather twenty ſix ſhillings and eightpence. Alſo they gave ſixpence in the pound for every pound value of merchandize, as well of denizens as ſtrangers, both imported and exported for one year. Brady, p. 338. Cotton's Abridg. p. 173. Rot. Parl. 2 Rich. II. Pa. 1. N. 1, 2, &c.

[e] This parliament met April 25, at Weſtminſter, and took off the mark upon every ſack of wool, and the ſixpence in the pound for all merchandize, given in the laſt parliament, but granted the king the ſubſidies of wools for one year longer; and a certain ſum of money of all degrees of men, from the higheſt to the loweſt; namely, every juſtice of the two benches, with the chief baron, was to pay five pounds; an earl four pounds; the mayor of London four pounds; every alderman forty ſhillings, and a baron the ſame; every advocate at law forty ſhillings. Brady's Append. N. 102. Cotton's Abridg. p. 168.

1379. by the nobility and clergy. Archbiſhops, biſhops, dukes, earls, and [mitred] abbots, were taxed at ten marks [f] each, beſides forty pence to be paid by the abbots for every one of their monks. The reſt of the clergy and nobility, and all that had places being rated according to their incomes, the ſupply produced very conſiderable ſums.

Brady's Appendix. N. 102. Walſing. Cotton's Abridg.

The king of France confiſcates Bretagne. Walſing.

The king of France was enraged with the duke of Bretagne, for attempting to recall the Engliſh into his country. At leaſt, he made that a pretence to ſummon him before the court of peers, where the duke took care not to appear. But the widow of Charles de Blois ſent agents to the king, to repreſent to him, that he had no manner of right to confiſcate Bretagne, which was not originally a fief of the crown of France. She maintained, if any of the former dukes had thought proper to ſubmit to any perſonal ſervices to the kings of France, it was not in their power to ſubject the dukedom without the conſent of their people. But the court, regardleſs of theſe remonſtrances, decreed the confiſcation of Bretagne to the king's uſe. This proceeding convincing the Bretons that Charles's quarrel was not ſo much with the duke as the duchy, they were afraid of falling under the dominion of France, and ſeeing their country a province of that kingdom. This apprehenſion produced an aſſociation of the great men, which ended at length in recalling their lawful ſovereign. The duke receiving the agreeable news haſtened his return, in expectation of the ſuccours preparing for him in England. He was received by his ſubjects with great demonſtrations of joy [g]. Mean while, as the principal places were in the hands of his enemies, he earneſtly entreated the court of England to ſend him ſome troops to ſupport him, till a more powerful ſupply ſhould be ready. Upon theſe inſtances, the council diſpatched ſome ſhips with troops [h]. But they were for the moſt part loſt in a violent ſtorm.

The Bretons recall their duke. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 37. Walſing.

The war continues between France and England. Walſing.

All this while, the French and Engliſh continued the war in ſeveral places, but without coming to a deciſive battle. The governor of Cherbourg [i] gained ſome advantage over the

[f] Walſingham ſays, ſix marks, p. 221.

[g] He was convoyed by ſir Thomas Percy, and ſir Hugh Calverly, and landed on Auguſt 4, at a port near St. Malo's. Walſing.

[h] Two hundred men at arms, and four hundred archers, under the conduct of ſir John Arundel, the two knights mentioned in the laſt note, and many other knights and eſquires; ſir John Arundel's ſhip was loſt, and himſelf drowned; as likewiſe twenty five more; and above a thouſand men. This happened on December 16. Walſing. Froiſſart. Stow, p. 282.

[i] Sir John Barleſton, who being ſtraitned for want of proviſions, ſallied with

the French, who had quickly their revenge by taking ſeveral merchantmen. 1379.

The parliament which met in October 1380 [k], granted the king a new aid to continue the war with France and Scotland, as well as to aſſiſt the duke of Bretagne. This parliament is famous for a ſtatute againſt the blood ſuckers, who had long devoured the land. I mean, the foreign eccleſiaſticks, who by this ſtatute were rendered incapable of holding any benefice in England. But as this probably would not be ſufficient to curb the court of Rome, who did not think herſelf bound by acts of parliament, another ſtatute was made to render the pope's favours in that reſpect, fruitleſs to foreigners. By that act, all the king's ſubjects were forbid, on ſevere penalties, to farm benefices conferred on ſtrangers by the court of Rome. This was properly attaining the ſame end another way. For the pope uſually giving Engliſh benefices to his domeſticks, to Italian biſhops and cardinals, theſe men could neither reſide on their benefices, nor find any farmers in the kingdom. At the ſame time, the parliament petitioned the king to expel all foreign monks, for fear they ſhould give the Engliſh impreſſions deſtructive of the good of the ſtate. 1380. Parliament. Act againſt alien eccleſiaſticks. Foreign monks expelled.

After the parliament's care of the eccleſiaſtical affairs, all the king's governors were removed, as well to retrench the great expence, as becauſe their number was prejudicial to his education. Inſtead of theſe lords, Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, was choſen to have the ſole care of the king's education. The earl of Warwick ſole governor of the king. Walſing.

Since Richard's acceſſion to the throne, his revenues had been ſo ill managed, that the houſe of commons wanted to know on whom the blame was to be laid. To that end, fourteen commiſſioners were appointed to examine to what uſes the revenues of the crown had been put, and to lay their Commiſſioners to examine the uſes the king's revenues had been put to.

with the beſt part of his garriſon, to go and fetch ſome in: in his return, he was met by a party of French, with whom encountering, he was knocked down, and lay for dead, but was reſcued by ſir Geoffrey Worſelee. Walſing.

[k] This parliament, which Rapin here places in October 1380, is probably the ſame that met at Glouceſter in 1378. See above, p. 13. note [d]. As for the act mentioned here by him, it was made in the parliament, which met this year 1380, on January 17, at Weſtminſter. This parliament granted the king one fifteenth and a half, to be taken out of the cities and towns, and one tenth and a half to be taken within cities and towns, by way of loan, until the next parliament. They alſo granted the ſubſidy of wools, woolfells, and ſkins, from the feaſt of St. Michael next, until Michaelmaſs then next enſuing. Rot. Parl. 3 Ric. II. N. 12, 16. Cotton's Abridg. p. 182, &c.

report

1380. report before the next parliament, which was not to meet within a twelvemonth.

The duke of Buckingham goes to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Bretagne. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 42. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 223, 256.

Shortly after, the ſuccours deſigned for the duke of Bretagne being ready, the command was given to the duke of Buckingham [l] the king's uncle. This prince landed at Calais, in order to go to Bretagne by land. Perhaps he would have found it difficult to perform his enterpriſe, with an army conſiſting only of eight thouſand men, had not the duke of Burgundy, who kept cloſe to him all the way, with much more numerous forces, received expreſs orders from the king of France his brother, not to attack the Engliſh. That monarch had a ſurer way to be rid of his enemies; namely, by a reconciliation with the duke of Bretagne, who deſired peaceably to enjoy his duchy, of which he ſaw no likelihood, as long as France was his enemy. For this reaſon, the duke of Buckingham meeting with little oppoſition, committed great ravages upon his rout. Whilſt he was marching, the king of France died, leaving for ſucceſſor Charles VI. his eldeſt ſon, about twelve years of age. His death might have been very advantageous to the Engliſh, if the duke of Bretagne had firmly adhered to their intereſts.

Death of Charles V. Charles VI. ſucceeds.

Duke of Bretagne makes a treaty with France.

But the duke thinking it his wiſeſt courſe to take advantage of the confuſion of the court of France, in the beginning of a minority, ſpeedily concluded his treaty with the new king [m], who granted him whatever he could deſire.

The Engliſh ſent back. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 55. Walſing.

The poſture of affairs being changed by that agreement, the Engliſh were very coldly received in Bretagne. The duke did not openly declare himſelf at firſt, becauſe the Engliſh were in poſſeſſion of Breſt. However it was eaſy to ſee he had no deſign to make uſe of them, ſince all the towns denied them admittance. At length, the duke opened his mind to the duke of Buckingham, and making the beſt excuſe he could, provided him with ſhips to return into England.

Truce with the Scots. Walſing.

The plague which raged at the ſame time in England and Scotland, cauſed the truce to be renewed between the two kingdoms till the next Eaſter.

Parliament. Walſing. Cotton's Abridg.

Though it was agreed that the parliament ſhould not meet under a twelvemonth, ſome unexpected affairs obliged the king to aſſemble it in November [n], in order to demand

a

l Thomas of Woodſtock.

m Though he had, in the beginning of this year, viz. on March 1, concluded an offenſive and defenſive league with king Richard. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 236.

n November 2, at Northampton. The ſufficient people in every town were

a freſh ſupply of money, which was accordingly granted, to enable him to execute the reſolutions which I ſhall preſently ſpeak of. But whereas the nobility and clergy had ſupplied the former aid, this was levied by way of poll tax, from which no perſon was exempted, not even the very monks and nuns. All above fifteen years old were to pay twelve pence a head. 1380. Poll tax. Walſing.

One cannot but wonder, that whilſt the kingdom was actually engaged in a war with France and Scotland, the king's council ſhould think of leaving it unprovided, by ſending troops to the king of Portugal who was in war with Caſtile. But private intereſt prevailed above that of the publick, as is uſual in the councils of the kings, eſpecially during minorities. The motive of a reſolution, ſeemingly ſo little agreeable to the ſtate of the kingdom, was this. Ferdinand, king of Portugal, had undertaken againſt John, king of Caſtile, ſon of Henry the baſtard, a war beyond his ſtrength. He had been ſo unſucceſsful, that inſtead of making conqueſts upon his enemy, he had drawn him into his dominions. The ill ſucceſs of the war made him court the alliance of the Engliſh, in order to obtain ſuccours againſt the Caſtilians, their common enemies. Though it was by no means proper to ſend troops ſo far, when England could hardly defend her own coaſts, the duke of Lancaſter's credit was ſo great in the council, that it was reſolved, Ferdinand ſhould be aſſiſted. The reſolution was coloured with the pretence of hindering the growth of the king of Caſtile, mortal enemy of the Engliſh, but the duke of Lancaſter's private intereſt was the ſole motive. This prince, who had aſſumed the title of king of Caſtile, on account of his marriage with Conſtantia, eldeſt daughter of Peter the cruel, hoped that by ſending troops into Portugal, they might be ſerviceable in promoting his own affairs. And therefore, after the parliament's approbation of the intended expedition, and grant of a ſupply to carry it on, he cauſed the command of the troops to be given to the duke of Cambridge his brother, deſigning ſpeedily to follow him in perſon with greater forces. Mean while, as the truce with Scotland was about to expire [o], the council, by his direction, reſolved to propoſe to the king of Scotland

Reſolve to aſſiſt Portugal againſt Caſtile. Act. Pub. VII. p. 254. Froiſſart.

The duke of Cambridge goes with an army into Portugal.

were to contribute to the aſſiſtance of the leſs able, ſo as none paid above ſixty groats, including thoſe for himſelf and wife. Brady, p. 344. Cotton's Abridg. p. 188.

[o] This ſummer the Scots had made an incurſion into Weſtmoreland and Cumberland, and carried off a large booty, and among the reſt, about forty thouſand beaſts of all ſorts. Walſ.

1380. the prolongation thereof, otherwiſe the ſending of the troops into Portugal might be obſtructed. That the negotiation might not fail of ſucceſs, he undertook it himſelf, and without delay repaired to the frontiers of the two kingdoms, where the Scotch ambaſſadors were likewiſe to be. But whilſt he was treating with them, there happened in England affairs of much more conſequence than the truce with Scotland, or the war with Caſtile [p].

The duke of Lancaſter treats with the Scots. Buchanan. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 61. Act. Pub. VII. p. 268, 276.

1381. The poll tax impoſed by the parliament was levied with great gentleneſs, inſomuch that the collectors excuſed many perſons. But as there are but too many who make it their buſineſs to enrich themſelves at the expence of the publick, there were ſome that perſuaded the king and council, if the tax was levied with more ſtrictneſs, it would bring in much greater ſums, and even offered money to have the management of it. Very probably, they were Flemings that farmed the tax, and obliged themſelves to give the king a certain ſum for the produce thereof. The new collectors appointed by theſe farmers, levied the tax with extreme rigour. One who collected in Kent, demanding of a tyler at Deptford, named Walter, twelve pence for one of his daughters, the father affirmed ſhe was under the age mentioned in the act. Whereupon the inſolent collector, as theſe ſort of people generally are, endeavouring to know the truth by an indecent action, the father with his hammer knocked out his brains. All the ſpectators applauded the action, and promiſed the murderer, commonly called Wat Tyler [q], to protect him. At the ſame time, the ſpirit of rebellion ſeized not the inhabitants of Deptford alone, but likewiſe all the meaner ſort of the county of Kent, who were ſoon followed by thoſe of Eſſex. The poll tax was not their ſole grievance. The people of thoſe parts had long been in a ferment, which being inflamed by this accident, broke out into open rebellion. They complained of the little care to hinder the frequent deſcents of the French, who had committed great ravages in the two counties. To this was added a general diſcontent againſt the judges, and all the agents of the law,

Inſurrection of Wat Tyler. Knighton. Walſing. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 62, 96.

Inſurrection in Kent and Eſſex. Walſing. Knighton.

[p] This year, a famous ſingle combat was fought on June 7, at Weſtminſter, in the king's preſence, between John Anneſlee, knight, and Thomas Katryngton, Eſq; whom the aforeſaid knight had accuſed in parliament, of treaſon, for ſelling to the French the caſtle of St. Saviour's, built by the lord Chandos, in the iſle of Cotentin, in France; Katrynton was overcome, and thereupon run mad. For a full account of this tranſaction, ſee Walſ. p. 237.

[q] Walſingham ſays, he was called Walter Helier, or Tyler, p. 252.

who ruined families by their extortions. The nobles and gentry were no leſs hated by the peaſants, on account of the right of villainage, which was greatly abuſed. The populace were moreover extremely incenſed againſt the duke of Lancaſter, who was charged with cauſing by his negligence all the calamities, the two counties had endured. All theſe complaints being ſpread, and countenanced by the ſeditious, or as ſome affirm, by the monks, who thought themſelves injured by the poll tax, to which they were liable, produced a wonderful effect. In a ſhort time, Wat Tyler, choſen by the ſeditious, chief and protector of the poor people, ſaw himſelf at the head of above a hundred thouſand men, breathing revenge on the nobility, and profeſſors of the law. Thus attended, he marched directly to London, freeing in his rout, all the priſoners detained in the publick goals. Amongſt theſe was a prieſt of Maidſtone, John Ball[r], who by his ſeditious ſermons, raiſed the people's fury to the utmoſt height. He perſuaded them, that all men being ſons of Adam, there ought to be no diſtinction, and conſequently it was their duty to reduce the world to a perfect equality. Purſuant to this maxim, they reſolved to diſpatch all the nobility, and thoſe that were diſtinguiſhed by their poſts. So, without further conſideration, they cut off the heads of all the lords, gentlemen, judges, counſellors, and lawyers, that fell into their hands. They bound themſelves by oath, never to acknowledge for king, any man whoſe name ſhould be John. This reſolution ſprung from their hatred to the duke of Lancaſter, who bore that name, and was ſuſpected of aſpiring to the crown.

1381.

Wat Tyler at the head of 100,000 men. Walſing.

John Ball, a prieſt, ſpirits up the rebels. Knighton.

They behead the nobles and judges. Walſing. Knighton.

Richard hearing the ſeditious were come as far as Blackheath, where Wat Tyler reviewed his army, ſent to know what they wanted. They replied, they had affairs of great moment to communicate to the king, and deſired to talk with him in perſon. This inſolent requeſt being debated in council, ſome were of opinion, the king ſhould comply with the rebels, alledging, that as he was not in condition to oppoſe force to force, gentleneſs was the only way to gain them. But Simon Sudbury, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and [Robert de] Hales, prior of St. John's, and high

The king ſends to know what they would have. Their inſolent anſwer. Walſing.

[r] Rapin calls him John Staw. The mob let him out of Maidſtone goal. He preached to the army upon this proverbial rhyme:

When Adam dalfe and Eve ſpan,
Who was then a gentleman?
Walſing.

1381. treaſurer of England, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, maintaining it was not ſafe for the king to truſt his perſon with the rabble. Accordingly the rebels requeſt was rejected with threats, little agreeable to the preſent ſituation of the court. Upon the news, the ſeditious fell into ſuch a fury, that immediately they marched towards London, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Southwark, parted from the city by the Thames. The plunder of the ſuburbs having given them no great interruption, they endeavoured to enter the city. London-bridge had then gates, which being ſhut at their approach, might have ſtopped for ſome time their impetuoſity, if the mob, who preſently ſided with them had not opened them in ſpite of the magiſtrates. Nothing more oppoſing their march, they entered the city, where they committed all the ravages that could be expected from ſo numerous a body, guided ſolely by their fury. The duke of Lancaſter's palace [s] was reduced to aſhes, and the houſes of ſuch as they deemed their enemies, were given up to be plundered. However, their leaders pretending not to be ſwayed by avarice, hindered their people from appropriating to themſelves any part of the booty. They even threw into the fire, which conſumed all the plundered riches, a man that would have retained a piece of plate. In the univerſal confuſion, wherein London was like a town taken by ſtorm, the archbiſhop's palace, and the temple with all the writings kept there, were devoured by the flames [t]. The houſes of the judges, lords, and principal citizens ſhared the ſame fate. The unruly mob took care to accompliſh their oath, to extirpate all appearances of grandeur or diſtinction. The Flemings, againſt whom they were extremely incenſed, were above all others expoſed to their fury. They dragged them from the churches where they had taken ſanctuary, and upon their not being able to pronounce certain words, very difficult for foreigners, they were immediately maſſacred.

They march to London.

They enter the city, and commit great barbarities. Walſing. Knighton.

After the rebels had thus given theſe firſt marks of their fury, they approached the Tower, which might have been eaſily defended [u], if the terrour ſpread in the garriſon had not cauſed them to open the gates. There they found the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the treaſurer, who thought themſelves ſafe in that place, and without any proceſs, cut off their heads. This done, they divided themſelves into

They ſeize the Tower, and behead the archbiſhop and treaſurer. Walſing.

[s] The Savoy.

[t] And alſo the hoſpital of St. John's Clerkenwell.

[u] There were at that time ſix hundred warlike men in it, and ſix hundred archers. Walſing.

three

three bodies. Wat Tyler remained about the Tower with thirty thouſand men. Jack Straw [another of their captains] advanced into the city with the rebels of Eſſex to the number of ſixty thouſand. The reſt under the conduct of another leader, lodged themſelves upon Mile-end-green. 1381.

Mean time, the king and council were in the utmoſt perplexity. After long debates how to ſtop theſe furious proceedings, no better way was found than to offer the rebels an authentick charter, confirming the privileges of the people [w], and a general pardon for all crimes committed ſince the inſurrection. The Eſſex men readily accepted the offers, though they were now in the heart of the city. Accordingly leaving ſome of their leaders to haſten the charters and pardon, they returned to their homes. The Eſſexians accept the king's offers. Walſing. Knighton.

But Wat Tyler was not ſo tractable, though he pretended his ſole aim was to obtain equitable terms. However as he appeared willing to enter into negotiation with the king himſelf, Richard with a few attendants came to Smithfield, from whence he ſent a knight [x], to deſire him to come and confer with him. Wat inſolently replied, he would come when he thought proper. Nevertheleſs he moved forward at the head of his troops, but ſo ſlowly that the king, beginning to be out of patience, and willing to preſs him to make more haſte, ſent the ſame knight to him, which had like to have coſt him his life. Wat Tyler was juſt entered Smithfield, when the knight delivered the king's meſſage, without alighting, not imagining he would ſtand upon that ceremony. But the proud leader was ſo offended at his want of reſpect, that he was going to kill him, if the king, who was himſelf advancing, had not cried out to the knight to diſmount. Wat Tyler rejects them. The king ſends for him to meet him. Walſing.

In Wat Tyler's conference with the king, being both on horſeback, he made ſuch extravagant propoſals, that Richard knew not what to ſay to him. He demanded in ſhort, that all the ancient laws ſhould be aboliſhed, and Conference of the king with Tyler. Walſing. Knighton.

w This charter confirmed no privileges, but only aboliſhed villainage; and granted the rebels a pardon. The contents of it were as follows: "Richard, &c. Know ye, that of our "ſpecial grace, we have manumiſſed, "or ſet free, all and ſingular our liege "ſubjects, and other of the county of "Eſſex; and them and every of them "from all bondage, do releaſe and acquit by theſe preſents. And alſo we "pardon to our ſaid liegemen and "ſubjects, all manner of felonies, "treaſons, tranſgreſſions, and extortions, by them, or any of them, in "any manner whatſoever, done or "committed, &c." —— Witneſs our ſelf at London, the 15th of June, in the 4th year of our reign. Ibid. p. 254.

x Sir John Newton. Walſ.

1381. the government modelled according to certain fantaſtical notions framed by himſelf [y]. Whilſt he made theſe demands, he now and then lifted up his ſword, as it were to threaten the king [z], in caſe he granted not immediately what the rebels would have. This brutiſh inſolence ſo raiſed the indignation of [William] Walworth, mayor of London, who attended the king, that without conſidering to what danger he expoſed his maſter, he diſcharged ſuch a blow on the rebel's head with his ſword, as laid him dead at his feet [a].

His inſolence.

The mayor of London kills him.

The king is in great danger; Walſing.

This action, no leſs imprudent than bold, would naturally have occaſioned the ruin of the king and all his attendants, but by an unexpected good chance, produced a contrary effect. It is true, when the rebels ſaw their leader on the ground, they encouraged one another to revenge his death. Nay their bows were now bent to ſhoot at the king and his retinue. But Richard prevented the danger, by a bolder and more prudent action than could be expected from a young prince of fifteen years. Inſtead of flying, he turned to the rebels, and cried with a reſolute and courageous voice: What, my lieges! will you then kill your king? be not concerned for the loſs of your leader, I myſelf will now be your general; follow me into the field, and you ſhall have whatever you deſire. Upon ſaying theſe words, he gently turned his horſe, and putting himſelf at their head, rode towards St. George's fields. The young king's reſolution made ſuch an impreſſion on the rebels, that imagining he really declared for them, they altered their firſt purpoſe, and followed him without delay. They were no ſooner come into the fields, but they ſaw marching towards them a troop of a thouſand armed citizens, raiſed by the mayor under the conduct of ſir Robert Knolles, an officer of great reputation. The ſight ſtruck them with ſuch

from which he happily frees himſelf.

y Beſides a general enfranchiſement of all bondmen; he demanded, that all warrens, parks, and chaſes, ſhould be made free and common to all, ſo that the poor as well as the rich, ſhould have liberty to fiſh, fowl, and hunt, in all places throughout the kingdom, &c. Knighton.

z And alſo took hold of the king's bridle. Ibid.

a The king had ordered the mayor to arreſt Tyler, Walſing. For this good ſervice, king Richard knighted the mayor, and alſo John Philpot, Nicolas Brembar, and Robert Laund, aldermen; and gave ſir William Walworth, a hundred pounds per annum; and to the other three, forty pounds per annum for ever. Not long after he knighted Nicolas Twyford, and Adam Francis, two other aldermen. Stow's Survey, b. 1. p. 261. Knighton, col. 2637. It is a common notion that the dagger was added, upon this account, to the arms of the city of London: but mr. Stow thinks it to be St. Paul's ſword, Survey, l. 2. p. 186.

terrour,

terrour, that falſely imagining the whole city was in arms to attack them, the foremoſt ranks threw down their arms and begged quarter. This proceeding terrifying the reſt who knew not the cauſe, every one preſſed to follow their example. Thus in a few moments the whole multitude was diſperſed without the effuſion of any blood but the leader's. 1381. The rebels are frighted and throw down their arms. Knighton.

One cannot, without wonder, conſider an event ſo ſingular and full of extraordinary circumſtances. An inſurrection indeed is not ſo very ſtrange, but to ſee it headed by ſuch a perſon as Wat Tyler is not uſual, though the like inſtances may poſſibly be found in other hiſtories. But it is doubtleſs beyond the common courſe of events, for a ſingle man, as the mayor of London, to dare to kill the leader, attended by thirty thouſand men. It is ſtill more ſurpriſing, that a young prince, but fifteen years old, ſhould have ſuch a preſence of mind and reſolution, and that his boldneſs ſhould produce ſo good an effect. In fine, that ſo numerous a multitude, juſt glutted with blood and ſlaughter, ſhould diſperſe on a ſudden by a pannick fear, at the ſight of a few armed citizens, is what cannot be conſidered without aſtoniſhment, and without aſcribing the cauſe to him, who holds the hearts of the people in his hand. And indeed, we ſhall ſee preſently, that no leſs than a ſort of miracle could prevent the utter deſtruction of England, conſidering the pernicious deſigns the rebels had formed.

It was not only in the counties of Kent and Eſſex, that the ſpirit of rebellion poſſeſſed the people. Whilſt Wat Tyler and Jack Straw were marching to London, John Ball and John Wraw [b], two ſeditious prieſts, ſtirred up the populace of Suffolk, where they quickly aſſembled fifty thouſand men. They committed numberleſs barbarities, as if they were afraid of being out-done in cruelty, by thoſe who exerciſed their fury in London. Sir John Cavendiſh, chief juſtice, fell a ſacrifice to their rage. After that, they burnt all the ancient charters in the abbey of St. Edmundſbury, and in the univerſity of Cambridge. The like inſurrections in other counties. Knighton. Walſing.

On the other hand, Litteſter, an ale-houſe-keeper [c], at Norwich, headed another body of rebels in the county of Norfolk, and cruelly put to death all the judges and lawyers that fell into his hands. As for the lords and gentle- Inſolence and cruelty of Litteſter. Ibid.

[b] They are ſuppoſed to give themſelves theſe names, in contempt of the nobility and gentry.

[c] A dyer. Walſ.

1381. men, he had the inſolence to oblige them to ſerve him on the knee, and if any one ſcrupled to ſubmit to that indignity, he inſtantly ordered his head to be cut off. In this manner he treated the earl of Suffolk [d], who would not feign to approve of their rebellion. As it was impoſſible for the king's council, to take timely meaſures to remedy theſe diſorders, it was neceſſary that private perſons ſhould of themſelves endeavour, without ſtaying for orders from court, to free themſelves from the impending danger. Henry Spencer, biſhop of Norwich, a prelate of great courage, though educated in an unwarlike profeſſion, thought it his duty to do ſomething more than barely offer up prayers, on ſo preſſing an occaſion, which equally threatened clergy and laity. He headed a few loyal ſubjects, and attacking the rebels made a terrible ſlaughter [e]. The two leaders Wraw and Litteſter being taken in the fight, the firſt was beheaded upon the ſpot, and the other ſent to London, to receive the juſt reward of his crimes.

The biſhop of Norwich defeats the rebels. Walſing. Knighton.

Puniſhment of the rebels. Walſing.

The troubles being appeaſed ſooner, and more happily than could be expected, the king by adviſe of his council, reſolved to chaſtiſe the guilty. To that end, the lords had orders to raiſe in every county, troops of known loyalty, and lead them to London. In a ſhort time was drawn together an army of forty thouſand men, which being divided in two bodies, one marched into the county of Kent. At the head of the other the king went himſelf to puniſh the people of Eſſex, who began to ſtir again, upon the revocation of the charter and general pardon, with which they had been allured [f]. As theſe people had not had time to take juſt meaſures, and found themſelves prevented by the king's diligence, theywere eaſily defeated. Great numbers were ſlain, and many others reſerved for publick examples. Amongſt the laſt, was Jack Straw, companion of Wat Tyler, and head of the Eſſex rebels. He confeſſed, if they had ſucceeded in their projects, as they had reaſon to expect, their deſign was to murder the king, root out the nobility and clergy, excepting the mendicant friars,

Act. Pub. VII. p. 317.

Their projects. Walſing.

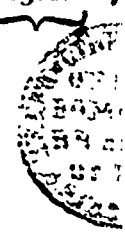
[d] This is a miſtake. William Ufford, then earl of Suffolk, was not beheaded by Litteſter. For, underſtanding that the mob intended to ſurpriſe him, and carry him along with them, to countenance their irregular doings; he ſuddenly roſe from ſupper, and diſguiſing himſelf, came through by-ways to the king at St. Albans, with a wallet on his ſhoulder, pretending to be a ſervant of ſir Roger Boys. Ibid.

[e] At North-Walſham, in Norfolk. Idem.

[f] This revocation was done by a proclamation under the great ſeal, dated at Chelmsford, July 2. Walſing.

part

part England into ſeveral kingdoms, make Wat Tyler king of Kent, aboliſh all the ancient, and make new, laws. Probably theſe projects were formed only in general, and it may be, over their bowls, whilſt they were on the march to London. Be that as it will, ſuch a deſign, managed by heads little capable of executing it, could hardly fail of ending in the ruin of the authors. It is affirmed, that beſides thoſe that fell with their arms in their hands, above fifteen hundred died by the hangman [g]. Judge Treſilian was commiſſioned to go into the revolted counties, and try the guilty. As the number was very great, he had an opportunity to gratify his cruel and barbarous temper, in puniſhing the unfortunate wretches, to whom he ſhowed no favour. The cruelties he exerciſed during his commiſſion, may well be compared to thoſe practiſed of late years by a judge of the ſame character [h], in the reign of James II. 1381.



Barbarity of judge Treſilian. Knighton.

There are hiſtorians who would father this rebellion upon the Wickliffites (who were commonly called Lollards) but without any foundation. It is certain, religion had no ſhare in the commotions, ſince the duke of Lancaſter, open protector of Wickliff, was the principal object of the rebels malice. Beſides, Wickliff, who then reſided on his living of Lutterworth in Leiceſterſhire, was never queſtioned on that account. All that can be alledged to give the leaſt colour to this accuſation, is, that John Ball, a Franciſcan friar, one of the ring-leaders of the rebels, was a little before thrown into priſon by order of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, for preaching the new doctrine. But it cannot be inferred from thence, that Wickliff's followers excited the inſurrection. Moreover, inſurrections cauſed by a religious zeal, are ſeldom appeaſed in ſo ſhort a time as this, which laſted but a month from the beginning to the end.

Vindication of the Wickliffites. Walſing.

The duke of Lancaſter was on the northern borders, when the rebellion broke out in Kent, which lies at the other end of the kingdom. Upon the firſt news, he ſpeedily concluded a three years truce [i] with the Scots, for fear theſe commotions ſhould render them more difficult. Mean while, as he was apprehenſive of expoſing himſelf to the rage of his enemies, if he returned to court, and alſo of giving the northern counties a pretence to imitate the ſouthern, if he ſtaid

The duke of Lancaſter is wrongfully accuſed. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 312, 318. Knighton.

[g] The chief of whom were John Straw, John Kirby, Alan Treder, Thomas Scot, Ralph Rugge; and John Starling, who had beheaded archbiſhop Sudbury; John Litteſter, &c. Idem.

[h] Judge Jeffreys.

[i] From July 18, 1381, till Febr. 2, 1383. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 312, &c.

in

1381. in the kingdom, he choſe to retire into Scotland, where he remained till the ſedition was appeaſed. The king of Scotland offered him twenty thouſand men, to ſuppreſs the rebels, but he refuſed them, leſt by introducing foreigners, he ſhould cauſe a general revolt in the kingdom. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, he could not prevent his enemies from ſpreading a report, that he deſigned to march to London at the head of a Scotch army, and ſeize the crown. But he eaſily cleared himſelf from that groundleſs accuſation.

The king's marriage. Act. Pub. VII. p. 213, 257, 280, 282, 290, 305. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 71.

Whilſt, by this unexpected inſurrection, Richard ſaw himſelf in danger of loſing his crown and life, his ambaſſadors were negotiating his marriage in Germany. In the year 1379, he would have eſpouſed the daughter of Barnabas duke of Milan. This project not ſucceeding, he demanded in 1380, a princeſs of Bavaria, daughter of the late emperor Lewis. But that negotiation had no better ſucceſs than the former. At laſt, on May 2, 1381, his marriage with Anne of Luxemburgh, ſiſter of the emperor Wenceſlaus, was concluded at Nurembergh. The princeſs arriving in England [k] a little after the troubles were appeaſed, was received with great pomp, agreeably to the king's humour, who was very fond of theſe kinds of ſolemnities.

1382. Death of the earl of March.

Edmund, earl of March, grandſon of Roger Mortimer, beheaded in the beginning of the reign of Edward III. died in February 1382, in his government of Ireland. He had married Philippa, only daughter of Lionel duke of Clarence, third ſon of Edward III. and by her had a ſon called Roger, who ſucceeded him in his honour of earl of March.

The parliament which met about the end of the year 1381 [l], and was prorogued on account of the queen's arrival, ſat again in May the next year. Some hiſtorians affirm, in this parliament an act was paſſed, impowering the biſhops to impriſon hereticks without the king's licenſe. But others upon better grounds maintain, the commons refuſed to paſs the bill, and that the biſhops obtained that power of

[k] She arrived at Dover, about the latter end of December, and was married to the king, in the chapel royal at Weſtminſter, on January 14. She was crowned ſoon after. Inſtead of her bringing any dower, king Richard gave the emperor no leſs than ten thouſand marks, or eighty thouſand florins, for his alliance; and was alſo at the whole charge of her journey, and coming over. Tyrrel, p. 871. Walſ. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 296, 301, 336— At her requeſt, king Richard granted a general pardon, upon her arrival. Ibid. p. 337.

[l] This parliament was held at Weſtminſter, on November 2, and repealed the grant of manumiſſion of villains, made by the king, during the late inſurrection; it alſo continued the ſubſidy of wool, leather, and woolfells. Rot. Parl. 5 Ric. II. n. 8, 13, 40. Cotton's Abridg. p. 195. Walſ. p. 280.

the

the king alone [m]. This laſt opinion is confirmed by the complaints made afterwards by the commons to the king, as of a breach of privilege. Be that as it will, it is certain, before that time the biſhops had no ſuch power, without the king's expreſs conſent for every particular caſe. Of this there are proofs in the collection of the publick acts, where we find the like permiſſions granted by Edward III. to the biſhop of London and others. It is evident, theſe permiſſions would have been needleſs, had the biſhops enjoyed that privilege without the king's conſent. Beſides, in a commiſſion of the ſame nature directed by Richard II. to the univerſity of Oxford, extant alſo in the collection, there is no mention of any ſtatute upon that ſubject, though it was a conſtant cuſtom when the king acted by virtue of an act of parliament, to mention it in his letters patent or orders. Of this we may be eaſily ſatisfied in the ſame collection. 1382. Act. Pub. VI. p. 561, &c. Ibid.

Richard being now in his ſeventeenth year, began more plainly to diſcover his inclinations, which hitherto had been reſtrained by the authority of his governors. He had a high conceit of his own merit, and thought himſelf as well qualified to govern the ſtate as Edward III. was at his age. But there was a great difference between theſe two princes. Edward, when very young, with a great penetration had none but noble and generous inclinations, tending to his own glory, and his people's happineſs. Richard, on the contrary, minded only trifles, and thought of nothing but his pleaſures. He loved pomp and magnificence more than any of his predeceſſors, and thereby ran into ſuperfluous expences, which idly conſumed his revenues. Flatterers had a great influence over him. He expreſſed as much eſteem for thoſe that applauded his paſſions, as averſion for thoſe that adviſed him Richard's character.

[m] The act was as follows: "Foraſmuch as it is openly known, that there be divers evil perſons within the realm, going from county to county, and from town to town, — who by their ſubtle and ingenious words, do draw the people to hear their ſermons, and do maintain them in their errors by ſtrong hand, and by great routs. It is ordained and aſſented in this preſent parliament, that the king's commiſſions be made, and directed to the ſheriffs, and other miniſters of our ſovereign lord the king, or other ſufficient perſons learned, and according to the certifications of the prelates thereof, to be made in the chancery from time to time, to arreſt all ſuch preachers, and alſo their fautors, maintainers, and abetters, and to hold them in arreſt, and ſtrong priſon, till they will juſtify to them according to the law and reaſon of holy church. And the king willeth and commandeth, that the chancellor make ſuch commiſſions at all times, that he by the prelates, or any of them ſhall be be certified, and thereof required as is aforeſaid. —This was the firſt ſtatute againſt the followers of Wickliff, and indeed was no act of parliament duly made, but only by the king and the clergy."

to

1384. to lead a life worthy a great prince. Not being of a warlike diſpoſition, he was obſerved in council to be always inclined to negotiation, rather than to vigorous reſolutions. As ſoon as he was out of his childhood, he was ſeen to chooſe favourites, whoſe inclinations ſuited with his own, or at leaſt who artfully feigned to approve of whatever he did. Among theſe was, Alexander Nevil archbiſhop of York, Robert de Vere earl of Oxford, a young man full of vivacity, whoſe youthful ſallies were very pleaſing to his maſter, Michael de la Pole, a merchant's ſon of London [a], and judge Treſilian, who never wanted reaſon to countenance whatever was agreeable to the king. Theſe favourites, who miſſed no opportunity to flatter him, were amply rewarded for the leaſt petty ſervices, whilſt thoſe who managed the publick affairs, and took all the pains, were very little regarded. This behaviour began to be diſpleaſing to the people, when an accident, towards the end of the year, quite put them out of conceit with their ſovereign. One of the forementioned courtiers obtaining of the king a conſiderable grant, Richard Scrope, the chancellor, refuſed to annex the great ſeal to the patent. He plainly told the perſon that ſolicited him, that the duty of his office would not ſuffer him to ſet the ſeal, committed to his keeping by the parliament, to all the king's indiſcreet grants, till he had acquired a little more experience. Richard, provoked at the refuſal, ſent for the great ſeal, but he refuſed to deliver it, as holding it not of the king, but of the parliament. This reſolution ſtill farther incenſing the young prince, he went himſelf to the chancellor's to require his obedience. Whereupon the chancellor delivered him the ſeal, declaring he would ſerve him no more in any publick poſt, but content himſelf with keeping in all other things the allegiance due from a ſubject to his ſovereign. Richard kept the great ſeal ſome days in his hands, and for fear another chancellor ſhould obſtruct in like manner his inconſiderate grants, he put the ſeal himſelf to ſeveral patents, and then delivered it to Robert Braybrook, biſhop of London, who probably was not ſo ſcrupulous as his predeceſſor. This action, extolled by the favourites with great commendations of the king's ſteadineſs, diſpleaſed the reſt of the nation. The king began from thenceforward to be conſidered as a prince capable of falling

His favourites.

The chancellor refuſes to give the broad ſeal. Walſing. p. 290.

The king takes it from him.

[a] Of Kingſton upon Hull, of which place his father William de la Pole, was the firſt mayor. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 182.

into great exceſſes, unleſs timely care was taken to bridle his paſſions. 1382.

For that purpoſe, in the next meeting of the parliament [o], the houſe of commons reſolved to remedy an inconvenience, ariſing from the too great authority the king began to aſſume. The power given to the biſhops to impriſon hereticks, was conſidered as very deſtructive to liberty, ſince the clergy thereby became in a manner abſolute maſters of the honour and fortune of private perſons. The complaints from all parts obliged the commons to preſent a petition to the king, to revoke a conceſſion to which they had not given their conſent [p]. Richard, who wanted money, durſt not reject the parliament's requeſt. But ſome pretend that by the artifices of the clergy, the revocation was razed out of the parliament rolls, where it is not to be found.

The biſhops power of impriſoning hereticks revoked. Cotton's Abridg.

The ſchiſm ſtill continued in the church to the great ſcandal of the chriſtians, who were in doubt which of the two popes was to be regarded as Chriſt's vicar. Urban, whoſe party was ſtrongeſt, perceiving ſpiritual weapons were inſufficient, thought it more advantageous to uſe temporal arms. To that end, he publiſhed againſt Clement and his adherents a cruſade, of which Henry Spencer, biſhop of Norwich, was declared general. The pope by the bull granted the ſame indulgences [q] to all that were willing to engage in the undertaking, as to thoſe who bore arms againſt the infidels. The effect produced in England by the publication of the cruſade, anſwered the pope's wiſhes. The nobles, gentry, people, and clergy, engaged in it with the ſame ardour as if they had been to wage war with the enemies of the chriſtian name. Whilſt they waited for the parliament's approbation, which was not at all queſtioned, every one was diligently preparing to obtain the promiſed

Urban VI. publiſhes a cruſade againſt Clement VII. Froiſſart.

The biſhop of Norwich made general. Walſing. Knighton. Act. Pub. VII. p. 372.

The Engliſh engage in it with zeal.

[o] This parliament met at Weſtminſter, Octob. 6, and in it the lords and commons granted the king a fifteenth, and a tenth out of the cities and towns. Rot. Parl. Cotton's Abridg. p. 281.

[p] They repreſented to him, "That "that ſtatute was never agreed nor "granted by the commons, but "whatſoever was moved therein was "without their aſſent, and therefore "prayed that the ſaid ſtatute ſhould be "diſannulled." Which was accordly done. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 285.

[q] The form of the abſolution ran thus: "By authority apoſtolical "committed unto me for this porpoſe, "I abſolve thee, A. B. from all thy "ſins confeſſed, and for which thou "art contrite, and from all thoſe "which thou wouldſt confeſs, did they "occur to thy memory, and grant thee "with a full pardon of all thy ſins, "the reward of the juſt, and the aſ-"ſurance of eternal ſalvation: and I "give thee moreover, all the privi-"leges granted to thoſe who go to war "in defence of the Holy Land, and "make thee partaker of the benefit "of the prayers of the catholick "church." Walſing. p. 295.

indulgences,

1382. indulgences, either by ſerving in perſon in the war, or by contributing money for promoting the ſame.

The earl of Cambridge returns from Portugal, much diſſatisfied. Walſing. Froiſſart.

Whilſt the croiſés were making their preparations, the earl of Cambridge returned from Portugal, where he had met with the ſame treatment the earl of Buckingham his brother had done in Bretagne. That is, the king of Portugal uſed the Engliſh ſuccours, to make an advantageous peace with the king of Caſtile, to whom he even gave Beatrix his only daughter, promiſed to the earl of Cambridge's eldeſt ſon. So the Engliſh prince returned extremely diſſatisfied, after loſing all hopes of procuring his ſon the crown of Portugal, and of helping to place the duke of Lancaſter his brother on the throne of Caſtile [r].

1383. Succeſs of the cruſade. Id. c. 110.

The parliament, which met in the beginning of the year 1383 [s], not only approved of the cruſade publiſhed by Urban, but alſo granted a conſiderable aid upon that account. When all was ready, the biſhop of Norwich embarked the croiſés, conſiſting of fifty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe. Upon his arrival at Calais he held a council of war, to conſider which way he ſhould turn the arms of the croiſés. Moſt were for entering France, ſince the bull imported, that the cruſade was deſigned againſt Clement and his adherents. Probably, for that reaſon the court of England had engaged ſo heartily in the affair. But the general, for private reaſons not diſcovered in hiſtory, cauſed it to be reſolved that the war ſhould be carried into Flanders. To colour the reſolution, it was alledged that Flanders was a fief of the crown of France, though the earl of Flanders had acknowledged pope Urban. So, contrary to the intention of the court, and, no doubt, of the pope himſelf, the croiſés invaded Flanders, and took Graveling, Bourbourg, Mardike, and Dunkirk. The earl of Flanders, ſurpriſed at the unexpected attack, levying ſome troops with all poſſible diligence, was ſo raſh, as with twelve thouſand men to offer the croiſés battle, who had received a ſtrong reinforcement from the Gantois. This daringneſs coſt him dear, ſince he had the misfortune to ſee that army, his only reſource, entirely routed. Reduced to this ſad extremity, and beholding his

Walſing. Knighton. Act. Pub. VII. p. 399.

Froiſſart. Walſing.

r Beſides the parliament above-mentioned, there was another held, or rather a great council at London, in the beginning of May, to whom John Wickliff preſented ſeven articles, containing the ſubſtance of his doctrine. Walſ. p. 288.

s On Febr. 24, at Weſtminſter. It gave the biſhop of Norwich the fifteenth granted in the laſt parliament: who engaged, in conſideration thereof, to ſerve the king one whole year in his wars in France, with three thouſand men at arms, and two thouſand five hundred archers, well mounted. Cotton's Abridg. p. 286, &c.

country

country on the point of being utterly deſtroyed, he ſaw no other way to free himſelf from the danger, but to apply to the court of France. He repreſented to the young king's council, how much it concerned France to ſave Flanders, and the rather, becauſe, in all appearance, the deſign of the croiſés was not to reſt ſatisfied with that ſingle conqueſt. The court of France, rouſed by theſe remonſtrances, or rather by their own intereſt, which would not ſuffer them to ſee Flanders in the hands of the Engliſh, reſolved to aſſiſt the earl. Charles VI. heading a powerful army, marched againſt the croiſés, who were beſieging Ypres. Upon his approach they raiſed the ſiege [t], and retired to Bourbourg, where they were inveſted. The biſhop-general, wanting proviſions for the ſubſiſtence of his army, would have been at a loſs to free himſelf out of this ſtreight, had not the duke of Bretagne uſed his intereſt in his favour. By the mediation of that prince, the croiſés obtained leave to retire, upon reſtoring the places they had taken. Thus ended the cruſade, undertaken for the ſole intereſt of Urban, without the pope or England receiving the leaſt benefit. When the biſhop was returned, the king ordered the temporalities of his ſee to be ſeized [u], and ſeveral of his principal officers impriſoned, for not following their inſtructions.

1383.

Froiſſart. c. 116. Walſing. Knighton.

Whilſt the croiſés were employed in ravaging Flanders, England was a great ſufferer, by the frequent deſcents of the French, and incurſions of the Scots. As there was no army on foot to repulſe the enemies, the king was forced to call a parliament [w], who granted him a ſupply to continue the war with Scotland, the conduct whereof was committed to the duke of Lancaſter. The king of Scotland being informed of the preparations againſt him, ſued for peace, but it was abſolutely refuſed.

The French and Scots ravaged England. Froiſſart. Walſing.

Mean while, the duke of Bretagne uſed his endeavours to reconcile the two crowns of France and England. With much ſolicitation, he at length prevailed with the two kings to ſend their plenipotentiaries between Calais and Boulogne.

Truce with France. Walſing. Froiſſart. l. 2. c. 121, 122.

[t] His army mutinying, he was forced to raiſe the ſiege, and to leave his great cannon behind him: but after this he obtained a complete victory over the French, in which three, or, according to others, twelve thouſand of them were ſlain. Walſ.

[u] T. Walſ. ſays, the king countermanded him, juſt as he was going to embark, which it ſeems the biſhop took no notice of, p. 298. The temporalities of Norwich biſhoprick were reſtored, Octob. 24, 1385. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 479.

[w] Which met at Weſtminſter, on Octob. 25, and granted the king a fifteenth; ſixpence for every pound of merchandize, and two ſhillings of every tun of wine. Cotton's Abridg. p. 290.

But

1383. But the negotiation ended only in a truce for ten months, in which the kings of Scotland and Caſtile, if they deſired it, were to be included. The duke of Burgundy, uncle of the king of France, undertook to anſwer within ſuch a time for the king of Scotland. But the earl of Flanders, his father-in-law, dying in the interval, his care to take poſſeſſion of his dominions, made him forget or neglect that engagement. Mean while, whether the Engliſh thought the Scots would not be included in the treaty, or were willing to reap ſome advantage from the expence they had been at, the duke of Lancaſter went [x] and ravaged Scotland to the very gates of Edinburgh. This incurſion obliged the king of Scotland to deſire to be included in the truce, which was granted by the mediation of the duke of Burgundy.

Act. Pub. VII. p. 418. Froiſſart. c. 123.

Froiſſart, ibid.

The Scots included in it. Id. c. 125.

Shortly after the duke of Lancaſter's return, a certain Iriſh monk came to the court, then at Saliſbury [y], and diſcovered to the king a ſecret of great moment, namely, that the duke of Lancaſter his uncle had conſpired to murder the king, and ſeize the crown. The accuſation was attended with ſo many circumſtances, that Richard could not help believing it. But the duke, without the leaſt emotion, vindicated himſelf upon each article, in ſuch a manner that the king ſeemed ſatisfied. He ordered however the accuſer to be taken into cuſtody, whether to puniſh him or examine him more ſtrictly. But when he was to be brought before the council, he was found to be hanged over night in the priſon, without any poſſibility of diſcovering the author of the fact. This accident did the duke of Lancaſter great injury, becauſe the people were prejudiced againſt him, though it was as probable that the monk was murdered by the authors of the accuſation, as by the orders of the party accuſed.

Act. Pub. VII. p. 434, 469.

1384.

The duke of Lancaſter accuſed of conſpiring againſt the king. Walſing.

He vindicates himſelf. Walſing.

He is further ſuſpected.

Another accident, ſhortly after, confirmed the people in the ſuſpicion raiſed by the monk's report againſt the duke of Lancaſter. An alderman of London, a great favourite of the duke, being charged with conſpiring againſt the king, was found guilty, after a ſtrict examination. Though the duke was then abſent, his cloſe friendſhip with the criminal, and the endeavours of his friends to prevent the ſentence, and afterwards to procure the king's pardon, occaſioned reflections not at all to the duke's advantage. He was then upon an embaſſy at Paris, where he ſpent fifty thouſand

The truce with France prolonged.

[x] With two thouſand lances, and ſix thouſand archers. Froiſ.

[y] At a parliament or great council, held there on the Friday after April 25, which granted the king a moiety of a tenth and a fifteenth. Cotton's Abridg. p. 298.

marks,

marks, in obtaining only the prolongation of the truce for some months. 1384.

If the duke of Lancaſter was not beloved by the people, he was no leſs hated by the favourites, who could not hope to diſpoſe of all things at their pleaſure, as long as he was in credit with the king. It is well known, the way of moſt favourites is, not to ſuffer about their maſter, any but their creatures. Theſe looking upon the duke of Lancaſter as a troubleſome inſpector, and incapable of condeſcending to court them, believed they ought before all things to be rid of that prince. For that purpoſe, they all acted in concert, to create in the king ſuſpicions, which ſhould cauſe him to conſider his uncle as a very dangerous enemy. Richard, who neither did, nor would ſee any thing but with their eyes, ſuffered himſelf to be ſo prejudiced, that he conſented to a reſolution of accuſing the duke of high treaſon. Judge Treſilian, a man of a cruel and daring temper, took upon him to draw up the articles of accuſation, and manage the evidences. He even offered to try him as a private perſon, though by the laws of the land he could be judged only by his peers. As the plot could not be ſo ſecretly contrived, that the duke had no notice thereof, he thought it imprudent to deliver himſelf into the hands of his enemies, who were bent upon his ruin. So, without troubling himſelf about his vindication, he withdrew to his caſtle of Pontfract, where he aſſembled ſome troops, and made other preparations in order to defend himſelf, in caſe of an attack. Though he had not many friends, yet being perſecuted by the miniſters, who were ſtill leſs beloved than himſelf, he eaſily found people enough to take his part. A civil war was going to be kindled in the kingdom, when the princeſs of Wales, the king's mother, interpoſed to make peace, before hoſtilities were commenced. She ſucceeded at length, after many journeys and fatigues, and Richard, ſatisfied of the falſeneſs of the ſuſpicions, ſuggeſted to him againſt the duke his uncle, received him again into favour [z].

Act. Pub. VII. p. 430. Project of deſtroying the duke of Lancaſter. Walſing.

The duke prepares to defend himſelf.

The princeſs of Wales reconciles him to the king. Walſing.

During theſe broils, no preparations were made for the war, though the late truce with France and Scotland was about to expire. It was imagined, it might be renewed, but the king of France had other deſigns. As he ſaw the 1385.

France prepares to exert itſelf.

[z] This year, on Novemb. 12, a parliament met at Weſtminſter, which granted the king two fifteenths. Cotton's Abridg. p. 303. In this parliament the ſentence paſſed againſt Alice Pierce, in a former parliament, was reverſed. Ibid.——This year alſo died the famous ſir John Philpot. Walſ.

1385. court of England in a perfect ſecurity, he reſolved to make a powerful effort, from which he promiſed himſelf great advantages. To that end, he ſent a numerous army into Guienne, hoping to finiſh the conqueſt of that dukedom, before the Engliſh ſhould be able to oppoſe it. At the ſame time he ſent the king of Scotland an aid of a thouſand men at arms [a], under the command of John de Vienne, who was to make a powerful diverſion in the north [b], in order to favour the deſcent of the French in the ſouthern parts of the iſland. The alarm taken by the Engliſh at all theſe preparations, turned to their ſafety. The court gave ſuch preſſing orders to levy troops, and the orders were executed with ſuch ardour and diligence, that, if the hiſtorians are to be credited, Richard quickly ſaw himſelf at the head of three hundred thouſand men. He detached ſixty thouſand, under the command of the duke of Lancaſter, to march into Scotland [c], whilſt with the reſt, he himſelf expected the French on the ſouthern coaſt. Upon the duke of Lancaſter's approach, the Scots, who were ravaging the borders of England, retired to the center of their kingdom, leaving the Engliſh general free to revenge his countrymen, by his ravages in Scotland, where he had followed them. The great army, aſſembled by Richard, deſtroying the king of France's hopes of ſucceeding in his project, he deferred the execution to a more convenient ſeaſon. By that means Richard was at liberty to march towards Scotland, with the choice of his army. In all likelihood, he would have entirely ſubdued that kingdom, had he known how to improve his advantages, ſince the king of Scotland was unable to withſtand him. But the favourites jealouſy of the duke of Lancaſter, who commanded under him, was the reaſon, ſo fair an opportunity was irrecoverably loſt. The Scots, perceiving the king of England, inſtead of puſhing them vigorouſly, was amuſing himſelf with ravaging the country about Edinburgh, began to recover from their fright, cauſed by his formidable forces. As they were not able to attack him, they judged the beſt way to oblige him to quit Scotland, was to make a diverſion in his own country. Purſuant to this reſolution, they removed at a greater diſ-

Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 485. Sends ſuccours to Scotland. Buchanan. Knighton. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 141.

The Engliſh levy a great army. Walſing.

The duke of Lancaſter marches into Scotland. Knighton.

France defers her expedition.

Richard goes into Scotland. Loſes the opportunity of ſubduing the kingdom. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 473, 474.

[a] Every man at arms had with him three, or four, and ſometimes five knights. Rapin.

[b] He alſo ſent ten thouſand livers to Robert king of Scotland, and forty thouſand to the nobility of that kingdom. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 484.

[c] During the ſeſſion of the laſt parliament, the Scots ſurpriſed Berwick caſtle, having bribed the deputy governor; but it was retaken, or rather bought again, by the earl of Northumberland, the governor. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 463.

tance

tance from the Engliſh army, to make the king believe it was to avoid a battle. But on a ſudden, by ſpeedy marches they came into Cumberland, where they made terrible ravages [d]. Whilſt they were marching thither, Richard never troubled himſelf to inquire after them. So, imagining they were fled and ſatisfied with the advantages already gained, he reſolved, as not being fond of war, to return into England. He had intelligence by the way, of the Scots entering Cumberland, and might eaſily have cut off their retreat. But notwithſtanding all the duke of Lancaſter's endeavours to perſuade him to a vigorous reſolution, he choſe rather to follow the earl of Oxford's advice. That favourite, who had a great influence over him, perſuaded him, that the duke of Lancaſter only ſought to expoſe him to danger. This advice correſponding with his ſuſpicions and inclinations, he continued his march, without going in queſt of the enemy. All but the favourites were ſo amazed at his unconcern for the calamities of his ſubjects of Cumberland, that they could not help loudly murmuring, and conſidering the king himſelf, as a prince regardleſs of the good of the publick.

1385.

The Scots make a diverſion in Cumberland. Froiſſart. Richard lets them alone and returns to London. Walſing.

Whilſt the king was returning to London, the lord Holland [e], his half brother, quarrelling with the earl of Stafford's eldeſt ſon, killed him, and took ſanctuary in Beverly abbey. The action was ſo heinous, that notwithſtanding the ties of blood, Richard reſolved to abandon the murderer to the rigour of the law. In vain did the princeſs of Wales, their common mother, intercede for her ſon, ſhe could never obtain his pardon. The refuſal ſat ſo heavy upon her mind, that ſhe died with grief a few days after [f]. Nevertheleſs, whether the king was ſorry for being ſo cruel to his mother, or the murdered found a more powerful interceſſor, the princeſs was hardly in her grave, when he granted the pardon ſhe had ſued for in vain.

The lord Holland kills the lord Stafford. Walſing. Froiſſart. The king refuſes to pardon him at his mother's interceſſion, who dies with grief.

The dread of the French invaſion being vaniſhed, the duke of Lancaſter demanded aſſiſtance of the king to proſecute his right to the crown of Caſtile. There could never be a more ſeaſonable juncture to obtain his deſire. Ferdinand, king of Portugal, being dead, without leaving any legitimate children but Beatrix, queen of Caſtile, the king

[d] They burnt Penrith, made an attempt upon Carliſle, and cruelly ravaged the whole country. Knighton.

[e] John de Holland, brother to Thomas earl of Kent.

[f] She died at Wallingford caſtle, and was buried in the church of the Friars Minors at Stanford. The king had a chapel built at Stanford, to pray for her ſoul. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 527.

1385. her husband pretended, the crown of Portugal was devolved to his queen, by the death of the king her father. But the Portuguese, not bearing the thoughts of living under the dominion of the Castilians, had placed on the throne, John, natural son of the late king. As this quarrel could hardly be decided but by arms, the king of Castile entered Portugal, and, advancing as far as Lisbon, laid siege to the city. But meeting with a braver defence than he expected, he was forced to retire. In the next campaign he lost a battle, which obliged him to quit Portugal, still hoping to compass his ends, by the assistance of France. The new king of Portugal finding his enemy was going to receive aid from the king of France, sent ambassadors to England to make an alliance with Richard, offering to acknowledge the duke of Lancaster for king of Castile, and support his right with all his forces. Affairs in England were then in a posture, very proper to render that negotiation successful. Richard, prejudiced against the duke his uncle, heartily wished his removal, his favourites representing him as a dangerous relation, and a very troublesome governor. They told him moreover, it was his interest to dethrone the king of Castile, sworn enemy of the English, which was the more practicable, as the king of Portugal offered to make a powerful diversion. The duke of Lancaster hastened with all possible ardour, the conclusion of the affair, imagining, with the forces of England and assistance of Portugal, it would not be impossible to accomplish his designs. All these considerations induced the king's council to hearken to the king of Portugal's proposals, and to promise the duke of Lancaster an aid proportionable to the importance of the undertaking. Pursuant to the resolution, the king called a parliament [g] to demand a supply to enable him to accomplish the project. The commons readily granted it, and expressed great earnestness for the expedition, not so much out of love to the duke, as to remove him out of the kingdom, where it was continually feared he would at last create troubles fatal to the state. For that reason, they had the affair so much at heart, that the clergy refusing to pay their part of the supply [h], they petitioned the king to seize their temporalities. Richard, who

Froissart.

Walsing.
Act. Pub. VII. p. 550.
Froissart, c. 172, 174.
Act. Pub. VII. p. 516, 525.

Act. Pub. VII. p. 490, 495, 499.
Cotton's Abridg.
Walsing.

Walsing. p. 320.

[g] Which met at Westminster, on the Friday after October 18, and granted the king a fifteenth, and half a fifteenth for the duke of Lancaster's expedition: and a tenth, and half a tenth for the safe keeping of the sea, and marches of Scotland. Cotton's Abridg. p. 309.

[h] The lords and commons required they should give a tenth and a half. They granted at last one tenth.

loved

oved not his uncle enough to quarrel with the clergy for his ſake, refuſed to comply with the commons requeſt. His moderation procured him from the clergy, what force would hardly have extorted from them. Thus the duke of Lancaſter, ſecure of the parliament's aſſiſtance, made, as king of Caſtile, a league offenſive and defenſive with the king of Portugal, and prepared for the war with all poſſible diligence. 1585.

In this parliament Roger Mortimer, earl of March, was declared preſumptive heir of the crown, in caſe Richard died without iſſue. He was ſon of Philippa, only daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence, third ſon of Edward III. and grandſon of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, executed as a traitor in the late reign. But the ſentence paſſed upon him was afterwards repealed, becauſe the formalities preſcribed by the laws and cuſtoms of the realm were not obſerved at his trial [i]. The earl of March declared heir to the crown.

Before the parliament broke up, the king conferred on the earl of Cambridge [k] his uncle, the title of duke of York; on the earl of Buckingham [l] his other uncle, that of duke of Glouceſter. He could not help raiſing theſe two princes to higher degrees of honour, unleſs he would leave them below the earl of Oxford [m], whom he created at the ſame time marquis of Dublin, and quickly after, duke of Ireland. This favourite was the firſt that bore the title of marquis in England, where it was hitherto unknown. Michael de la Pole, another of the king's favourites, was made earl of Suffolk, and lord chancellor [n]. The king confers new honours on his uncles and favourites. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 481.

In the beginning of the year 1386, Leo, king of Armenia, driven out of his dominions by the Turks, came to England, to confer with Richard. His deſign was to procure a firm and laſting peace between France and England, in ex- 1386. King of Armenia comes into England.

[i] He was not brought to anſwer, or make his defence; but was attainted and condemned without ever being heard, and conſequently without any legal conviction. For which reaſon this judgment was afterwards reverſed as erroneous, by the parliament which met in April, 1394. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 6, 8, 85, 86.

[k] Edmund de Langley, fifth ſon of Edward III.

[l] Thomas of Woodſtock, his ſeventh ſon.

[m] Robert de Vere.

[n] He granted the two firſt a thouſand pounds a piece out of the exchequer, till he ſhould provide them with lands to the value of a thouſand pounds a year. To M. de la Pole he allowed five hundred and twenty pounds out of the profits of the county of Suffolk, and out of the eſtate of William Ufford late earl of Suffolk. And to the marquis of Dublin, he gave the old lands and revenues of Ireland, with all profits, &c. whatſoever. The reader is to obſerve, that theſe honours were not only confirmed in parliament; for the king had inveſted thoſe noblemen with them, in his late expedition into Scotland, at Hounſlow lodge in Tividale. Cotton's Abridg. p. 310.

1386. pectation that afterwards the two crowns would join all their forces to reſtore him to his kingdom. But if he ſucceeded not in his project, at leaſt he obtained from Richard a conſiderable preſent, and a yearly penſion of a thouſand pounds [o].

Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 491, 496, 502.

As ſoon as the duke of Lancaſter had finiſhed his preparations for his Spaniſh expedition, he embarked at Portſmouth, with an army of twenty thouſand men, among whom were two thouſand men at arms [p]. He carried with him Conſtantia of Caſtile, his wife, and his two daughters Philippa and Catherina, the firſt of whom he had by Blanch of Lancaſter, and the other by Conſtantia. The king and queen accompanied them to Portſmouth, and wiſhing them good ſucceſs, preſented them with two gold crowns. The duke ſetting ſail, made ſome ſtay at Breſt, and obliged the duke of Bretagne to raiſe the ſiege of that town, which all his ſolicitations had not been able to get out of the hands of the Engliſh. Then purſuing his voyage, he arrived Auguſt the 9th at Corunna, where he landed his troops. Upon his arrival, he made himſelf maſter of ſeveral places in Gallicia, and at laſt of Compoſtella, where he paſſed the winter. Whilſt the ſeaſon prevented him from continuing his progreſs, he concluded a marriage between Philippa his eldeſt daughter, and the king of Portugal, and ſpent the reſt of the time in projecting the next campaign.

The duke of Lancaſter's departure, which had been rumoured long before, prompted the court of France to improve ſo favourable a juncture. As England, deprived of her beſt troops, would be probably defenceleſs, Charles reſolved to make a freſh effort to conquer that kingdom. To that end, he made ſuch prodigious preparations, that all Europe expected with aſtoniſhment the ſucceſs of his undertaking. He had prepared nine hundred tranſport ſhips [q], and cauſed a wooden fort to be made (which could be taken in pieces) for the defence of his army after landing. If the duke of Berry his uncle, who wanted to render the project abortive, becauſe, ſays a hiſtorian, he was not the author, had not too long delayed his coming, the French would have found England unprovided with troops for her defence. But the

Knighton.

Great preparations in France to conquer England. Walſing. Froiſſart.

Mezerai.

[o] Rapin by miſtake ſays, twenty thouſand marks. It is plain from Rymer's Fœd. that it was only one thouſand pounds a year—Conceſſimus eidem —Mille libras monetæ noſtræ Angliæ, percipiendas ſingulis annis.—Tom. VII. p. 494.

[p] And eight thouſand archers.

[q] Froiſſart ſays, he had twelve hundred and eighty ſeven ſhips of all ſorts. And, according to others, no leſs than ſixty thouſand fighting men. Walſ. Tyrrel.

duke

duke not repairing to Sluice till the 14th of September [r], Richard had time ſo to prepare, as to have no reaſon to fear the mighty efforts of his enemies. Very likely, the great diligence of the Engliſh, rather than the ſeaſon, which was not too far advanced for ſo ſhort a paſſage, obliged the king of France to ſend his troops into winter quarters. 1386. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 189, 190.

As ſoon as the grand deſigns of France were known in England, troops were levied with that ſpeed and ſucceſs, that an army of two hundred thouſand men were drawn together [s]. Part of theſe forces were put into the places moſt expoſed, whilſt the reſt ſtood ready to hinder the enemies landing. But as the army was to be maintained, as well as raiſed, which could not be done without a very great expence, a parliament was called to conſider of ways and means. The king demanding a ſubſidy proportionable to his wants [t], the parliament was very willing to grant it, but could not think of leaving the money in the power of the king and his favourites, among whom the marquis of Dublin, and the earl of Suffolk, held the firſt rank. Theſe lords were ſo univerſally odious, that in order to ruin them, the parliament ſcrupled not to hazard the loſs of the whole kingdom. They preſented an addreſs to the king, deſiring that the treaſurer [u], and the earl of Suffolk the chancellor, might be removed from their places. Moreover that all thoſe might be called to an account, through whoſe hands the publick money had paſſed, affirming, the king would find in the confiſcation of the miſmanagers lands, wherewithal to anſwer the occaſions of the ſtate. Richard, who expected quite another thing, in the preſent juncture of affairs, received the addreſs with an indignation, which it was not poſſible for him to conceal. He anſwered very ſharply, that the parliament ought to mind the buſineſs for which they were called, and not meddle with what belonged not to them. He raſhly added, that, to pleaſe the parliament, he would not turn out the meaneſt ſcullion in his kitchen. At the ſame time he withdrew to Eltham, not ſtaying for a reply.

Richard raiſes a great army. Act. Pub. VII. p. 507.

He demands money of the parliament; Cotton's Abridg.

who addreſs the king againſt the favourites. Knighton, col. 2680.

The king's raſh anſwer. Knighton.

r Walſingham ſays, he was there by the firſt of Auguſt.

s The earl of Suffolk cauſed a great part of the militia of the kingdom to be ſent for up towards London, to repel the French if they ſhould land: theſe forces, conſiſting of men at arms and archers, were quartered within twenty miles round the city, where they did almoſt as much miſchief as an enemy, for having no money to pay for their quarters, they lived at diſcretion. Walſ.

t Four fifteenths of the commons, and as many tenths from the clergy. Knighton.

u John de Fordham, biſhop of Durham.

1386. Though the king could not doubt, but ſo offenſive an anſwer would extremely incenſe the commons, he ſent, a few days after, the chancellor himſelf to order them in an imperious manner, to grant the deſired ſubſidy. The order, hitherto unuſual in affairs of that nature, was received with ſo great a concern, that the two houſes uniting upon the occaſion, as having one and the ſame intereſt, ſent the king word that they would proceed to no buſineſs till he returned to his parliament, and his miniſters were puniſhed according to their deſerts. This reply provoking the king to the higheſt degree, he commanded the two houſes to ſend to him forty of their members, to give an account of their proceedings. But the parliament was ſo far from complying, that they would have come to an open rupture, if the moſt prudent had not prevailed with them, though with great difficulty, to ſend to the king the duke of Glouceſter his uncle, and the biſhop of Ely [v]. The two lords being come to Eltham, told the king in the name of both houſes, that as the ſovereign had power to aſſemble them, they had likewiſe a right to require his preſence in his parliament. They added, it was enacted by an old ſtatute, that in caſe the king abſented himſelf forty days from his parliament, without lawful cauſe, the members might return to their homes; which they were reſolved to do, if the king perſiſted to deprive them of the honour of his preſence. To this vigorous declaration Richard replied in a great paſſion, and with no leſs imprudence, that he plainly ſaw his ſubjects were reſolved to rebel againſt him, and therefore he had nothing more to do, than to deſire the aſſiſtance of the king of France, to reduce them to their duty. The lords made anſwer, the king of France was the moſt mortal enemy of the Engliſh nation, as appeared in his efforts to deſtroy them; therefore the king's deſperate reſolution could not but proceed from the pernicious advice of his evil counſellors, who ſought only to ſet him at variance with his faithful ſubjects. Upon theſe words they withdrew, ſaying, their orders were only to entreat him to return to his parliament, whoſe ſole view was his and the kingdom's welfare.

The king demands the ſubſidy in an imperious manner.

Diſputes between the king and parliament. Knighton, col. 2681.

The deputies being retired, Richard came to more moderate reſolutions. Probably, the miniſters and favourites were afraid of the conſequences which might attend a rupture with the parliament. In this diſpoſition, he repaired

The king conſents to the removing of his favourites.

[v] Thomas de Arundel. Knighton,

to

to the parliament, and with a good grace granted whatever they had required. The chancellor was not only removed from his office [x], but ſummoned to appear and give an account of his adminiſtration, wherein he was notoriouſly guilty of many miſdemeanors [y]. As for the marquis of Dublin, lately made duke of Ireland, he was ſent thither with a penſion of three thouſand marks [z], his whole eſtate being confiſcated by order of parliament. This done, the two houſes appointed fourteen [a] commiſſioners to take care of the publick affairs jointly with the king. The duke of Glouceſter and the earl of Arundel, were authoriſed to examine the publick accounts, and how the king's revenues had been diſpoſed of. A few days after, the chancellor being found guilty of miſmanagement, was compelled to reſtore all the grants he had received of the king [b]. Theſe grants were ſo exceſſive, that Richard himſelf, who had never computed them, could not help being ſurpriſed, and upbraiding his favourite for abuſing his good-will.

1386. Knighton, col. 2683. Walſing.

Fourteen commiſſioners appointed to govern with the king.

The chancellor forced to make reſtitution. Knighton. Walſing.

Towards the end of the ſeſſion came the agreeable news of the French army being ſeparated, and their fleet ſo damaged by a ſtorm that it could not be fit for ſervice again a good while. Of the great number of ſhips prepared by the French, the moſt part foundered at ſea, or were loſt on the Engliſh coaſts. Among the laſt were found ſome laden with plank for the fort abovementioned.

The French fleet loſt by a ſtorm. Walſing.

The parliament breaking up as ſoon as the fear of the invaſion was paſſed [c], the king quickly gave proofs of his levity, by recalling to court the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and the archbiſhop of York. He even affected to

Richard recalls his favourites, who ſtir him up to revenge.

[x] In which he was ſucceeded by Thomas de Arundel, biſhop of Ely, October 23. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 548. And John Gilbert, biſhop of Hereford, was made treaſurer, Knighton.

[y] See the articles of impeachment exhibited againſt him in Knighton, col. 2684, &c.

[z] Thirty thouſand, ſays Walſingham, p. 324.

[a] Knighton ſays, there were fourteen appointed, whereas Rapin ſays but thirteen. They were the archbiſhops of Canterbury and York; the biſhops of Ely, Hereford, Wincheſter, and Exeter; John de Waltham, keeper of the privy ſeal; Edmund de Langley, duke of York; Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter; the abbot of Waltham; the earl of Arundel; the lord John Cobham; the lord Richard le Scrope; and the lord John de Enroſe.

[b] And was confined to Windſor caſtle.

[c] Before their breaking up, they granted the king one half diſme, or tenth, and one half fifteenth, both on the clergy and laity; to be paid by the beginning of February next, and the like ſum to be paid at Michaelmaſs, if there ſhould be occaſion. They gave alſo, of every tun of wine, imported or exported, three ſhillings, and twelvepence of every pound of merchandize, except the ſtaple ware and wools. Cotton's Abridg. p. 317. Knighton.

careſs

1386. Knighton. Walſing. careſs them more than before their diſgrace, and to load them with freſh favours. The favourites reſumed their former poſt with hearts full of revenge, eſpecially againſt the two commiſſioners of the publick accounts, who by a ſtrict examination of their conduct, had occaſioned their condemnation. It was not difficult to perſuade the young king, they had ſuffered for his ſake, and that the deſigns of their enemies aimed not ſo much at the miniſters, as the king himſelf. They repreſented to him, "That accuſing the coun-"ſellors, is a clear evidence that the ſovereign is thought "incapable of governing, and that the readieſt way to diſ-"credit a prince, is to perſuade his ſubjects, he makes uſe of "ill miniſters." Theſe inſinuations frequently repeated, made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on the king's mind, that he reſolved to free himſelf from the ſubjection of the parliament. But the favourites intimated to him, it would be a very difficult thing to execute, ſo long as the duke of Glouceſter was at the head of the factious. By that they led him to conſent to all their plots for his uncle's deſtruction. When they were ſure of the king's approbation, they concerted the means to compaſs their ends. They found no better way than to poiſon [d] the duke, and ſome other of their principal enemies, at a feaſt to which they were invited by the city of London. But as they durſt not execute this plot, without ſecuring the mayor [e], he gave the duke of Glouceſter notice of it, who came not to the feaſt.

The ruin of the duke of Glouceſter determined. Walſing.

He eſcapes being poiſoned.

1387. The favourites ſtir up the king againſt their enemies. Had it been as eaſy for the favourites to deſtroy their private enemies, as it was to draw upon them the king's hatred, there would ſcarce have been left in the kingdom a lord capable of giving them umbrage. But in a government like that of England, particularly during a minority, it is not eaſy for the king and his miniſtry to do whatever they pleaſe. The favourites, therefore, in their continual fears of being themſelves prevented, were obliged to recur to ſecret ways to ruin their enemies. Mean while they continued to prejudice the king againſt his beſt ſubjects, till being of age he might act with a more abſolute ſway. The earls of Arundel [f] and Nottingham [g], admirals of England, putting to ſea in the beginning of the ſpring, took a fleet of

The earls of Arundel and Nottingham reſign their places.

[d] Or rather to aſſaſſinate him. Walſing.

[e] Richard de Exton. Ibid.

[f] Richard Fitzalan. Walſingham obſerves, this earl did not, as other admirals uſed to do, man the fleet with perſons not uſed to the ſea, to whom they gave but half wages, and ſo put the reſt of the money, allowed by the government, into their own pockets; but he choſe the ſtouteſt and beſt ſailors he could get.

[g] Thomas Mowbray.

French, Spaniſh, and Flemiſh merchantmen, and brought ſome of them to England [h], laden with wine. After that they ſailed to Bretagne and relieved Breſt, beſieged by the duke. This ſervice which deſerved ſome return from the king, only made them incur his indignation. When they came for their expedition, he would not vouchſafe even to ſpeak to them, ſo much was he prejudiced againſt them by his miniſters. It was intimated to him that the taking of theſe ſhips would not fail of bringing troubles upon him, which would very much embarraſs him. The two earls, highly offended at this uncivil reception, reſigned their commiſſion, which was given to the earl of Northumberland. 1387. Walſing. Knighton.

Thus did the favourites ſtir up their maſter againſt the principal lords, in hopes of reaping the fruit of their artifices, when the king ſhould be of age, of which he wanted but little. But an accident which happened ſoon after, made them haſten the execution of their projects. The duke of Ireland preſuming upon his influence over the king, had the inſolence to divorce his wife [i], daughter of the lord Coucy, and grand-daughter of Edward III. in order to marry Lancerona, maid of honour to the queen, a Bohemian of mean birth [k]. Though the divorce was extremely injurious to the royal family, Richard ſhewed not the leaſt concern. But it was not the ſame with the duke of Glouceſter, who highly reſented the affront, and declared he would revenge it the firſt opportunity. This threat made the duke of Ireland reſolve to prevent him. To that end, after concerting the means with the king, he feigned to go into Ireland, and took the road to Wales where the king was pleaſed to accompany him. But the pretended voyage was only to conſult more privately how to execute their project of aſſuming an arbitrary power, of which the duke of Glouceſter, the earls of Arundel, Warwick, Derby, Nottingham [l], were to feel the effects. The reſult of the conſultation was, that the king ſhould raiſe an army to terrify theſe lords, and then call a parliament, the election whereof ſhould be ſo managed, that the members ſhould be all

The duke of Ireland divorces his wife, couſin to the king. Walſing.

The duke of Glouceſter threatens him. Walſing.

Plot to make the king abſolute. Idem.

[h] Fifty ſix. There were about a hundred and ſixty taken in all. Knighton.

[i] Philippa, daughter of Ingelram de Coucy, earl of Soiſſons, and Iſabella, eldeſt daughter of king Edward III.

[k] She was a vintner's, or, according to others, a joiner's daughter. Walſing.

[l] Thomas of Woodſtock, Richard Fitzalan, Thomas Beauchamp, Henry of Bullingbroke, Thomas Mowbray.

at

387. at his devotion; and that he ſhould cauſe to be paſſed all the acts neceſſary to ſecure him an unlimited power.

Richard communicates his deſign to the ſheriffs, Walſing.

As ſoon as the plot was contrived, they went to Nottingham, where the king ſent for all the ſheriffs, ſome of the principal citizens of London, and all the judges. When they were met, he communicated to them his deſign of raiſing an army to chaſtiſe ſuch lords, as he named to them, among whom was the duke of Glouceſter, and demanded of the ſheriffs what number of troops each could furniſh him with. Then he told them, he intended to call a parliament, and ordered them to let no repreſentative be choſen, but what was in the liſt he ſhould give them himſelf [m]. The ſheriffs made anſwer, it was not in their power to execute his orders. That the people were ſo well inclined to the lords he had named, that there was no proſpect of levying an army againſt them: That it was ſtill more difficult to deprive the people of their right of freely electing their repreſentatives in parliament. But the judges [n] were not ſo ſcrupulous in what related to them. The king aſked them, whether he had not power to turn out the fourteen commiſſioners appointed by parliament, and annul ſuch as were to his prejudice? They replied, The king was above the laws [o]. Nevertheleſs, when they were required to ſubſcribe their opinion, ſome endeavoured to be excuſed, but were compelled to it by the menaces of the favourites. It is affirmed, one of the judges [p] ſaid aloud after ſigning, That never did action better deſerve hanging than that he had juſt done. The opinion of the judges being thus extorted, Richard thought he had ſurmounted all difficulties. He immediately iſſued out commiſſions to levy an army; but found ſo few willing to ſerve him, that he was forced to deſiſt from his project. Enraged at the diſ-

who refuſe to engage in the plot.

Knighton, col. 2693.

The judges deſide, that the king is above the laws. Knighton.

The king's plot comes to nothing.

m But ſuch as he and his council ſhould direct and nominate. Walſing.

n They were ſir Richard Treſilian, chief juſtice; ſir Robert Belknap, chief juſtice of the common pleas; ſir John Holt, ſir Roger Fulthorp, ſir William Burgh; together with John de Lockton, the king's ſerjeant at law. Knighton.

o There were ten queries put to them; which, together with the judges anſwers, ſee in Knighton, col. 2694, &c. and in ſir Robert Howard's life of Richard II. p. 99, &c. They returned their anſwers on Auguſt 25,

p Sir Robert Belknap, who ſaid upon ſigning, "Now want I nothing but "a ſhip, or a nimble horſe, or an halter, to bring me to that death I deſerve: if I had not done this, I "ſhould have been killed by your "hands, (for it ſeems, the duke of "Ireland, and earl of Suffolk, threatened to kill him, if he refuſed to "ſign) and now I have granted the "king's pleaſure and yours in doing "it, I have well deſerved to die for "treaſon againſt the nobles of the "land." Knighton.

appointment,

appointment, he returned to London, after a fruitleſs declaration of his deſigns, which rendered him more odious to the publick. 1387.

A plot of this nature, ſo openly contrived, and not executed, ſeldom fails of proving fatal to the authors. The duke of Glouceſter, and the other lords of his party, perceived their deſtruction was reſolved; and if the king and his favourites had not already ſacrificed them to their animoſity, it was not for want of will but of power. The only remedy left in their opinion, was, a recourſe to arms. But as prudent people uſe not that method till all others prove ineffectual, the duke of Glouceſter thought he ſhould try once more to remove the king's prejudices. For that purpoſe, he ſent the biſhop of London with reſpectful aſſurances of his allegiance, and an offer to clear himſelf by oath of the crimes falſely laid to his charge. Richard ſeemed at firſt inclinable to admit of the juſtification; but the earl of Suffolk ſoon made him alter his mind, by telling him, even before the biſhop, he would never be ſafe on the throne as long as the duke of Glouceſter was alive. The biſhop of London was ſo offended at theſe words, that he could not forbear ſaying to the favourite, that being condemned by the parliament, and holding his life purely by the king's grace, it became him leſs than any man, to accuſe loyal ſubjects. This boldneſs was ſo diſpleaſing to the king, that he commanded the prelate to depart from his preſence. Affairs being come to this point; and the proſcribed lords believing that a vigorous defence was the only way left to ſcreen them from the deſigns of the court, reſolved at length to take arms. As they were in great credit with the people, who conſidered them as their protectors, they had ſoon drawn together an army of forty thouſand men, with which they marched directly to London.

The duke of Glouceſter tries to appeaſe the king. Knighton. Walſing.

The earl of Suffolk hinders the reconciliation. Knighton. Walſing.

The lords take arms.

The diligence of the lords broke all the meaſures of the king and his miniſters. Richard was reſolved to go to France, and reſtore to king Charles, Calais and Cherbourg, in order to obtain a powerful aid, which might enable him to reduce his rebellious ſubjects, as he called them. But the ſudden approach of the lords not ſuffering him to execute his deſign, there was a neceſſity of having recourſe to other means, to free himſelf from the preſent difficulties. The beſt way, as he thought, was to amuſe the malecontents, whilſt the duke of Ireland raiſed an army in Wales, where he had many friends. Accordingly, he ſent word to the malecontent lords, that he was ready to grant them all their

The king's deſign is fruſtrated. Walſing. Knighton.

He tries to amuſe the lords.

1387. their reaſonable deſires, and ſhould be on the morrow in Weſtminſter hall, where they might come and preſent their petition. The lords gladly embraced the offer, and taking care not to be ſurpriſed [q], repaired to the place appointed. They found the king ſeated on a throne in his royal robes, expecting their coming. As they approached the throne, they fell on their knees, in a ſuppliant poſture, though in effect it was not ſo much to aſk pardon, as to obtain of him the puniſhment of his miniſters. The biſhop of Ely, who was chancellor [r], aſking the reaſon of their taking arms, they replied, it was ſolely with intention to procure the good of the king and kingdom. Adding, the king's perſon ſhould be always inviolable to them, and that their deſign was only to bring the traitors about him to condign puniſhment. Then they named in particular, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, the archbiſhop of York, judge Treſilian, and Brembar, an alderman of London, who was of the cabal. The king gravely anſwered, that in the next parliament juſtice ſhould be done to all. Then he upbraided them for their preſumption, intimating, it was in his power to cruſh them, but out of pure condeſcenſion he was pleaſed to give them a favourable hearing. After that he took the duke of Glouceſter by the hand, and bidding them all riſe, ſaid, their complaints ſhould be conſidered. As he intended only to amuſe them, he ordered a proclamation to be publiſhed, to juſtify their appearing in arms, in hopes they would be induced to diſmiſs their troops. But they were too well acquainted with the character of the king and his miniſters, to rely on their bare word. Apprehenſive of their being ſuddenly oppreſſed, when they ſhould be no longer feared, they reſolved to continue in arms till the parliament was aſſembled. They quickly ſaw how neceſſary this precaution was. The duke of Ireland having levied an army in Wales with great expedition [s], marched with all ſpeed to the king's aſſiſtance. Had he been able to ap-

Interview of the king and lords. Walſing. Knighton,

The king puts them off to the next parliament. Walſing.

Knighton, col. 2702.

The lords continue armed. Walſing.

The duke of Ireland marches to the king's relief.

[q] The biſhop of Ely, and divers other perſons of honour and credit, giving their oaths on the king's behalf, that no treachery or ill practices ſhould be uſed, but that they might come and go with ſafety. Which was no unneceſſary caution; for on the day they were to appear, they received notice of an ambuſcade being laid for them in Weſtminſter, by ſir Thomas Trivet, and ſir Nicholas Brembar. Walſing. Knighton.

[r] De la Pole was not chancellor again after he was recalled.

[s] That this was done by the king's commiſſion, is evident from hence, becauſe ſir Thomas Molineux, conſtable of Cheſter caſtle, was ordered to accompany and ſafe conduct the ſaid duke, with all the forces he could get, to his majeſty's preſence. Walſing. Knighton.

proach

proach London, it was not certain that the citizens would join the confederates. To prevent this danger, the earl of Derby [t], eldeſt ſon of the duke of Lancaſter, went with part of the army to meet the duke of Ireland, and finding him in Oxfordſhire [u], gave him battle, and gained an eaſy victory over a general who was nothing leſs than a warrior. In the beginning of the fight, the duke, who was afraid of falling into the hands of his enemies, took to flight, without troubling himſelf about what became of his army. All his baggage being taken, in a caſket was found a letter from the king, commanding him to march to London with all poſſible ſpeed, and promiſing him to live and die with him. The defeat breaking all the king's meaſures, the duke fled into Holland, and, after ſome ſtay at Utrecht, went and lived at Louvain, where he died three years after. The earl of Suffolk would have retired to Calais, but the governor [w] not daring, at ſuch a juncture, either to arreſt or protect him, choſe to ſend him back to the king. Mean while, Richard, uncertain how the victorious lords would deal with him, took refuge in the Tower. He had the more reaſon to fear, as a Frenchman was ſeized at that time, bringing him a ſafe-conduct to come to Boulogne, where king Charles expected him. It was farther diſcovered by a letter found upon the ſame perſon, that Charles expected to be put in poſſeſſion of Calais and Cherbourg, and had even advanced part of the ſum, he was to give for theſe places.

1387.

Is defeated. Walſing.

Letters found in his caſket.

He retires into Holland. Walſing. Knighton.

The king's deſigns are diſcovered. Knighton. Walſing.

The confederate lords being now fully ſatisfied of the pernicious deſigns of the king and his miniſters, marched their whole army into London, and then demanded a conference with the king. Richard would fain have been excuſed, but, as he ſaw no remedy, and was apprehenſive of ſtarving in the Tower, durſt not refuſe it. At the interview, they upbraided him with the Nottingham plot to deſtroy them: with his deſign to make himſelf abſolute, by means of an army, with his attempting to have a parliament at his devotion; with his orders to the duke of Ireland to march to London, whilſt he was amuſing them with vain promiſes: laſtly, with his treaty with the king of France, to deliver up Calais and

1388.

Conference of the lords with the king. Walſing. Knighton.

They reproach the king.

[t] Henry of Bullingbroke.

[u] At Babbelake, near Burford. Walſing.

[w] His own brother Edmund de la Pole, who was governor of the caſtle, refuſed to harbour him, without the conſent of the lord William Beauchamp, governor of the town, who ſent him back as a priſoner into England. The lord Beauchamp was ſent for over, and committed priſoner upon this account. Ibid.

Cherbourg.

1388. Cherbourg. Richard anſwered theſe reproaches with a ſhower of tears, which moved the lords. They imagined, the king's ill conduct proceeded only from his little experience, and the bad counſels of his favourites, and as they were removed, he would be reclaimed. This belief rendering them more tractable, it was agreed, the king ſhould on the morrow be at Weſtminſter, to ſettle with them the affairs of the government. Hardly were they out of the Tower, before he altered his mind, and ſent them word, he would not conſer with them. This fickleneſs ſo incenſed them, that they immediately let him know, in caſe he came not to Weſtminſter next day, according to his promiſe, they would go themſelves, and proceed to the election of a new king. So preciſe a declaration threw him into ſuch a fright, that he not only came to the place of conference, but conſented alſo to the baniſhment of his two principal favourites, with the archbiſhop of York [x], the biſhops of Durham and Chicheſter [y], and ſeveral other lords [z] and ladies [a], who had favoured the deſigns of the court. As for the judges, ſince it was deſigned to treat them with the utmoſt rigour, they were taken off the benches in Weſtminſter hall, and ſent to the Tower.

The king anſwers with tears.

Upon the king's refuſing to come to Weſtminſter as he had agreed, they threaten to chooſe a new king. He conſents to the baniſhment of his favourites. Walſing.

1389. The parliament being aſſembled in February [b], 1389, ſeveral perſons were accuſed of high treaſon, and ſentenced to divers puniſhments. Treſilian, Brembar [c], and ſome other knights and gentlemen were hanged at Tyburn. The reſt of the judges, with the biſhop of Chicheſter, received the ſame ſentence, but had their lives granted them, and were baniſhed to Ireland [d]. As for the two favourites, and the archbiſhop

The parliament meets. Knighton, col. 2713, &c. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 566, 590.

x Alexander Nevil. He was ſucceeded by Thomas Arundel biſhop of Ely. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 574.

y John Fordham, and Thomas Ruſhoke.

z The lords Zouche, Haringworth, Burnel, and Bemond; and alſo ſir Alberic de Vere, ſir Baldwin Bereford, ſir Richard Adderbury, ſir John Worth, ſir Thomas Clifford, ſir John Lovel, ſir Simon Burley, ſir Thomas Triver, ſir Nicolas Brembar, &c. Walſingh. Knighton.

a The lady Mowen, the lady de Molyng, and the lady Poynings. Knighton.

b On Feb. 3. 1388. They granted the king half a tenth and half a fifteenth. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 620. And a ſubſidy of wool, ſkins, and wool-fells, over and above the old cuſtom; viz. of every ſack of wool, forty ſix ſhillings and eight-pence; of every laſt of ſkins, four pounds, ſix ſhillings and eight-pence; of denizens, and of aliens, four pounds, thirteen ſhillings and four-pence. Cotton's Abridg. 332. There was another parliament at Cambridge after harveſt, in which the clergy granted a tenth, and the laity a fifteenth. Walſing. In this parliament John Holland, the king's half brother, was created earl of Huntingdon.

c Brembar was beheaded. Knighton.

d They had allowances made them out of the exchequer, for their maintenance,

archbiſhop of York, they were condemned to exile, and their eſtates confiſcated to the king's uſe [c]. 1389.

After the parliament had thus paid what was thought due to juſtice, two acts were paſſed, the firſt of which forbad the aſcribing to the king the late commotions, and the other granted a general pardon to both parties. Matters being thus ſettled, the king renewed his coronation oath, as if he begun a new reign, and all the lords did him homage, and repeated their oaths of allegiance [f]. This parliament, called the mercileſs, did not break up till June the 4th. A general pardon. Walſing. Knighton. Act. Pub. VII. p. 572.

During the troubles in England, the Scots, willing to take advantage of the juncture, were advanced as far as Newcaſtle, under the conduct of ſir William Douglas [g], and committed great ravages on the borders. As ſoon as theſe commotions were appeaſed, Henry Percy, ſurnamed Hotſpur, ſon of the earl of Northumberland, marched againſt the Scots, and giving them battle, ſlew Douglaſs with his own hand. But the earl of Dunbar coming upon him during the battle, with a body of freſh troops, ſo changed the ſcene, that the Engliſh army was at length defeated, and Hotſpur taken priſoner. The Engliſh defeated by the Scots. Froiſſart, l. 3. c. 123, 124. Buchanan. Walſing. Knighton.

About the ſame time, the earl of Arundel, whom the parliament had made high admiral, went to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Bretagne, attacked by the king of France. This aid obliging Charles to grant the duke peace, the Engliſh were ſent home. In his return, the earl of Arundel took from the French eighty freighted ſhips, and plundered the iſles of Ree and Oleron: after which he ſailed with his fleet to England. Shortly after, the two crowns agreed upon a three years truce, wherein the Scots were included. Exploits of the earl of Arundel. Walſing. Truce with France. Act. Pub. VII. p. 622.

Since the laſt parliament, England remained in tranquillity. The new miniſters being guided by different maxims from thoſe of the old, took care not to engage the king in proceedings that had like to have proved his deſtruction. But though the king's council was ſucceſsfully changed, it was not ſo eaſy to change his temper. Full of his own merit, he was extremely concerned to be under the direction of others, when he was of age to hold the reins of the govern- Richard takes upon him the government. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 618.

tenance, as follows: Fulthorp, forty pounds per annum; Burgh, forty marks; Belknap, forty pounds; *Holt*, forty marks; and Cary and Lokton, twenty pounds per annum a piece. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 591.

[c] See the articles exhibited againſt them in Knighton, col. 2715, &c.

[f] See the form of it in Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 572.

[g] Or rather of his father, Archibald Douglas, earl of Galway. See Buchan. l. 9.

1389. ment himſelf. Upon his entering into his one and twentieth year, he called his couucil, ordering all the members to be preſent. When they were met, he demanded of them how old he was, to which anſwer was made, he was full twenty years of age. Since it is ſo, added he, I will govern my kingdom myſelf; the condition of a king ought not to be worſe than that of his ſubjects, who are at liberty at that age to manage their own affairs. Having thus made known his intentions, he commanded the chancellor [h] to deliver him the great ſeal, which he gave to the biſhop of Wincheſter [i]. At the ſame time he turned out the biſhop of Hereford from being treaſurer, and removed from the council board the duke of Glouceſter his uncle, the earl of Warwick, and ſome others, whom he did not like, put ſuch in their room as he believed more pliant to his will. This proceeding was not in itſelf ſtrange, ſince it was in his power to make theſe alterations. However, it was remarked, he had never given leſs ſigns of the prudence, which thoſe who begin to be of age are ſuppoſed to have, than in the choice of his new miniſters, who were by no means qualified for their poſts. Accordingly it was not long before diſorder and confuſion were viſible in the publick affairs. The favourites firſt care was, to inſinuate to the king, that the duke of Glouceſter had ill deſigns upon his perſon. But the duke ſo fully vindicated his innocence, that the king was aſhamed of giving ear to ſo groundleſs a charge. He would not however ſuffer the duke to proſecute his accuſers, though they were confuted in his preſence.

Walſing.

Changes the miniſtry. Walſing.

The duke of Glouceſter being accuſed, clears himſelf.

1390. Whilſt Richard was apprehenſive of the attempts of that uncle, who was repreſented to him as a very dangerous enemy, he ſaw another arrive, who was no leſs formidable. This was the duke of Lancaſter, who was returned from the Spaniſh expedition. The progreſs he had made in that country, had at length obliged the king of Caſtile to make a treaty with him, promiſing to pay down ſix hundred thouſand livres, with a yearly penſion of forty thouſand [k], during the lives of him and his ducheſs. The treaty was followed by a marriage of the princeſs Catherine, the duke's daughter by Conſtantia, with Henry, eldeſt ſon of the king of Caſtile, on account of which the duke and ducheſs reſigned their pretenſions to that crown.

Return of the duke of Lancaſter. Walſing. Froiſſart.

h Thomas de Arundel, archbiſhop of York.

i William Wickham, founder of Winchester ſchool, and New College in Oxford. Walſing.

k Ten thouſand pounds. See Walſing.

Though

Though Richard was not pleaſed with the duke of Lancaſter's arrival, he received him however with ſuch careſſes, as gave room to hope for a happy union in the royal family for the future. This hope was confirmed by the reconciliation procured by the duke of Lancaſter [l], between the king and the duke of Glouceſter, a reconciliation ſeemingly ſo ſincere on the king's ſide, that all the world was deceived. Notwithſtanding theſe fair appearances, the duke of Lancaſter's preſence was very grievous to Richard. This may be judged by the price wherewith he was willing to purchaſe his abſence. He made him the richeſt preſent that a king of England could then make a ſubject, by inveſting him with the duchy of Guienne, with the ſame privileges as were granted to the late prince of Wales, the king's father. As he had never any affection for him, his making him ſo noble a preſent, could be only with a view to remove him from England [m].

1390. The king is reconciled to his uncles. Walſing.

He gives Guienne to the duke of Lancaſter. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 659, 727. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 8.

Shortly after the earl of Derby, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Lancaſter, went [n] and bore arms in Pruſſia, where he ſignalized himſelf by many gallant actions. Whilſt this prince was endeavouring to gain a reputation by his warlike exploits, Richard paſſed his time in ſham fights. He ſpent immenſe ſums in tournaments, which gave occaſion to compare him, very much to his diſadvantage, with his couſin the earl of Derby, who was in great eſteem [o].

The earl of Derby goes and ſerves in Pruſſia. Walſing. Knighton.

Whilſt the king was employed in theſe diverſions, the parliament revived a ſtatute, enacted in the reign of Edward III. and confirmed in this. By the act it was baniſhment to bring into the kingdom proviſions from the court of Rome, without the king's licenſe [p]. A nuntio, ſent to England upon that account,

1391. Statutes againſt the proviſions revived. Walſing. Knighton.

[l] In a council held at Reading, in December, where the duke poſted immediately after his return. Ibid.

[m] This was done in a parliament which met at Weſtminſter, the Monday after January 14, wherein king Richard was declared of full age. This parliament granted forty ſhillings on every ſack of wool; of which ten ſhillings were to go to the king's preſent occaſions, and the other thirty ſhillings to be reſerved in the hands of commiſſioners appointed by parliament, and not to be ſpent unleſs in caſe of war. In this parliament it was enacted, that the king ſhould not extend his pardon to any perſons convicted of murder. Cotton's Abridg. p. 332.——In this parliament alſo, Edward, eldeſt ſon of the duke of York, was created earl of Rutland, with a penſion of eight hundred marks, iſſuing out of the town of Okeham in that county. Cotton's Abridg. p. 332.

[n] With a thouſand knights. Knighton.

[o] This year was ſlain at a tournament John Haſtings, the laſt earl of Pembroke of that family: in which it is remarkable, that none of the ſons ever ſaw his own father, the father dying always before the ſon was born. Walſ.

[p] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays, it was

1391. account, made a great noiſe, and even threatened that the pope would proceed to extremities. But his threats were incapable of obliging the parliament to annul the act. All he could obtain was a reprieve for this new ſort of offenders, till the enſuing parliament [q].

Act. Pub. VII. p. 672, 698.

Exceſſive expences of the king. Walſing. Knighton.

Though a terrible plague, and a famine no leſs intolerable, then afflicted England, the king, who was exceſſively fond of pageantry and pomp, retrenched none of his diverſions or expences, which conſumed immenſe ſums. He is ſaid to entertain daily ſix thouſand perſons. He valued himſelf upon ſurpaſſing in magnificence all the ſovereigns of Europe, as if he had been poſſeſſed of an inexhauſtible fund of treaſure. In his kitchen alone, three hundred domeſticks were employed, and the queen had the like number of women in her ſervice. The courtiers ſo readily obtained whatever they aſked, that the king's favours were the leſs valued. In ſhort, he affected in every thing a profuſeneſs, which could not but be very chargeable to his ſubjects, and by a neceſſary conſequence draw on him their averſion.

1392. As his revenues were not ſufficient for ſo many expences, he had a mind to obtain ſome aſſiſtance from the Londoners. But, not to frighten them, he was contented firſt to ſee how they ſtood affected, by borrowing only a thouſand pounds, probably with deſign not to confine himſelf afterwards to ſuch a trifle. How inconſiderable ſoever the ſum was, he had the vexation to be refuſed in a very mortifying manner, even to the cutting in pieces by the populace an Italian merchant, who offered to lend the money himſelf. Richard highly reſented the affront, which he ſoon after found an opportunity to revenge. Under colour of puniſhing a tumult of little conſequence, raiſed by a baker's apprentice, he ſtripped the city of all her privileges [r], took away her charter, and removed the courts of juſtice to York. It is true, he afterwards reſtored the whole, but the Londoners were obliged to redeem their charter with a preſent of ten thouſand pounds, and two gold crowns. But though they paid dearly for refuſing to lend the king a thouſand pounds,

The Londoners refuſe to lend him 1000 l. Walſing.

He takes away their charter, Knighton. Caxton. which he reſtores for money. Act. Pub. VII. p. 713, 730, 735.

made high treaſon. They were put out of the king's protection, their lands and goods forfeited, and they were to be attainted and brought before the king and council. See Statute.

[q] This parliament met at Weſtminſter, November 12, and granted the king half a tenth, and half a fifteenth, which they offered to make whole ones, ſo as the ſame was only employed upon the defence of the realm; and upon condition that the ſtaple was removed from Calais to England, and ſo continued. Cotton's Abridg. p. 338. Walſ. 346.

[r] On May 25. In a council then held at Stanford. Walſ. Knighton.

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it was nothing in compariſon of the prejudice the king himſelf received by it. By that proceeding he entirely forfeited the affection of the citizens, who made him ſenſible afterwards, how dangerous it is for a king of England to have London for his enemy. 1392.

In the beginning of the year 1393, arrived at London deputies from the Engliſh ſettled in Ireland, imploring aſſiſtance againſt the natives [s]. For ſome time there had been frequent inſurrections in the iſland, which ſhowed, the Iriſh wanted to ſhake off the yoke of the Engliſh. Theſe diſorders ſhould have had a ſpeedier remedy, but Richard, too much addicted to his pleaſures, had neglected the affairs of Ireland, as if he had been wholly unconcerned. At laſt, the miſchief was ſo increaſed, that he could not, without hazarding the loſs of the iſland, any longer delay applying a ſuitable remedy. The duke of Glouceſter offered to go and ſuppreſs the rebels [t], but the king not thinking proper to truſt him with the command of an army, reſolved to go himſelf. In this reſolution he called a parliament, which granted him a large ſum, as well for the Iriſh war, as for the charges of an embaſſy of the dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter, who were to negotiate a final peace with France. But the affair came to nothing, by an accident which prevented the meeting of the plenipotentiaries between Ardres and Guiſnes, according to agreement. King Charles, who was from time to time ſeized with a diſtemper, which deprived him of his underſtanding, being come to Abbeville on purpoſe to let the Engliſh ſee he was in his ſenſes, fell into one of his uſual fits. This relapſe occaſioned the deferring of the negotiation to a more convenient ſeaſon. 1393. Rebellion in Ireland. Walſing. The king prepares to go to Ireland. Negotiation with France. Knighton. Walſing. Froiſſart. Act. Pub. VII. p. 714. Sickneſs of Charles VI.

The king's preparations for his voyage to Ireland, were interrupted in the beginning of the year 1394, by the funerals of his queen [u], and of the ducheſſes of Lancaſter [w], and 1394. Death of the queen.

[s] King Edward III. uſed to receive from that kingdom thirty thouſand pounds yearly; but after his deceaſe, the Engliſh ſettled there, flocked to England in ſuch numbers, that the reſt remained not only expoſed to the depredation of the natives, but it coſt the king thirty thouſand marks a year to preſerve that part of the iſland belonging to him. Whereupon he ordered all that belonged to Ireland, to repair thither on pain of death. Walſ.

[t] He had lately been created duke of Ireland. When his forces were juſt ready to embark, he was recalled to the great prejudice both of England and Ireland. For upon the report of his coming, almoſt all the petty kings of Ireland reſolved to ſubmit to the Engliſh. Ibid.

[u] She died on June 7, at Shene in Surry, and was buried at Weſtminſter, Auguſt 3. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 776.

[w] Conſtantia, daughter of Pedro the cruel king of Caſtile. She was buried at Leiceſter. Knighton.

1394. Walſing. Knighton. York [x], who died about the ſame time. It is ſaid the queen was a great favourer of Wickliff's doctrine, and, had ſhe lived any longer, would have ſaved the Lollards [y] (ſo Wickliff's followers were called) many of the calamities they afterwards endured. The departure of the duke of Lancaſter, their chief patron, who was gone to take poſſeſſion of the principality of Guienne, not a little contributed to haſten the deſigns of their enemies, who took advantage of theſe favourable junctures to perſecute them.

The king goes to Ireland, and makes ſome progreſs. Froiſſart. Walſing. Knighton. Act. Pub. VII. p. 782. How great ſoever Richard's grief was for the death of the queen, he ſet out however for Ireland, according to his project. He arrived there in September [z], and at firſt made ſome progreſs againſt the rebels. But as the ſeaſon would not permit him to proceed, he went to Dublin, where he held a parliament, whilſt the duke of York aſſembled another in England [a], which granted a ſubſidy for proſecuting the Iriſh war.

1395. Deſigns of the Lollards, which oblige the clergy to ſend to the king. Walſing. Richard was preparing to take the field again, when the archbiſhop of York, and biſhop of London, arrived from England, to entreat him in the name of the clergy, to haſten his return. They even intimated, that the leaſt delay might bring an irreparable damage to religion. The foundation of this great alarm was, that in the late parliament, the Lollards had made inſtances to ſet on foot a reformation of the church [b]. As they had many friends in the kingdom, and in the parliament itſelf, the clergy were afraid they would proceed to this reformation. For which reaſon, the two deputed prelates ſo magnified the danger religion was in, that Richard immediately departed for England, leaving to the earl of March the management of the war. Upon his arrival at London, he took certain meaſures with the clergy to ſuppreſs the Lollards, and com-

The king's return. Tries to ſuppreſs the Lollards. Walſing.

x Iſabella, ſiſter of Conſtantia. She was buried in the church of the friars preachers at King's Langley in Hertfordſhire. Walſing. p. 350.

y They were ſo called, either from Walter Lollard, a German, who flouriſhed about the year 1315, or elſe from the word Lolium, ſignifying darnel or tares; becauſe they were reputed as tares ſowed by the evil one in the field of God's church.

z Attended by the duke of Glouceſter, the earls of March, Nottingham, Rutland, &c. Walſing.

a This parliament was held at Weſtminſter, on Jan. 29, not by the duke of Glouceſter, as Rapin ſays by miſtake, but by Edmund duke of York, who had been left regent. The duke of Glouceſter, whom the king had carried along with him to Ireland, repaired to England to ſet forth the king's wants. See Walſing. p. 351. In this parliament the clergy granted the king a tenth, and the lords and commons a fifteenth. Cotton's Abridg. p. 358.

b They delivered a remonſtrance into the houſe by ſir Thomas Latimer, and ſir Richard Story, againſt the corruptions of the church, containing twelve articles, Walſing.

pelled

pelled ſir Richard Story publickly to abjure their doctrine, threatening to puniſh him with death if ever he relapſed to that ſect. 1395.

Shortly after, was brought into England, by the king's order, the corpſe of the duke of Ireland, who died at Louvain. This object reviving the king's affection, he cauſed the coffin to be opened, that he might once more have the pleaſure to ſee the man whom he had ſo tenderly loved. Then he ordered him a magnificent funeral, and was pleaſed to honour it with his preſence, as Edward II. had formerly done with regard to Gaveſton. But the nobility would not ſhow that reſpect to a favourite, of whom they had ſo much cauſe to complain. So, like Edward II. Richard was attended at the funeral pomp, with only ſome of the clergy [c]. The corpſe of the duke of Ireland is brought into England. Knighton. Walſing.

Whilſt the king was employed in his Iriſh expedition, the duke of Lancaſter, who was gone to Bourdeaux to cauſe his ſovereignty to be acknowledged, had met with unexpected obſtacles. The Gaſcons, pretending their country was inſeparably united to the crown of England, maintained, it was not in the king's power to alienate it. This pretenſion was ſtrengthened with a motive of intereſt, which confirmed them in their obſtinacy. They ſaid, if they were once ſeparated from England, they ran the riſk of being deprived of the only protection, capable of preventing their falling under the dominion of France. For that reaſon, they aſſerted the alienation in queſtion was equally prejudicial to themſelves and the crown of England. It was objected, that they had never made the ſame ſcruple with regard to the prince of Wales, the king's father. But they replied, there was a wide difference between that alienation and this. That the firſt being made in favour of the next heir to the crown, was to be only for a time, whereas this might eaſily happen to be for ever. After ſeveral conteſts on this ſubject, which laſted ſome time, the king reſolved at length to revoke the grant, to which the duke of Lancaſter, ſince he could not help it, readily ſubmitted. To comfort him in ſome meaſure for the loſs, the king gave him leave to marry Catherine Rowet, widow of ſir Thomas Swinford [d]. The duke had long kept her as his miſtreſs, and 1396. The Gaſcons refuſe to acknowledge the duke of Lancaſter. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 11. Walſing. Knighton. His third marriage. Walſing. His baſtards legitimated. Act. Pub. VII. p. 849.

[c] He was hurt by a wild boar, in hunting, whereof he died. Being brought to England in November, he was buried at Earl's Coln, in Eſſex. He was ſucceeded in his eſtate and honour of earl of Oxford, by Alberic de Vere, his uncle. Knighton. Dugdale's Baron. vol. I. p. 195.

[d] This woman was born in Haynault, and daughter of ſir Pain Rowet, or Ruet, a knight of that country: ſhe was, in her youth, brought up in the

1396. and had by her ſeveral children, who were legitimated by the king and parliament, by the name of Beaufort. Some time after, the king created the eldeſt, earl of Somerſet [e].

Richard marries the king of France's daughter. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 802, 811, 813, 820. A 28 years truce. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 13, 20, 26. Interview of the two kings. Walſing.

Before the duke of Lancaſter's arrival, the king had ſent ambaſſadors to France [f], to demand in marriage Iſabella, daughter of Charles VI. The court of France had at firſt rejected the propoſal, becauſe the princeſs was but ſeven years old, and beſides was promiſed to the duke of Bretagne. However, notwithſtanding theſe difficulties, the marriage was concluded, in a ſecond negotiation, and withal a twenty eight years truce, between the two crowns. Shortly after, both the kings met between Ardres and Calais, under tents pitched on purpoſe, where the two courts diſplayed all their magnificence, and where the treaty was ſigned and the nuptials ſolemnized [g]. Richard is ſaid to expend on this occaſion three hundred thouſand marks, a ſum far exceeding that of two hundred thouſand, which he received in deduction of what was promiſed him with his queen.

The duke of Glouceſter reproaches the king. Walſing.

The duke of Glouceſter, who liked neither the marriage nor the truce, could not forbear ſhowing his diſcontent. He frankly told the king, it would have been more adviſable to attempt, by a vigorous war, to recover what England had loſt in France, than to enter into an alliance with a crown, that had always gained more advantages by treaties with the Engliſh, than by the ſucceſs of its arms.

1397. The king's uſual expence, with the charges of his late marriage, having entirely drained his exchequer, and even obliged him to borrow large ſums, there was a neceſſity of recurring to extraordinary ways to fill his coffers. Though the parliament which met in the beginning of the year 1397 [h],

The king's exceſſive expences. Walſing.

the duke of Lancaſter's houſe, and waited on his firſt wife Blanch, but afterwards became the duke's concubine. Stow's Ann. p. 312. Froiſſart. Ruet was king at arms in the reign of Edw. III. and buried in St. Paul's. Dugdale.

[e] There were four, John, Thomas, Henry, and Joanna. They were ſurnamed Beaufort, from the caſtle of Beaufort, in France; that came by Blanch of Artois, the duke's firſt wife.

[f] The earl marſhal, the earl of Rutland, the archbiſhop of Dublin, the biſhop of St. David's, the lords John Beaumont, and William Scrope. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 802.

[g] They were married on Octob. 31, in St. Nicolas's church at Calais, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury. She was crowned January 7. Stow's Ann. p. 313.

[h] This parliament met at Weſtminſter on January 22, and therein the clergy granted the king half a tenth, and the lords and commons twelvepence in the pound of all merchandiſe imported, and three ſhillings in the pound for every tun of wine. Rot. Parl. 21 Ric. II. Cotton's Abridg. p. 360. In this parliament, the judges baniſhed to Ireland, obtained leave to return to England. Ibid. Walſ. p. 353.

granted

granted him a very conſiderable ſum, it was not ſufficient to enable him to pay his debts. Beſides, he took occaſion to increaſe the expence of his houſhold, from a report that the electoral princes had caſt their eyes upon him, to raiſe him to the imperial dignity, and thereby reduced himſelf to ſtill greater ſtreights. As he was aſhamed to demand a freſh ſupply from the parliament, he had recourſe again to loans, or rather to extorted grants, which he exacted from the rich. There was not a lord, biſhop, gentleman, or rich burgeſs, but what was obliged to lend him money, though it was well known he never deſigned to repay it. But though this method of raiſing money upon the people, had ever been conſidered by the Engliſh, as one of the greateſt breaches of their privileges, it occaſioned no commotion. Every one was intimidated, and though the injuſtice was highly reſented, it was taken patiently in hopes it would be the laſt. 1397.

He makes uſe of illegal ways to raiſe money. Walſing.

The reſtitution of Cherbourg [1] to the king of Navarre, and of Breſt to the duke of Bretagne, was not looked upon with the ſame tranquillity. Though theſe two places were not originally dependent on England, the Engliſh had been at ſo great an expence in aiding the princes, to whom they belonged, that they might have been juſtly kept till the whole was repaid. This occaſioned a general diſſatisfaction, and the more, becauſe it brought the king but an inconſiderable ſum, which was alſo laviſhed away in needleſs expences. It is true he pretended, his engagement to reſtore theſe places after a peace, or a long truce with France, made the reſtitution neceſſary, but it was alſo known that the king of Navarre, and the duke of Bretagne had firſt broke their words with him. Be that as it will, the duke of Glouceſter thought it ſo prejudicial to England, that he could not help upbraiding the king in very ſharp terms, to which Richard made ſuch a reply as plainly ſhowed how much he was offended at his remonſtrance. This accident revived the king's former hatred of the duke of Glouceſter, which being rather ſtifled than extinguiſhed, ſhewed itſelf from time to time, how careful ſoever he might be to conceal it. He complained to the dukes of Lancaſter and York, that the duke of Glouceſter took upon him to controll his actions, and amongſt his complaints, he dropped ſome expreſſions, which made

He gives up Breſt and Cherbourg. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 756, 759, 852. The publick murmurs at it.

The duke of Glouceſter reproaches him with it.

Richard ſuſpects his uncles. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 32.

[1] It ſeems that this town had been only mortgaged to the Engliſh, by the king of Navarre, for the ſum of twenty two thouſand marks. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 756, 757.

them

1397. them think he ſuſpected all three of having ill deſigns upon him. The two princes proteſted they had an unſhaken loyalty for him, and did not queſtion but the duke their brother had the ſame, though his haſty temper cauſed him ſometimes to ſpeak with too much warmth. The king appeared ſatisfied with their juſtification. However, his eaſineſs to be appeaſed, after ſhowing ſo great anger, bred in them ſuſpicions, which induced them to quit the court and retire to their eſtates. Their withdrawing was probably the occaſion of the duke of Glouceſter's ruin, as it gave his enemies an opportunity to inflame the king's diſpleaſure againſt him, and to determine him at length to be rid of ſo troubleſome an inſpector. But as nothing could be found in his conduct which might expoſe him to the rigour of the law, and beſides it would be dangerous to deſtroy him that way, Richard reſolved to uſe a ſpeedier and more certain method. To execute his deſign, he came one morning to his uncle's country houſe, and finding him in bed, deſired him to riſe immediately, and go with him to London. He pretended he wanted him in a very important affair, which he would impart to him on the road. The duke preſently mounting his horſe, rode by the king, who talked to him about the pretended affair, without ſhowing he had any other deſign. Whilſt they were diſcourſing together, they came to a hollow way, where the duke was ſuddenly ſurrounded with ſome horſemen, and carried on board a ſhip, which lay ready in the Thames to convey him to Calais [k]. When the king came to London, he

The dukes of York and Lancaſter quit the court. Ibid.

The king gets rid of the duke of Glouceſter, Froiſſart.

k The account given of this tranſaction, by Froiſſart, is as follows: "The king, under pretence of a hunting match, came to a ſeat of his near Rumford in Eſſex, called Havering Bower; from whence he ſet out one ſummer's afternoon, and came about five a clock (only with a few attendants, having left the reſt at Waltham) to the duke's caſtle at Pleſhey, in the ſame county, as if it were to give him a viſit. He was received by the duke and his ducheſs with all due honour and reſpect; and ſupper was got ready for his majeſty. But before he ſat down, he deſired the duke to order five or ſix of his horſes to be ſaddled, to accompany him that night to London; for that he himſelf, with his two uncles of Lancaſter and York, was to hold a council the next day, in which he wanted alſo his advice, what anſwer to give the Londoners, to a petition they were to preſent him. Upon this the duke, who ſuſpected no harm, taking along with him only three eſquires, and four ſervants, accompanied the king towards London; who took the way of Bondelay (or Epping Foreſt) to avoid the great road, and Behode, (perhaps Brentwood) and other towns; ſtill talking familiarly with the duke, as they went along. When they came near Stratford, between ten and eleven of the clock, the king putting ſpurs to his horſe, rode away before; and at the ſame time Thomas Mowbray, earl marſhal, who

he ſent for the earls of Warwick and Arundel, and after familiarly talking with them ſome time [l], ordered them to be apprehended and ſent to the Tower. He ſerved the lord Cobham in the ſame manner with ſome others [m], whom he deſigned to get rid of. Mean time the intelligence he received of the people's beginning to ſtir, obliged him to iſſue out a proclamation, declaring theſe lords were taken into cuſtody for new miſdemeanours, and promiſing they ſhould be proceeded againſt according to law. 1397. and apprehends the earls of Warwick, and Arundel. Walſing. A proclamation about it. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 6.

The proclamation having ſomewhat appeaſed the people, the king ſummoned all the peers of the realm to Nottingham. This was done with deſign to ſound them, rather than aſk their advice concerning the manner of proceeding againſt the priſoners, ſince he was already determined. However he made uſe of that pretence to convene them. After the affair was debated in council, the lords [n], fearing to incur either the king's indignation, or the hatred of the publick, if they came to any reſolution, declared it to be of ſuch a nature that it could only be decided by the authority of the parliament. This was preciſely what the king wanted. He had already taken all neceſſary meaſures to have a parliament at his devotion. Some time ſince, he had changed all the ſheriffs of the kingdom, and ſuffered none, but what had promiſed to be ſubſervient to his deſigns. He had taken the ſame precautions, with reſpect to all officers that had credit and power in the burroughs and counties. So by means of the magiſtrates, and perſons in publick poſts, he had cauſed ſuch repreſentatives to be choſen as he had ſecured beforehand. If any were elected not agreeable to him, the ſheriffs were ordered not to return them, but to cauſe others to be choſen in their room. Beſides, as the houſe of commons were the ſole judges in the affair of elections, he was well aſſured that ſuch a parliament would confirm or reject whom he pleaſed. The peers are ſummoned. Walſing. The king gets a parliament at his devotion.

" who lay in ambuſh with a great " number of horſemen, ſeized upon the " duke, who in vain cried out to the " king for help." Froiſſart. The caſtle of Pleſhey, where king Richard came to the duke, was the ſeat of the high conſtables of England, even before the conqueſt. Thomas Woodſtock became poſſeſſed of it, by his marrying Eleanor, eldeſt daughter, and one of the coheireſſes of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford and Eſſex. Of this famous and ancient caſtle, nothing now remains but the mount.

[l] He gave them many fair words and gracious promiſes; and had invited the earl of Warwick to a feaſt the ſame day he had him arreſted. Walſing.

[m] And alſo ſir John Cheney, &c. The lord Cobham was ſent priſoner to Jerſey. Idem.

[n] Theſe lords were, the earls of Rutland, Kent, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Somerſetſhire, Saliſbury; Thomas, lord Deſpenſer, and William le Scrope. Walſing.

It

1397. It muſt not be thought very difficult for a king of England to execute ſuch a project. Experience has ſince confirmed on numberleſs occaſions that by the like ways, it is very poſſible, to cauſe repreſentatives to be choſen devoted to the court. However, hiſtorians remark, that it was in this parliament, that ſuch practices were firſt uſed. But it muſt likewiſe be added, that it was one of the principal cauſes of Richard's deſtruction, as will be ſeen hereafter. And indeed it is impoſſible that a nation can ſee their liberties in the hands of men, whom they have not themſelves freely choſen, without deſiring to be delivered from ſuch an oppreſſion.

The biſhop of Exeter's ſpeech upon the abſolute power of the king. Walſing. Cotton's Abridg. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 34.

The parliament being thus compoſed [o], the biſhop of Exeter [p] opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, labouring to prove that the regal power was unlimited, and that ſuch as endeavoured to bound it, deſerved the ſevereſt puniſhments. Purſuant to this principle, which met with a general approbation, the parliament repealed the act of grace, paſſed nine years before in favour of the duke of Glouceſter, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, and all their adherents. All the acts were likewiſe annulled paſſed in the parliament, which appointed the fourteen governors to the king, as being extorted during his minority.

Unjuſt and violent proceedings of the parliament. Cotton's Abridg. Archbiſhop Arundel baniſhed. Walſing.

If the parliament of 1386, deſerved to be called the mercileſs, I know no name odious enough for this. By a manifeſt prevarication, this aſſembly made no ſcruple to ſacrifice to the paſſions of the king and his miniſters, the moſt diſtinguiſhed lords of the kingdom, as well as the liberties and privileges of the people. Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, was impeached of high treaſon, for being one of the commiſſioners appointed by the parliament of 1386, to whom was committed the inſpection of the adminiſtration of the publick affairs. For this new ſort of offence, the archbiſhop was condemned to baniſhment, and his eſtate confiſcated to the king's uſe. Then the

Earls of Warwick and Arundel ſentenced to die.

earls of Arundel [q] and Warwick [r] were accuſed of the ſame crimes, for which nine years before the king had granted a pardon, and ſentenced to die by this truly mercileſs parliament. Froiſſart ſays, the king would be preſent at Arundel's execution. Another hiſtorian adds, that the ſpectacle remained ſo deeply imprinted in his memory, that his ſleep

o This parliament met at Weſtminſter, on September 17. Cotton's Abridg. p. 367.

p Edmund Stafford, who was conſecrated in 1395. He was lord chancellor.

q Richard Fitzalan.

r Thomas Beauchamp.

was

was often interrupted by dreams, repreſenting to him the earl covered with blood, and upbraiding him with his injuſtice. To this contributed, perhaps, the rumour that ſeveral miracles were wrought at the tomb of the deceaſed [s], and that his head was miraculouſly rejoined to his body. Though to prevent the ill conſequences of this falſe notion, the king had ordered the corpſe to be taken up and expoſed to publick view ten days together in a church, it was not poſſible to cure the people of their prepoſſeſſion. 1397. The latter executed, and paſſes for a martyr. Walſing.

As for the earl of Warwick, who confeſſed himſelf guilty, without taking advantage of the pardon, he was treated with leſs rigour, his puniſhment being changed into perpetual baniſhment in the iſle of man. As to the duke of Glouceſter, in all appearance, the king was apprehenſive it would be very dangerous to put him to death publickly, or that the parliament would not be ſo compliant as to ſacrifice ſo conſiderable a perſon. Be this as it will, he had taken care as was afterwards known, to have him privately ſtrangled [t] at Calais. Mean time, his enemies gave out that he died of an apoplexy, and that before he expired, confeſſed himſelf guilty of treaſon againſt the king. Upon this report, without farther examination, the duke's whole eſtate was confiſcated to the king's uſe. Warwick is baniſhed. Walſing. Glouceſter ſtrangled at Calais. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 36. Walſing. Act. Pub. VII. p. 29.

It was almoſt impoſſible that theſe ſeverities ſhould not produce ſome alteration among the nobility. But, to prevent accidents, Richard took care to gratify the principal lords, and particularly the princes of the blood. He created Henry, earl of Derby, his couſin, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Lancaſter, duke of Hereford; Edward Plantagenet, earl of Rutland, eldeſt ſon of the duke of York, was made duke of Albemarle; Thomas de Holland, earl of Kent, received the title of duke of Surrey; John de Holland, earl of Huntingdon, the king's half brother, was created duke of Exeter; Thomas Mowbray, earl of Nottingham, duke of Norfolk; The king gratifies ſeveral lords. Cotton's Abridg. Walſing.

[s] He was buried in the church af the Auguſtin friars in London. Walſing.

[t] He was not ſtrangled, but ſmothered between two feather beds, in September; as appears by the confeſſion of John Hall, a ſervant of Thomas Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, captain of Calais; which Hall was concerned in that murder, and executed for it, in the year 1400. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 400. His body was brought over to England, ſoon after his death, as appears by king Richard's order for that purpoſe, dated October 4. (Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 20, 21.) and buried in Weſtminſter abbey. According to ſome, it was at firſt buried in his caſtle of Hadlee in Eſſex, thence removed into the church of the college founded by him at Pleſhey for canons regular, and afterwards into Weſtminſter abbey, where his tomb is ſtill to be ſeen.

and

1397. and ſir William le Scrope, earl of Wiltſhire [u]: laſtly, out of complaiſance to the duke of Lancaſter, the king made John Beaufort, his eldeſt ſon by his third marriage, who was already earl of Somerſet, marquis of Somerſet [w]. To theſe honourable titles he added other favours, by diſtributing among theſe lords the forfeited eſtates of the duke of Glouceſter, and of the Earls of Arundel and Warwick [x].

The parliament adjourned to Shrewſbury. Walſing.

In thoſe days the parliament ſeldom ſat above one ſeſſion, unleſs the buſineſs required a ſhort prorogation. But this was too well diſpoſed for the king to be willing to run the hazard of having one leſs devoted to him. So not thinking fit to diſſolve it, he was pleaſed to adjourn it to Shrewſbury; this town in the neighbourhood of Wales, where he had many friends, ſeeming more proper for his deſigns than London, where he knew he was not beloved.

1398. The new ſeſſion was only a continuation of the extraordinary proceedings already begun at Weſtminſter. The parliament ſtrove to carry the prerogative royal to a greater height than any king of England had ever pretended to ſtretch it, and eſtabliſhed ſuch maxims as were deſtructive of the conſtitution, and the liberties of the people. They approved, as conformable to law, the opinions for which nine years before, the judges were condemned. Purſuant to this principle, the judges who attended during the ſitting of the parliament decided, that when the king propoſed any articles to be debated in parliament, it was high treaſon to bring in others before the king's were firſt diſpatched. By this and the like deciſions, the caſes of high treaſon were ſo multiplied, that hardly was it poſſible to prevent falling into that crime, unleſs by making the king's will and pleaſure the ſole rule of action [y]. At laſt, under colour of diſpatching buſineſs, the parliament appointed a certain number of com-

The extraordinary proceedings of the parliament of Shrewſbury. Cotton's Abridg.

Walſing.

u Rapin ſays by miſtake, of Glouceſter. It was Thomas le Deſpenſer, who was created earl of Glouceſter. Dugdale. Walſing. Thomas Percy was alſo created earl of Worceſter; and ſir Ralph Nevill, earl of Weſtmoreland.

w He was firſt made marquis of Dorſet; but this title was afterwards changed into marquis of Somerſet, by a new charter of the creation, bearing the ſame date with the former. Nevertheleſs, though his firſt title was cancelled, he was always called marquis of Dorſet. Dugdale.

x After this, on September 30, the biſhops and lords took an oath to obſerve all the ſtatutes, &c. made in this parliament; the form of which oath ſee in Tyrrel, p. 977.

y It was alſo made treaſon: 1. For any perſon whatſoever to compaſs or imagine the king's death; 2. To contrive his depoſition; 3. To ride armed, or make war againſt the king in his realm; 4. Or to diſclaim the homage. And the heirs of all perſons convicted of any of theſe four articles, were for ever to be deprived of the land and poſſeſſions of their anceſtors. Comp. Hiſt. p. 278.

miſſioners,

miſſioners [z], who were inveſted with the authority of the whole houſe. Thus by an unprecedented act, the whole power of the nation was devolved to the king, twelve peers, and ſix commoners. To give the more ſtrength to theſe irregular proceedings, the king cauſed them to be confirmed by the pope's bull, which was publiſhed in all the counties of the kingdom. 1398. Idem.

During the ſecond ſeſſion, Richard brought into Shrewſbury a numerous guard of the militia of Cheſhire, who expreſſed ſo ſtrong an inclination to ſerve him, that to gratify the county, he erected it into a principality [a]. Cheſhire made a principality.

Let us ſtay here a moment, and reflect on the conſtitution of the Engliſh government. It is certain, the inſtitution of parliaments is very advantageous to the kingdom, being the only ſupport of the liberties of the people, who, without that, would long ſince have fallen into a fatal ſlavery. But on the other hand, it cannot be denied that theſe aſſemblies become ſometimes very dangerous, when influenced by popular factions, or the cabals of an ambitious prince. Accordingly, it has often happened, that inſtead of procuring the good of the realm, they have produced confuſion and the ſubverſion of the laws, one while by too much depreſſing the prerogative royal, another while, by carrying it higher than is conſiſtent with the welfare of the nation. At ſuch times, the evil is ſo much the harder to be cured, as what is done by the parliament is deemed to flow from the unanimous conſent of the whole nation. For this reaſon, it rarely happens that this diſorder can be remedied, but by means as violent as thoſe made uſe of to produce it, from whence generally ſpring civil wars. This is one of the principal cauſes of the domeſtick troubles, which have all along afflicted England more than any other European ſtate. Remarks on the Engliſh conſtitution.

It may be further obſerved, that the violent method practiſed by Richard to attain to arbitrary power, I mean forced elections, and the opinions of the judges, was exactly copied in our days by one of his ſucceſſors, who had, without doubt, the ſame intention. But we may add, that the attempts of theſe two monarchs ſerved only to promote their

[z] The dukes of Lancaſter, York, Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter; the marquis of Dorſet; the earls of March, Saliſbury, Northumberland, Glouceſter, Wincheſter, and Wiltſhire, or any ſix of them; together with John Huſſey, Henry Green, John Ruſſel, Henry Chelmſwick, Robert Tey, and John Golofre, knights, for the commons of the kingdom, or any three of them. Cotton's Abridg. p. 374.

[a] And added to the reſt of his own titles that of prince of Cheſter.

1398. own deſtruction, and that their deſigns came to the ſame cataſtrophe. This is what we are going to ſee, with regard to Richard II. in the remaining part of his reign.

Richard lives in a deceitful ſecurity.

Every thing ſeemed to contribute to the ſupport of the king, in the enjoyment of the deſpotick power he had lately aſſumed. They who would have been moſt capable of oppoſing his deſigns, had ſuffered a tragical death, or were baniſhed the realm; and they who ſtill remained were gained by places, grants, or other ſorts of favours. The great officers of the crown, the governors of the towns and counties, were all devoted to the king. Among the magiſtrates of the towns and country, not one was ſuffered but what was ready to promote, to the utmoſt, the increaſe of the regal power. Notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, Richard was much miſtaken, in imagining this new-acquired power was ſafe, ſince the people were not for him, but, on the contrary, hated him for his violent actions. It is even likely, that among thoſe whom he accounted his friends, there were many, who out of weakneſs or prudence did but conceal their real ſentiments, till an opportunity offered to free the kingdom from the yoke it began to groan under. And an opportunity preſented itſelf ſooner than the king imagined; for ſuffering himſelf to be ſwayed by his paſſion, he had not the prudence to keep within ſome bounds, an error which princes of his character ſeldom fail of committing. As they are always ſurrounded with flatterers, they fancy all the reſt of the people are in the ſame ſentiments, and generally it is too late before they perceive, that the ſmall numbers they have gained, is a weak defence againſt the fury of an enraged nation. For a while, five or ſix hundred perſons, who compoſe the parliament, and ſome hundreds of magiſtrates in the towns and counties, ſeem to make the body of the nation, and the reſt are reckoned as nothing. But a time comes when every ſingle perſon muſt be taken into the account, and then the number of thoſe that are in office, is infinitely ſmall in compariſon of the reſt of the nation.

Quarrel between the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk. Walſing. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 38, 39.

Richard, incapable of making theſe reflections, ſuffered himſelf to be blindly guided by his paſſion, which made him conſider, as a great advantage, all occaſions of exerciſing the arbitrary power he thought to have ſo firmly eſtabliſhed. Towards the end of the year 1398, he gave a ſignal proof of the little regard he intended to have for his ſubjects, on occaſion of a quarrel between two of the principal lords of his court. The duke of Hereford, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Lancaſter, awed by the examples of the duke of Glouceſter

his uncle, and the other lords, whom the king had sacrificed to his revenge, bounding his desires, made it the height of his ambition to keep in his favour, and carefully endeavoured to avoid giving any cause of suspicion. It was, probably, from this consideration, that fearing the duke of Norfolk had laid a snare for him, in speaking to him very disrespectfully of the king [b], he informed Richard of it. The duke of Norfolk denying he had ever spoke against the king, and the duke of Hereford maintaining his accusation, it was ordered that the affair should be decided according to the law of chivalry, that is, by single combat [c]. Coventry was appointed for the duel, at which the king would be present in person. But just as the two dukes were entering the lists, the king, on pretense of avoiding the effusion of blood, but in reality to be rid of these two lords at once, commanded them to proceed no farther. Then, though there could be but one guilty, he banished them both; the duke of Norfolk for life, and the duke of Hereford for ten years. The former died shortly after at Venice, and the other retired into France [d]. This act of authority was no less contrary to the priviliges of the nobility, than what the king had hitherto done with regard to the whole nation in general; for by the laws of the land, these lords could only be tried by their peers. But at that time the privileges of the people were little regarded.

1398.

Act. Pub. VII. p. 32, 35. which is to be decided by duel.

The king prevents the duel, and banishes them both. Froissart. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 47, 48, &c. 51.

Not long after the duke of Hereford's departure, his father, the duke of Lancaster, died [e] little lamented by the people, and still less by the king, who could not help fearing him. By the death of that prince, his honours and estates, which were very considerable, fell to the duke of Hereford his son, to whom, before his departure, the king had re-

Duke of Lancaster's death. Injustice done his son. Walsing.

[b] The words were, that the king, notwithstanding his fair countenances, and great oaths, did yet intend to oppress the duke of Lancaster, and the the two dukes of Albemarle and Exeter, viz. Edward Plantagenet, and John de Holland. Cotton's Abridg. p. 372. This accusation against the duke of Norfolk, was brought in by the duke of Hereford, on Jan. 30, while the parliament was sitting.

Froissart, Polydore Virgil, and others, who say that the duke of Norfolk accused the duke of Hereford, of having spoken ill of the king, were mistaken. See the acts of parliament 21 Ric. II. Rapin. Collier is likewise guilty of this error, p. 603. vol. I.

[d] Where he was nobly received by the king of France, and found such favour in that court, that he was offered in marriage, the only daughter of the duke of Berri, the said king's uncle. But king Richard having notice thereof, used means to stop the prosecution of that treaty. Froissart.

[e] John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, died about Feb. 2. and was buried in St. Paul's cathedral, where his monument was to be seen till the great fire.

1398. mitted four years of his baniſhment. Moreover, he had granted him letters patent, empowering him, though in exile, to take poſſeſſion by his attorney of the fees, that ſhould happen to fall to him in his abſence, with a ſuſpenſion of homage till his return [f]. Nevertheleſs, immediately after the death of the duke his father, the king, by a ſentence no leſs unjuſt than the former, decreed, that his baniſhment ſhould be perpetual, and confiſcated all his eſtate.

Walſing.

Ill ſtate of the kingdom.

By ſuch acts of deſpotick power, the laws and liberties of England were in a deplorable ſtate. The dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter, and the earl of Arundel being dead, Warwick ſent away, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk in exile, there was ſcarce a man in the kingdom able to oppoſe the arbitrary power uſurped by the king. The duke of York alone, the king's uncle, might have defended the nation's intereſts. But as he loved his eaſe, he was no proper perſon to engage in ſuch an undertaking. Richard ſeeing himſelf therefore above all reſtraint, gave himſelf up to a ſoft and effeminate life, regardleſs of the good of the publick. Mean time, his miniſters, little qualified for their poſts, ſuffered the affairs to decay, and ſaw without any concern the Engliſh nation fall into the utmoſt contempt. The Scots frequently broke the truce [g], by incurſions upon the borders, being very ſure, the court of England was far from thinking of revenging their inſults. The Engliſh poſſeſſions in France were almoſt reduced to nothing, and the places which might one day ſerve to repair their loſſes, were ſold without any neceſſity. The merchant ſhips were daily plundered by the corſairs of France and the Low-Countries, without any means uſed to protect the trade. Amidſt theſe diſorders, the miniſters, of whom the earl of Wiltſhire was the chief, ſought only to augment the king's revenues, by loans, new taxes, and ſtill leſs legal ways. Pretences were no longer ſought to demand ſubſidies, the miniſters whole buſineſs was only to find ſpeedy and effectual means to extort money from the people, to whom the demanding it was thought to be too great an honour. At length, having practiſed divers expedients, as unjuſt as extraordinary, to ſupply the king's prodigious expences [h], and ſatisfy

Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 47.

Walſing.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 35, 54, &c. 72.

Act. Pub. VII. p. 9, &c.

Oppreſſions exerciſed by the king and miniſtry.

[f] Or for a moderate fine. Walſing.

[g] This year, on October 26, commiſſioners from both nations met at *Haudenſtank*, on the borders of the two kingdoms, to take care of the releaſe and exchange of priſoners, taken ſince the truce of Leulingham, in 1389; and to regulate all affairs relating to the borders. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 54, &c.

[h] Among other expedients, they borrowed very large ſums of the abbeys, towns,

ſatisfy his miniſters avarice, a method was uſed which could not fail of procuring large ſums. As the late parliament had reverſed the pardon granted in 1386, to the duke of Glouceſter's adherents, accuſations were brought againſt ſuch as had then taken up arms in favour of that prince. By the judgments given upon theſe accuſations, ſeventeen counties were condemned as guilty of treaſon, and the eſtates of all the inhabitants adjudged to the king. In this extremity, the richer ſort of gentlemen and burgeſſes were forced, in order to avoid the ſeizure of their eſtates, to give blank obligations, which the king cauſed to be filled with what ſums he was pleaſed to exact. Moreover, by what was inſerted in theſe notes, which were termed Ragmans [i], every perſon was bound, under great penalties, to ſupport the ſtatutes of the Shrewſbury parliament, and all the ſubſequent acts; that is to ſay, they entirely threw themſelves upon the king's mercy [k]. It was impoſſible that a government ſo tyrannical, ſhould not draw the hatred of the nation upon the prince and his inſtruments. It was alſo very viſible, that theſe oppreſſions kindled in the hearts of the people, an ardent deſire of freeing themſelves from them, inſomuch that the leaſt ſpark was capable of producing a fatal combuſtion.

1398.

The eſtates of ſeventeen counties confiſcated to the king. Walſing. Chron. de Lambeth.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 109.

Whilſt England was expoſed to all theſe calamities, the Iriſh, contemning the ſmall number of troops left by Richard in their country, took up arms with one conſent. Roger Mortimer earl of March, governor of Ireland, oppoſing the rebels, was ſlain in the firſt battle. This prince, who was declared by an act of parliament preſumptive heir of the crown, left two ſons, Edmund and Roger, the eldeſt of whom ſucceeded him in his honour of earl of March, and died without iſſue, as well as Roger his brother. But the marriage of Anne their ſiſter with the duke of York's ſecond ſon, proved a fertile ſource of troubles, which long afflicted the kingdom.

Rebellion in Ireland. The earl of March ſlain. Walſing.

towns, and men of eſtates in the kingdom, giving them ſecurities for their being repaid again; which was never done. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 9.

[i] They were afterwards burnt by order of Henry IV. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 109.

[k] Among other grievances, the ſheriffs of all the counties throughout the kingdom, were forced to take an unuſual oath, viz. that they ſhould obey all the king's commands, whether under the broad ſeal, privy ſeal, or ſignet; and if they knew any perſon in their reſpective bailiwicks, that had ſpoke any thing to the ſcandal or diſgrace of the king, they ſhould impriſon them, of what degree or condition ſoever they were. Walſing. Ypodig. p. 553.

1398. Richard receiving the news of the Iriſh revolt, reſolved to go in perſon and chaſtiſe the rebels, being in a terrible rage, that ſuch a pitiful and wretched people ſhould dare to contemn his power, at a time when he found no oppoſition in England. Purſuant to this reſolution, he levied a numerous army, which furniſhed him with a freſh occaſion to exact great ſums from his ſubjects [l]; whereby he conſiderably increaſed the hatred already conceived againſt him.

The king prepares to go to Ireland. Walſing. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 78. He extorts great ſums.

When he was ready to embark, ſome ſuſpicions inſtilled into him of the earl of Northumberland, governor of the northern counties, moved him to ſend that earl a poſitive order to come and join him without delay. But the earl excuſing himſelf, on account that his preſence was abſolutely neceſſary in thoſe parts, the king, without further examination, pronounced him a traitor [m], and ordered all his eſtate to be ſeized. Then leaving the regency of the kingdom to the duke of York his uncle, he ſet ſail, and arrived, May the 31ſt, at Waterford, from whence he marched to Dublin. He was attended by the ſons of the duke of Lancaſter by his third wife, and by thoſe of the late duke of Glouceſter, whom he carried like hoſtages, and had taken with him the beſt part of his jewels, as if he had foreſeen he ſhould never more return to his palace. He made at firſt ſome progreſs againſt the rebels, and in ſeveral encounters gave marks of valour, which cauſed a belief, that if hitherto he had ſhewn no great inclination for war, it was not to be aſcribed ſo much to a want of courage, as to a bad education.

1399.

The earl of Northumberland declared a traitor. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 47.

The king leaves the duke of York regent. Walſing.

But whilſt his vanity was flattered with the advantages he gained over the Iriſh, a conſpiracy was forming in England to deprive him of the crown. Under an arbitrary government, ſuch as Richard's, there muſt be great numbers of malecontents. Some perſons indeed find their account in the abſolute power of the prince, but they are far from being the majority. So, though a king of this character is commonly ſurrounded with a crowd of flatterers, who endeavour to perſuade him, that the people bear his yoke patiently; if he has any knowledge of the world, he ought to conſider, there is no preſerving the power acquired by force, but by the ſame way it was uſurped. And if he is ſo impolitick, as to confide in ſubjects he has violently oppreſſed,

Conſpiracy in England.

[l] T. Walſingham ſays, that he extorted money from his ſubjects; made them furniſh him with horſes, carriages, and victuals, for his expedition, without paying any thing, which rendered him more odious than ever, p. 356.

[m] And cauſed him to be baniſhed. Froiſſart.

in

in vain does he expect from them a fidelity which ſerves only to increaſe their miſery. This is what Richard did not fail to experience. By an imprudent ſecurity, he had left his kingdom, and carried all his forces into Ireland, at a time when the people's hatred of him was at the higheſt; wherein he committed a capital error, which his enemies failed not to improve. He was ſcarce gone from Ireland, with almoſt all the lords his creatures, but the malecontents in England began to think of means to dethrone him. To that end, after ſeveral conferences together, they ſent word to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, ſince his baniſhment, was retired into France, "That all England was ready to riſe, "and nothing was wanting but a leader of diſtinction to "head the malecontents: that upon mature deliberation, "they thought none ſo proper as the duke of Hereford, for "whom the people had a great eſteem and affection, and "who moreover had a very plauſible pretence to take up "arms, to demand ſatisfaction for the injuries he had ſuf-"fered: that if the duke would repair into England, they "engaged to aſſiſt him to the utmoſt of their power; and "in the preſent diſpoſition of the nation, there was no "doubt, but they would join thoſe that ſhould undertake to "free them from the oppreſſion they endured." The archbiſhop, who was himſelf extremely incenſed againſt the king, communicating the letter to the duke, that prince reſolved to lay hold of the juncture, to try what fortune would do in his favour. However, as he was ſenſible he could not carry on this enterpriſe by himſelf, he took care ſo to manage it, that he might eaſily deſiſt, in caſe things were not diſpoſed as he was made to expect. He privately repaired into Bretagne, where he fitted out three ſhips, and embarked in company with the archbiſhop of Canterbury [n], and about fourſcore men, among whom there was but ſixteen or eighteen lances [o]. With this ſmall force he ſet ſail, and hovered ſome time about the coaſt of England, now in one place, then in another, without landing any where. His deſign was to ſee what effect his approach would have among the people, and to engage the Engliſh openly to declare for him, in a belief that he was attended with greater force. The trial ſucceeded beyond expectation. When it was known that he was on the coaſt, the people riſe in ſe-

1399.

The conſpirators call in the duke of Hereford. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 41, &c.

He repairs to Bretagne, and embarks. Walſing. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 49.

n And Thomas Fitzalan, ſon and heir of the late earl of Arundel, the lord Cobham, ſir Thomas Erpington, and ſir Thomas Ramſtone, &c. Walſing.

o Only fifteen lances, ſays Walſing.

1399. veral parts, not conſidering whether the aid which appeared was ſufficient to protect them, and this readineſs determined the duke to puſh his enterpriſe farther. In the beginning of July, he landed at Ravenſpur, in Yorkſhire, where the earl of Northumberland and Henry Percy his ſon[p] immediately joined him with ſome troops. After this junction, the concourſe of people, flocking in crowds to liſt under his banners, was ſo great, that in a few days his army was three-ſcore thouſand ſtrong. So eager were the nobles and people to put themſelves under the protection of a prince, who ſtood himſelf in ſo great need of their aſſiſtance.

He lands at Ravenſpur, where he aſſembles 60000 men. Walſing.

The regent in vain tries to prevent a general revolt. Walſing.

As ſoon as the duke of York, regent of the kingdom, heard of the duke's landing, he called a council[q] to conſider of the neceſſary meaſures to be taken on the occaſion. But the hourly news of the increaſe of the duke's forces, and the diſpoſition of the kingdom, quickly made the counſellors, among whom there were few perſons of abilities, deſpair of being able to remedy the evil. In this perplexity, they committed a capital fault, in reſolving to quit London and retire to St. Albans. This imprudent ſtep was extremely prejudicial to the king's affairs. The lords of the council were no ſooner departed from London, but the citizens, no longer reſtrained by the preſence of thoſe who repreſented the king's perſon, declared for the duke, and by their example, drew in ſuch towns, as would not yet have ventured to proceed ſo far.

The council retire to St. Albans.

London declares for the duke.

The duke publiſhes a manifeſto. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 84.

Mean time the duke, who, at his arrival in England, had taken the title of duke of Lancaſter, publiſhed a manifeſto, ſetting forth, without ſhewing he had any deſign upon the crown, that he had taken up arms purely to obtain ſatisfaction for all the injuſtices done him. The manifeſto produced ſo great an effect, that when the regent would have iſſued out commiſſions to levy troops, he hardly found any willing to accept them. Every one ſaid publickly, he did not care to oppoſe the lawful pretenſions of a prince ſo unjuſtly oppreſſed. This refuſal convincing the earl of Wiltſhire, and the reſt of the miniſtry, that inſtead of being able to ſupport their authority, they ran the hazard of ſeeing themſelves ſacrificed to the publick hatred, they deſerted the duke of York, and retired to Briſtol caſtle. After the flight of the

The regent cannot levy troops.

The miniſters retire to Briſtol, and the regent to his own houſe. Walſing.

[p] With Ralph Nevil, earl of Weſtmoreland. And alſo the lords Willoughby, Roſs, Darcy, and Beaumont. Tyrrel, p. 996.

[q] Conſiſting of Edmund Stafford, biſhop of Chicheſter, the chancellor; William Scrope, earl of Wiltſhire, the treaſurer; and ſir John Buſhy, ſir William Bagot, ſir Henry Grene, and ſir John Ruſſel. Walſing.

counſellors,

counſellors, the regent perceiving there was no ſtemming the torrent, threw up the care of the publick affairs, and withdrew to his own houſe, leaving the kingdom like a ſhip expoſed to the winds and waves without pilot or mariners. All the other lords, who had as yet remained neuter, in order to join the ſtrongeſt party, finding the king's intereſt abandoned, no longer deferred openly declaring for the duke. 1399.

Mean while, the duke marched with all ſpeed to London, where the citizens had invited him. He was triumphantly received in that noble city, with all the demonſtrations of zeal and affection, which could be given by a people extremely incenſed againſt their ſovereign, and conſidering themſelves as delivered from tyranny. But how pleaſing ſoever the honours he received from the Londoners might be, he ſtaid no longer than was neceſſary to ſecure their fidelity, after which he marched directly towards *Briſtol*. Upon his arrival, the gates being opened to him with joy, he commanded the caſtle to be aſſaulted, where the counſellors were retired. The ſiege was puſhed ſo vigorouſly, that in four days the beſieged were forced to ſurrender at diſcretion. The people's fury againſt the earl of Wiltſhire and his companions was ſo violent, that the duke thought he could not refuſe them the ſatisfaction to ſee theſe odious miniſters ſacrificed to their vengeance. So without conſidering the power he aſſumed was ſtill more illegal than the king's uſurpations, he ordered the earl of Wiltſhire to be beheaded, with ſome others of the council [r], to ſatisfy the people who loudly called for their death. The happy ſucceſs of the expedition made the whole kingdom embrace the duke's party, and ſhortly after he had the ſatisfaction to ſee his uncle the duke of York come and aſſiſt him with his counſels.

The duke marches to London, and is well received. Froiſſart. c. 50.

He takes *Briſtol* caſtle and beheads ſome of the miniſters. Walſing. Froiſſart. Ibid.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting in England, Richard was in Ireland in a perfect ſecurity. The contrary winds which continued to blow above three weeks, hindered his receiving any news. When he heard of the duke of Lancaſter's deſcent, he impriſoned his brothers, with the duke of Glouceſter's ſons, and reſolved to go immediately into England, and fight his enemy. But the duke of Albemarle adviſed him to ſtay a few days, to have time to prepare ſhips to tranſport all his forces at once. He took the fatal advice, which completed his ruin, ſince every moment is precious at

The wind hinders the king from hearing from England. Walſing.

He defers his going to England.

[r] Sir John Buſhy, and ſir Henry Grene. Sir William Bagot eſcaped into Ireland. Ibid.

1392. such a juncture. And indeed, it was during that time that London declared for the duke, which perhaps would not have been, had the king been known to be in England, with a resolution vigorously to oppose the designs of his enemies. Richard being determined to stay some days longer in Ireland, sent the earl of Salisbury before, to levy troops in Wales, assuring him he would quickly follow him. The earl used such expedition that in a few days he assembled an army of forty thousand men, the Welsh and Cheshire men zealously taking up arms for the king. If Richard had arrived with his forces by the time he had promised, he might at least have had the satisfaction, of trying the fortune of a battle in the defence of his crown. But the wind returning to the East, detained him eighteen days longer in Ireland, and would not permit him to make so short a passage. During that time a rumour being spread in the earl of Salisbury's army, that the king was dead in Ireland, the troops would have disbanded themselves. It was with great difficulty the earl prevailed with them to stay a few days, in order to have certain news of the king. The delay being expired, and Richard not appearing, the Welsh and Cheshire men deserted their colours, and retired to their homes.

Sends the earl of Salisbury to levy troops.

The king is detained by contrary winds.

The earl of Salisbury's army go to their homes.

The king arrives, and knows not what course to take. Walsing. Froissart, l. 4. c. 52.

Richard landed a few days after [s], and as he knew nothing of the earl of Salisbury's army being dispersed, marched to Caermarthen in hopes to meet him. But when he heard that he had lost that resource, and all the nobility had declared against him, that his ministers were beheaded at Bristol, and the people ardently espoused the duke of Lancaster's quarrel, he knew not what course to take, all that were proposed appearing equally dangerous. The officers and soldiers would have had him put himself at their head, and give his enemy battle. They promised to spill the last drop of their blood in his defence, and inspired him with hopes that his army would daily increase in his march, by the junction of those, who through force, or the belief of his death, had deserted him. Some advised him to return, and fortify himself in Ireland. Others were of opinion, that he should fly for refuge into France, to the king his father-in-law, till a more favourable season afforded him an opportunity to return to his dominions. Amidst these uncertainties, the unfortunate king, incapable of choosing the best advice, and having none about him but such as wanted courage or capacity,

[s] At Milford Haven; with the dukes of Albemarle, Exeter, and Surrey; the bishops of London, Exeter, and Carlisle. Walsing.

could

could not come to any reſolution. However as he diſtruſted every body, he could not long remain in a ſituation which ſeemed to him ſo very dangerous. On a ſudden, without adviſing with any perſon, he privately withdrew from his army in the night, and ſhut himſelf up in Conway caſtle, which was deemed impregnable, but at that time unprovided of all things. He had no ſooner diſappeared, but the lord Thomas Percy, earl of Worceſter, maſter of the houſhold, broke his white ſtaff [t] before the king's domeſticks, and went to meet the duke of Lancaſter, who was advancing towards Cheſter at the head of his army. 1399.

He goes to Conway caſtle. Walſing.

Richard finding himſelf almoſt alone in the caſtle he had choſen for his ſanctuary, without any proſpect of being able to defend himſelf, was afraid, if he attempted to eſcape, of falling into the hands of an enraged people, who gave him but too many proofs of their hatred. In this extremity, he ſaw no other remedy but to throw himſelf upon the generoſity of his enemy. He ſent him word by one of his attendants, that he was ready to ſubmit to what terms he himſelf ſhould judge reaſonable, and deſired him to ſend ſome perſon to confer with him. The duke immediately diſpatched the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the earl of Northumberland, both ſworn enemies of the king [u], to know his intentions. In the ſhort conference with theſe deputies, Richard offered, if his life were ſecured, with an honourable penſion for himſelf and eight perſons [w] he ſhould name, to reſign his crown, and be content to lead the reſidue of his days like a private perſon. The deputies giving him hopes his offer would be accepted, he deſired to confer with the duke himſelf. To that purpoſe he went to Flint, not above ten miles from Cheſter, where the duke was now arrived. Next day the duke being come to Flint, went to the king, who ſaid to him with a chearful countenance: "couſin of Lancaſter, "you are welcome." Then the duke thrice bowing to the ground, replied, "my lord the king, I am come ſooner than "you appointed me, becauſe the common fame of your "people is, that you have for this one and twenty years go"verned very ill, and rigorouſly, with which they are not "at all ſatisfied; but if it pleaſe God, I will help you to

The king propoſes an accommodation.

He offers to reſign his crown. Walſing.

Intervie the king duke. Idem.

Chron. Lambeth.

[t] The officers of the king's houſhold carry a white ſtaff as a badge of their office, and when they break it, their authority ceaſes, and thoſe that are under them are diſcharged from their ſervice. Rapin.

[u] Walſingham ſays, they were the perſons the king deſired himſelf to confer with.

[w] He only deſired, that the lives of eight perſons he was to name ſhould be ſpared, without a penſion for them.

"govern

1399. "govern them better for the future." To which the king only returned, fair couſin, ſince it pleaſes you, it pleaſes us too [x]. Some add, that Richard entreated the duke, in very ſubmiſſive terms, not to touch his life, in conſideration of his having ſpared his brothers, whom he had only confined in Ireland, and that the duke gave him a poſitive promiſe he would not. There are hiſtorians who ſay, that Richard was betrayed by the earl of Northumberland, who perſuading him to demand the conference, laid an ambuſh for him in the way, and carried him priſoner to the duke. Be that as it will, the two princes went the ſame day [y] and lodged at Cheſter, from whence they ſet out together for London.

They go together to London.

Upon their approach, the Londoners came out in crowds, to receive, the one with a thouſand curſes, and the other with exceſſive applauſes and commendations. Then the king was conducted to the Tower, and confined there, whilſt the duke took meaſures with his friends to complete his work. The ſuddenneſs of this reſolution, and the duke of Lancaſter's diligence in traverſing ſo many counties are very ſurpriſing. If it is conſidered that in ſeven and forty days, he marched from Ravenſpur, where he landed, to London, Briſtol, Cheſter, and from thence back to London, it will hardly be conceiveable, that an army of ſixty thouſand men could poſſibly go over ſo much ground in ſo ſhort a ſpace [z].

Richard is confined in the Tower.

The moment the duke had got the king in his power, he took care to cauſe him to ſummon a parliament at London, that no time might be loſt. In the conferences he had with his friends, before the meeting of the parliament, the queſtion was not ſo much concerning what was to be done, ſince the placing him on the throne was reſolved, as how to proceed. Some were for his taking poſſeſſion upon Richard's bare promiſe of reſigning the crown. Others thought, the promiſe appeared too conſtrained to be the foundation of any right, and the more, as there was a nearer heir than the duke. This was Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, ſon of that Roger, who was declared Richard's preſumptive ſucceſſor. The truth is, he was deſcended from Lionel, duke of Clarence, third ſon of Edward III. whereas the duke of Lan-

Conſultations between the duke and his friends. Walſing.

[x] Theſe were all the words they had together, without adding any thing to, or taking from them, for I (ſays the author of the chronicle of Lambeth) ſtood by and heard them.

[y] Which was Auguſt 20. Walſingham, p. 538.

[z] He had moreover the good fortune to have the king's jewels and treaſure, which amounted to ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, with all his horſes and baggage, fall into his hands.

caſter

caſter was ſon of John, younger brother of Lionel. Though 1399.
Edmund's right was only derived from a woman, that would have been no objection, provided the uſual practice had been obſerved, ſince there was no ſuch thing in England as the Salique law. Thus by Richard's reſignation, the duke of Lancaſter had no right to claim the crown. For this reaſon they added, that ſince there was a neceſſity of ſetting aſide the law, the authority of parliament was abſolutely requiſite. Hence they concluded that Richard muſt be formally depoſed, and the duke elected by the ſame authority. This opinion had likewiſe difficulties, as it aſcribed to the parliament a power to diſpoſe of the crown (contrary to the laws and cuſtoms) to the prejudice of the lawful heir, to whom nothing could be objected to weaken his title. At laſt, after many debates upon ſo nice a point, it was the duke of York's opinion to unite the three ways propoſed, in order to give the more ſtrength to what they had reſolved. In the firſt place, Richard ſhould be obliged to make an abſolute reſignation. Secondly, the parliament ſhould proceed to depoſe him before the crown was diſpoſed of. Laſtly, theſe two ſteps being taken, and the throne declared vacant, the ſame parliament, in conſideration of the duke of Lancaſter's great ſervice to the ſtate, ſhould adjudge him the crown by their ſupreme authority, which, in extraordinary caſes, was ſuperior to the laws. This opinion was unanimouſly approved. Thus in puniſhing a king for ſetting himſelf above the laws, a power was given the parliament no leſs contrary to them. So difficult it is on ſuch occaſions to keep within the bounds of juſtice and equity. This expedient, which was then thought proper to reſtore the peace of the kingdom, proved the real ſource of the calamities which afterwards afflicted the nation, when theſe violent proceedings ſeemed to be entirely forgot. The deſcendants of the duke of York, who propoſed this opinion, found it their intereſt to deſtroy the foundation on which it was built, and maintain that the parliament had exceeded their power, in transferring the crown to the houſe of Lancaſter.

The duke of York's propoſal is followed.

Purſuant to the reſolutions the duke of Lancaſter had taken with his friends, he repaired to the Tower, the day before the opening of the parliament [a], attended by a great number of lords. There, in the preſence of all, Richard delivered up the crown and ſcepter, with the other enſigns of royalty, and by an inſtrument ſigned with his own hand, confeſſed

Richard reſigns his crown abſolutely. Walſing.

[a] September 29.

himſelf

1399. himſelf unworthy and unfit to govern any longer [b]. Next day the parliament being met, the inſtrument of reſignation was produced, and approved by unanimous conſent. But as the reſignation alone, according to the meaſures agreed upon, did not appear ſufficient, the two houſes ordered articles of accuſation againſt Richard to be drawn up, to ſerve for reaſons of his depoſition, to which they intended to proceed. The articles were as follow [c]:

Articles of accuſation againſt Richard. Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV. n. 10.

" I. It is objected to king Richard, that for his evil go-
" vernment, by giving the goods and poſſeſſions of the crown
" to unworthy perſons, and indiſcretely diſſipating of them;
" and for this cauſe impoſing grievous and intolerable bur-
" dens upon the people, and otherwiſe committing other
" innumerable evils: having by his aſſent and command

b " In the name of God, amen. " I Richard, by the grace of God, " king of England and France, and " lord of Ireland, do abſolve the arch- " biſhops, biſhops, and other prelates " whatſoever, of churches ſecular or " regular, of what dignity, degree, " ſtate, or condition they are; dukes, " marquiſſes, earls, barons, vaſſals, " valvaſſores, and my liege men what- " ſoever, eccleſiaſtick or ſecular, by " whatever name they are called, from " the oath of fealty and homage, and " all others to me made, and from all " bond of liegance, regality, and govern- " ment, or command, by which they " have been, or may be bound to me; " and them, their heirs, and ſucceſ- " ſors for ever, from the ſame obliga- " tions, oaths, and other things what- " ſoever, I free, releaſe, and quit, " and make them free, abſolved, and " quit, as to my perſon, according to " the whole effect of the law, which " may follow from the premiſſes, or " any of them; and I do purely, free " of my own accord, ſimply and ab- " ſolutely, in the beſt manner, way, " and form, that I can by this writ- " ing, renounce, wholly reſign, and " by word and deed, put from me, " and recede for ever from all roy- " al dignity and majeſty, the crown " and lordſhip, and the power of the " ſaid kingdoms and lordſhip, and o- " ther my dominions and poſſeſſions, " which may any way belong to me, " and to all right, colour of right, and " title, poſſeſſion and dominion, that " I ever had, have, or may have, in " the ſame or any of them; alſo the " government and adminiſtration of " the ſaid kingdoms and lordſhip, and " all mere and mixt empire in the " ſame; and to all honour and royal- " ty therein, ſaving to my ſucceſſors " kings of England, in the kingdoms, " dominions, and premiſſes, for ever " their competent rights. And I do " confeſs, acknowledge, repute, and " truly of certain knowledge, judge " myſelf to be inſufficient for the go- " vernment of the ſaid kingdoms and " dominions, and for my notorious de- " merits not unworthily depoſed. And " I ſwear by theſe holy goſpels of God, " by me corporally touched, that I " never will contravene this reſigna- " tion, renunciation, dimiſſion, and " ceſſion, or will any way oppoſe them " in word or deed, by myſelf or others, " nor will ſuffer them to be oppoſed or " contravened, as much as in me is, " publickly or privately, but the ſame " renunciation, reſignation, dimiſſion, " and ceſſion, will for ever hold firm, " and will firmly hold and obſerve " them, in the whole and every part, " as God and his goſpels help me."

c Inſtead of the imperfect abſtract given of theſe articles by mr. Rapin, it has been thought proper to inſert them all at length, tranſlated from the authentick copy of the roll of parliament, printed at the end of Decem Scriptores.

" by

" by the whole parliament, choſen and aſſigned certain pre- 1399.
" lates, and other lords temporal, who with all their power
" ſhould faithfully labour, at their own coſts, about the juſt X. Scriptor. col. 2743, &c.
" government of the kingdom, made a conventicle of his
" complices, propoſing to impeach of high treaſon the
" lords ſpiritual and temporal, ſo employed about the
" government of the kingdom, and violently drew the juſ-
" tices of the kingdom to confirm his wicked purpoſe, for
" fear of death and torment of body, endeavouring to deſtroy
" the ſaid lords.

" II. The ſame king lately at Shrewſbury, cauſed to come
" before him, and others that favoured him, in a chamber,
" many perſons, and the greater part of the juſtices, where,
" by threats, and divers terrors, he induced, cauſed, and
" forced them ſingly to anſwer to certain queſtions on his be-
" half, touching the laws of his kingdom, againſt their will,
" and otherwiſe than they would have anſwered, had they
" not been forced; by colour of which anſwers, the ſame
" king propounded to have proceeded to the deſtruction of
" Thomas, duke of Glouceſter, the earls of Arundel and
" Warwick, and other lords, with whom he was very an-
" gry, eſpecially becauſe they deſired him to be under good
" government; but by divine providence, and the reſiſtance
" and power of the ſaid lords, the king could not bring his
" deſign to effect.

" III. When the lords temporal, in defence of them-
" ſelves, reſiſted his malice and craft, the ſaid king prefixed
" a day for the parliament to do them and others juſtice,
" who upon faith and confidence therein, remained quietly
" in their own houſes; the king privately, with his letters
" or commiſſion, ſent the duke of Ireland into Cheſhire, to
" raiſe arms againſt the ſaid lords, great men, and officers
" of the commonwealth; publickly erecting his banners
" againſt the peace he had ſworn to, from whence mur-
" ders, captivities, diſſenſions, and other infinite evils fol-
" lowed in the whole kingdom, for which cauſe he incurred
" perjury.

" IV. That although the ſaid king had pardoned the
" duke of Glouceſter, the earls of Arundel and Warwick,
" and all their aſſiſtants in full parliament, and for many
" years had ſhewn chearful ſigns of peace and love towards
" them; yet the ſame king always bearing gall in his heart,
" taking opportunity, cauſed to be ſeized the duke of Glou-
" ceſter, and the ſaid earls of Arundel and Warwick; and
" ſent the duke to Calais, to be impriſoned under the keep-

" ing

1399. ing of the earl of Nottingham, one of his appellants; and "without anſwer, or lawful proceſs, cauſed him to be "ſtrangled, and inhumanly and cruelly murdered. The "earl of Arundel pleading his charter of pardon, and de-"manding juſtice in parliament, was encompaſſed with great "numbers of armed men, and had his head damnably [illegible]k "off; and committed the earl of Warwick and lord Cob-"ham to perpetual priſon; confiſcating their lands, againſt "juſtice, the laws of the land, and his expreſs oath, giving "them to their appellants.

"V. At the time when in his parliament he cauſed the "duke of Glouceſter, and earls of Arundel and Warwick, "to be adjudged; that he might more freely exerciſe his "cruelty upon them, and in others fulfil his injurious will, "he drew to him a great multitude of malefactors out of the "county of Cheſter, who, marching up and down the king-"dom with the king, as well within his own houſe, as "without, cruelly killed his lieges, beat and wounded "others, plundering the goods of the people, refuſing to pay "for their victuals, violating and raviſhing mens wives, "and other women. And although complaints were made "to the king of theſe exceſſes, yet he took no care to apply "remedy, or do juſtice in them; but favoured thoſe people "in their wickedneſs, confiding in them and their aſſiſtance "againſt all others of his kingdom; wherefore his good ſub-"jects had great matter of commotion and indignation.

"VI. Though the ſaid king cauſed proclamation to be "made through the kingdom, that he cauſed his uncle the "duke of Glouceſter, and the earls of Arundel and War-"wick, to be arreſted not for any rebellious congregations, "or marching with horſe within the kingdom; but for "many extortions, oppreſſions, and other things done "againſt his regality and royal majeſty; and that it was not "his intention, that any of their company at the time of "the congregation and marching with horſe aforeſaid, "ſhould for that reaſon be queſtioned or diſturbed: yet the "ſame king afterwards, in his parliament, impeached the "ſaid lords, not for extortions, oppreſſions, or other things "aforeſaid; but for rebellious tumults, and congregations "and marching with horſe, adjudged them to death, and "cauſed many of their company for fear of death, to make "fine and ranſom as traitors, to the great deſtruction of "many of his people; and ſo he craftily, deceitfully, and "malicioufly deceived the lords, their followers, and peo-"ple of the nation.

"VII.

" VII. After many of theſe perſons had paid their fines 1399.
" and ranſoms, and had obtained his letters patents of full
" pardon; yet they received no benefit by them, until they
" made new fines for their lives, by which they were much
" impoveriſhed: and this was much in derogation to the
" name and ſtate of a king.

" VIII. In the laſt parliament holden at Shrewſbury, the
" ſame king propounding to oppreſs his people, ſubtilly pro-
" cured and cauſed to be granted, that the power of par-
" liament, by conſent of all the ſtates of the kingdom, ſhould
" remain in ſome certain perſons, who, after the parlia-
" ment ſhould be diſſolved, might anſwer the petitions
" depending in parliament, then undetermined, under pre-
" tence whereof they proceeded to other general matters
" touching that parliament, according to the king's will,
" in derogation to the ſtate of parliament, great diſadvantage
" to the kingdom, and a pernicious example. And that
" theſe actions might ſeem to have ſome colour and autho-
" rity, the king cauſed the rolls of parliament to be
" changed and blotted, contrary to the effect of the grant
" aforeſaid.

" IX. Notwithſtanding the ſaid king at his coronation
" ſwore, that he would do in all his judgments, equal and
" right juſtice and diſcretion, in mercy and truth, according
" to his power; yet the ſaid king, without all mercy, rigo-
" rouſly, amongſt other things, ordained, under great pu-
" niſhments, that no man ſhould intercede with him, for
" any favour towards Henry, duke of Lancaſter, then in
" baniſhment; in ſo doing, he acted againſt the bond of
" charity, and raſhly violated his oath.

" X. That though the crown of England, the rights of
" the crown, and kingdom itſelf, have been in all times ſo
" free, as the pope, or any other foreign power, had no-
" thing to do in them; yet the ſaid king, for the confirming
" of his erroneous ſtatutes, ſupplicated the pope to confirm
" the ſtatutes made in his laſt parliament; whereupon he
" obtained his apoſtolick letters, or bull, wherein were
" contained grievous cenſures againſt all ſuch as ſhould
" preſume to contravene them. All which things are
" known to be againſt the crown and royal dignity, and
" againſt the ſtatutes and liberty of the kingdom.

" XI. Though Henry, now duke of Lancaſter, by the
" king's command, exhibited his bill of accuſation againſt
" the duke of Norfolk, concerning the ſtate and honour
" of the king, and duly proſecuted it, ſo as he was ready

1399. " to make it good by duel, and the king had ordered it; " yet the ſame king put it by, and without any lawful cauſe " baniſhed the duke of Lancaſter for ten years, againſt all " juſtice, the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom, and the " military law, damnably incurring perjury.

" XII. After the ſaid king had graciouſly granted to the " now duke of Lancaſter, by his letters patents, that while " he was in baniſhment, his attorneys might ſue for livery " of any inheritance that might fall to him for which homage " was due, which ſhould be reſpited for a reaſonable fine; " he injuriouſly revoked thoſe letters patents, againſt the " laws of the land, incurring perjury.

" XIII. Notwithſtanding it had been ordained, that every " year the king's officers, with the juſtices, and others of " his council, ſhould nominate and chooſe the ſheriffs of " all counties according to their diſcretion; yet he com- " manded others of his party, and ſuch as would do as he " would have them, to be ſheriffs; to the great grievance " of his people, contrary to the laws of his kingdom, noto- " rioufly incurring perjury.

" XIV. That whereas the ſaid king borrowed ſeveral " ſums of money from lords and others by his letters pa- " tents, promiſing faithfully to pay them at a certain term; " he did not perform his promiſe; whence his creditors were " much grieved; and not only they, but many others thought " him an unfaithful king.

" XV. Whereas the kings of England uſed to live upon " the revenues of the kingdom, and patrimony of the crown " in time of peace, without oppreſſion of his people; that " the ſame king during his whole time, gave the greateſt " part of his revenue to unworthy perſons, and impoſed " burdens upon his ſubjects as it were every year; by which " he exceſſively oppreſſed his people, and impoveriſhed his " kingdom, not employing theſe goods to the advantage of " the nation, but prodigally waſting them in oſtentation, " pomp, and glory, owing great ſums for victuals and other " neceſſaries of his houſe, though his revenues were greater " than any of his progenitors.

" XVI. The ſame king not willing to keep and protect " the juſt laws and cuſtoms of his kingdom, but do what he " pleaſed, when thoſe laws were declared to him by the juſ- " tices and others of his council, deſiring juſtice might be " done accordingly, he ſaid expreſly with an auſtere counte- " nance, that the laws were only in his mouth and breaſt: " and that he only could make and change the laws of

" this

" this kingdom, and being ſo ſeduced, he would not permit 1399.
" juſtice to be done to many of his lieges, but by threats
" and terrours, forced many to ceaſe from the proſecution of
" common juſtice.

" XVII. That whereas laws made in parliament do al-
" ways bind, until revoked by another parliament, yet the
" ſame king deſiring to enjoy ſuch liberty as no laws might
" bind him, and to do what he pleaſed, he cunningly pro-
" cured ſuch a petition, on behalf of the community of his
" kingdom, to be exhibited in parliament, and to be granted,
" that he might be as free as any of his progenitors before
" him. By colour of which petition and grant, he often
" commanded, and cauſed many things to be done contrary
" to the laws not revoked, doing expreſly and knowingly
" againſt the oath taken at his coronation.

" XVIII. Though it had been ordained, that no ſheriff
" ſhould continue in his office above a year, and could not
" be again choſen to that office in three years after, the ſame
" king, for his ſingular profit, and ſometimes for the benefit
" of others, ſuffered ſome ſheriffs to remain in their offices
" for two or three years, contrary to the tenour and effect of
" the ſtatute, incurring perjury; and this was notorious,
" publick, and famous.

" XIX. Although by law and cuſtom, the people ought
" to be free to chooſe knights to repreſent them in parlia-
" ment, to propound their grievances, and provide remedies
" for them; yet the ſaid king, that he might obtain his
" own raſh will in his parliaments, directed by writs often
" to the ſheriffs, to ſend ſuch as he named, ſome of whom
" he induced by favours, others by threats and terrours;
" others by bribes, to conſent to things prejudicial to the
" kingdom, and grievous to the people; and eſpecially by
" granting to him the ſubſidy of wool for his life, and
" another ſubſidy for certain years, too much oppreſſing the
" people.

" XX. The ſame king, that in all things he might act
" arbitrarily, unlawfully made and commanded all the ſhe-
" riffs to ſwear beyond their uſual oath, that they would
" obey all his commands ſent to them under the great ſeal,
" privy ſeal, or ſignet; and in caſe they ſhould know any
" in their bailiwicks or juriſdictions, that ſhould ſpeak any
" ill publickly or privately, to the diſgrace or ſcandal of the
" king's perſon, they ſhould arreſt and commit them to pri-
" ſon, there to remain while they received other commands
" from the king, as it might be found upon record; which

1399. " practice might likely tend to the deſtruction of many of
" his ſubjects.

" XXI. The ſame king that he might ſupplant his peo-
" ple, and get their eſtates to enrich himſelf, cauſed the peo-
" ple of ſixteen counties, by letters under their ſeals, to ſub-
" mit to him as traitors; by colour of which, he obtained
" of them great ſums of money to procure his favour; and
" although to pleaſe the people, thoſe letters obligatory were
" reſtored to them; yet their procurators had full power to
" bind themſelves for them to the king, which he cauſed to
" be done: and ſo deceived his people, and ſubtilly extorted
" their goods from them.

" XXII. Although the ſame king ſware at his corona-
" tion, to preſerve the liberties granted to the church of Eng-
" land; yet by reaſon of his voyage into Ireland, he by
" his letters, commanded many religious perſons, abbots,
" and priors, ſome to ſend him horſes, others waggons,
" others great ſums of money; and by his way of writing, he
" forced many by fear, to comply with his demands; whence
" they were impoveriſhed and oppreſſed, in manifeſt dero-
" gation to eccleſiaſtick liberty; by which pretext he incurred
" perjury.

" XXIII. In many great counciſs, when the lords and
" juſtices were charged to counſel him faithfully, in things
" that touched his own, and the ſtate of the kingdom, they
" were often ſo ſharply rebuked and reproved, that they durſt
" not ſpeak truth, in giving advice concerning the ſtate of
" the kingdom.

" XXIV. The treaſurer reſques and jewels of the crown,
" which ought to be preſerved in the treaſury, for the ho-
" nour of the king, and conſervation of the kingdom, if any
" thing might happen, the ſaid king carried with him towards
" Ireland, without the conſent of the ſtates of the kingdom;
" whence the kingdom had been greatly impoveriſhed, if
" God had not otherwiſe provided for the taking of thoſe
" goods from him againſt his will. And further, he cauſed
" the records concerning the ſtate and government of his
" kingdom to be razed, in great prejudice of his people, and
" diſinheritance of the crown, and very likely, as it was be-
" lieved, for the ſupport of his ill government.

" XXV. He was ſo variable and diſſembling in words
" and writing, and ſo contrary to himſelf, eſpecially in
" writing to the pope, kings, and other lords, without and
" within the kingdom, and alſo to his ſubjects, that no man
" living, knowing what he was could confide in him; yea

" he

" he was reputed ſo unfaithful and inconſtant, that he was 1399.
" not only a ſcandal to his own perſon, but to the whole
" kingdom, and all ſtrangers that knew him.

" XXVI. Though the lands, tenements, goods, and
" chattels of all freemen, by the laws of the land, ought
" not to be ſeized without forfeiture; yet the ſaid king in-
" tending to enervate thoſe laws in the preſence of many
" lords, and others of the community of the kingdom, he
" often ſaid and affirmed, that the life of every ſubject, his
" lands, tenements, goods, and chattels, were his, to be
" diſpoſed as he pleaſed without forfeiture; which was alto-
" gether againſt the laws and cuſtoms of his kingdom.

" XXVII. Although it had been made a law, which had
" hitherto been confirmed, that no freeman might be taken,
" &c. nor any ways deſtroyed, nor that the king ſhould pro-
" ceed againſt him, but by lawful trial of his peers, or the
" law of the land: yet according to the will, command,
" and appointment of the ſaid king, very many of his lieges
" being maliciouſly accuſed, for having ſpoke publickly, or
" privately, words that might tend to the ſcandal and diſ-
" grace of the king's perſon, were taken, impriſoned, and
" brought before the conſtable and marſhal in the court
" military; where being accuſed, they could not be admit-
" ted to give any other anſwer, than not guilty; and could
" defend themſelves no otherwiſe than by their bodies, their
" accuſers being young men, luſty, and ſound; whereas
" they were old, impotent, lame, and infirm; from whence
" not only the deſtruction of lords and great men, but of
" ſingular perſons of the community of the kingdom very
" likely might have followed: when therefore the ſaid king
" willingly contravened this law, no doubt he incurred
" perjury.

" XXVIII. Although the people of England, by virtue
" of their liegeance, were ſufficiently bound to their king,
" and if they offended in any manner, he might correct and
" puniſh them by the laws and cuſtoms of the kingdom;
" yet the ſaid king deſiring to ſupplant, and too much op-
" preſs his people, that he might more freely execute, and
" be able to follow the fancy of his fooliſh and unlawful
" will, he ſent his letters into all counties of his kingdom,
" that all his lieges, as well ſpiritual as temporal, ſhould
" take certain oaths in general, which were too burden-
" ſome to them, and which very likely might cauſe the final
" deſtruction of his people, and that under their letters and
" ſeals they ſhould confirm theſe oaths; which command

1399 " the people obeyed, leſt they ſhould incur his indignation,
" and for fear of death.

" XXIX. When the parties contending in the eccleſiaſ-
" tick court, in cauſes merely eccleſiaſtick and ſpiritual, en-
" deavoured to procure prohibitions to hinder proceſs in the
" ſame, from the chancellor of England, who out of juſ-
" tice refuſed to grant them, yet the ſame king often grant-
" ed them under his ſignet, wickedly infringing the church
" liberties granted in magna charta, which he had ſworn to
" preſerve, damnably incurring perjury, and the ſentence
" of excommunication pronounced by the holy fathers a-
" gainſt the violators of church liberties.

" XXX. The ſaid king in parliament, compaſſed about
" with armed men, without reaſonable cauſe or legal pro-
" ceſs, contrary to the laws of the kingdom, baniſhed Tho-
" mas Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury, and his ſpiritual
" father, being then abſent by his contrivance.

" XXXI. Upon peruſal of the ſaid king's will under his
" great ſeal, privy ſeal, and ſignet, there was in it this
" clauſe: Alſo we will, that the debts of our houſe, cham-
" ber, and wardrobe being paid, for which we allow twenty
" thouſand pounds, and the leproſe, and chaplains we ap-
" pointed to be maintained at Weſtminſter and Bermondſey,
" for which we allow five or ſix thouſand marks, the reſidue
" of our gold ſhall remain to our ſucceſſor, upon condition he
" approves, ratifies, confirms, holds, and cauſeth to be holden
" and obſerved, all laws, ſtatutes, ordinances, and judgments,
" made, had, or done, in the parliament held at Weſtmin-
" ſter, on the 17th of September, in the 21ſt of our reign,
" and continued or adjourned to Shrewſbury, and all things
" done at Coventry, on the 16th of September, in the 22d
" of our reign; as alſo what was done at Weſtminſter, on
" the 18th of March, in the ſame year, by authority of the
" ſame parliament. But if he ſhall refuſe to do theſe things,
" then we will that Thomas, duke of Surrey, Edward, duke
" of Aumarle, John, duke of Exeter, and William le Scrope,
" earl of Wiltſhire, my debts, &c. as aforeſaid, being paid,
" ſhall have the ſaid reſidue for the defence of the ſtatutes,
" ordinances, judgments, and ſtabiliments aforeſaid, to the
" utmoſt of their power, yea, to death, if it be neceſſary.
" Upon all which things we burthen their conſciences, as
" they will anſwer it at the day of judgment." By which article it appears evidently, that the ſame king endeavoured pertinaciouſly to maintain thoſe ſtatutes and ordinances, which were erroneous, wicked, and repugnant to all law and rea-

ſon, not only in his life, but after he was dead, neither re- 1399.
garding the danger of his ſoul, or the utmoſt deſtruction of his kingdom or liege people.

" XXXII. In the eleventh year of the ſaid king Richard, " at his manor of Langley, in the preſence of the dukes of " Lancaſter and York, and many other lords, deſiring, as it " ſeemed, that his uncle the duke of Glouceſter, there alſo " preſent, might truſt and have confidence in him, of his " own accord, ſware upon the venerable ſacrament of the " Lord's body placed upon the altar, that he would pardon " unto him all things which were ſaid to be committed a- " gainſt his perſon, and that he ſhould never receive any da- " mage for them; yet afterwards the ſaid king, notwith- " ſtanding this oath, cauſed the duke, for thoſe offences, " horribly and cruelly to be murdered, damnably incurring " the guilt of perjury.

" XXXIII. After a knight of the ſhire, who had a vote " in parliament, impeached the archbiſhop of Canterbury, " publickly before the king, and all the ſtates of the king- " dom, upon certain defects committed againſt the king, " with little truth, as it was ſaid; although he offered pre- " ſently to anſwer what was objected againſt him, and de- " ſired to be admitted by the king ſo to do, ſufficiently " truſting, as he ſaid, to demonſtrate his innocency, yet the " ſame king contrived by all the ways and means he could, " to oppreſs and reduce to nothing the ſtate of the archbiſhop, " as the event ſhewed, kindly ſpake to, and earneſtly deſired " him, that he would ſay nothing then, but expect a more " fit time: that day being paſt, for five days and more to- " gether, the king deceived him, adviſing and perſuading " him not to come to parliament, but to remain at his own " houſe, promiſing, that in his abſence he ſhould not re- " ceive injury; but the ſaid king in that parliament, baniſh- " ed the archbiſhop during his pleaſure, being abſent, and " not called to anſwer, without any reaſonable cauſe, con- " fiſcating all his goods againſt the laws of the land and all " juſtice, by which he incurred perjury. Further, the " king intending to palliate his inconſtancy, by flattering " words, endeavoured to caſt the injury done him upon " others: whence the archbiſhop having diſcourſe with the " king, the duke of Norfolk, other lords, and great men " lamenting, ſaid, he was not the firſt that had been baniſh- " ed, nor ſhould be the laſt, for that he thought, within a " ſhort time, the duke of Norfolk, and other lords would " follow him; and conſtantly told the king, that the con-

1399. "ſequences of the premiſes would fall upon his own head
"at laſt: to which the king, as if he had been aſtoniſhed,
"preſently anſwered, he thought it might ſo happen, he
"might be expelled his kingdom by his ſubjects; and far-
"ther ſaid, if it ſhould be ſo, he would go to the place
"where he was; and that the archbiſhop might believe him,
"he ſhewed him a great jewel of gold, which he would ſend
"to him as a token, that he would not defer his coming to
"the place where he was. And that the ſame archbiſhop
"might have greater confidence in him, he ſent to him, ad-
"viſing him, that he ſhould privately ſend all the jewels be-
"longing to his chapel to be ſafely kept, leſt under the co-
"lour of the judgment of baniſhment, they might be ſeized;
"it being ſo done, the king cauſed the goods to be put in
"coffers, which he cauſed to be locked, and ſealed by one
"of the archbiſhop's clerks, by whom he ſent the keys to
"him; and afterwards cauſed the coffers to be broken,
"taking the goods, and diſpoſing of them as he pleaſed;
"the ſame king alſo faithfully promiſed the archbiſhop,
"that if he would go to the port of Hampton, in or-
"der to go out of the kingdom, that by the queen's in-
"terceſſion he ſhould be recalled; and if it ſhould ſo hap-
"pen as he ſhould go out of the kingdom, yet after Eaſter
"next coming, without fail, he ſhould return into Eng-
"land, nor ſhould he any way loſe his archbiſhoprick:
"this he faithfully promiſed, ſwearing to it, touching the
"croſs of Thomas the martyr, archbiſhop of Canterbury:
"which promiſes, notwithſtanding, the king cauſed the
"archbiſhop to go out of the kingdom, and wrote to the
"pope for his tranſlation; and thus, and otherwiſe, by the
"frauds and cheats of the king, was the archbiſhop, a man
"of good faith, craftily circumvented."

Richard is depoſed.

Theſe articles were laid before the parliament, who with one voice acknowledged them to be well grounded and publickly known, and pronounced, that Richard ſhould be depoſed. At the ſame time, commiſſioners were appointed to give him notice of his depoſition, and to annul the oaths and homage of the people of England, after much the ſame manner as in the caſe of Edward II. [d]

This

[d] The biſhop of St. Aſaph, the abbot of Glaſtonbury, the earl of Glouceſter, the lord Berkely, ſir Thomas Erpingham, and ſir Thomas Grey, and William Thyrning, juſtice, were appointed to pronounce ſentence of depoſition againſt king Richard, which being drawn up in writing, was read by the biſhop of St. Aſaph, as follows: "In "the name of God, amen. We, "John,

This affair being thus ſettled, and the throne become vacant, the duke of Lancaſter roſe up, and after croſſing himſelf, claimed the crown. He built his pretenſions upon his being deſcended from Henry III. and upon the right he had received from God, by the aſſiſtance of his relations and friends, for the recovery of his realm of England, which was upon the brink of deſtruction [e]. 1399. The duke of Lancaſter claims the crown.

It was not without reaſon that he affected to uſe obſcure expreſſions, which left undetermined the foundation on which he built his pretended right. If he ſeemed to derive his title from Henry III. rather than from Edward III. his grandfather, it was becauſe there was a rumour, that Edmund earl of Lancaſter, ſurnamed Crouch-back, was eldeſt ſon of Henry III. but by reaſon of his deformity, Edward I. his younger brother, was placed on the throne. According to Remarks upon it.

" John, biſhop of St. Aſaph, John, " abbot of Glaſtonbury, Thomas, " earl of Glouceſter, Thomas, lord " Berkely, Thomas de Erpyngham, " and Thomas Grey, knights, and " William Thyrning, juſticiary, by " the ſpiritual and temporal peers, and " great men of the kingdom of Eng- " land, and by the communities of " the ſame, repreſenting all ſtates " thereof, being ſpecially deputed com- " miſſioners for the things underwrit- " ten, duly conſidering the many per- " juries, cruelty, and many other " crimes committed by king Richard, " in the time of his government, and " publickly exhibited and recited be- " fore the ſtates, which were ſo pub- " lick, notorious, manifeſt, and fa- " mous, as they could no way be de- " nied; and alſo of his confeſſion, ac- " knowledging, and truly of his own " certain knowledge, judging himſelf " to have been altogether inſufficient " for the government of the kingdoms " and lordſhip aforeſaid; and that for " his notorious demerits he was wor- " thy to be depoſed; which thing by " his own will and command were " publiſhed before the ſtates. Having " had diligent deliberation upon theſe " things, for the greater caution to " the government of the kingdoms, " and dominion aforeſaid, the rights " and appurtenances of the ſame, in " the name and authority to us com- " mitted, do pronounce, decree, and " declare, that very Richard to be de- " poſed deſervedly from all royal dig- " nity and honour, and for the like " caution, we depoſe him by our de- " finitive ſentence in this writing, ex- " preſly inhibiting all and ſingular " archbiſhops, biſhops, and prelates, " dukes, marquiſſes, earls, barons, " knights, vaſſals, and valvaſors, and " all other men and ſubjects of the " ſaid kingdoms and dominion, or " places belonging to them, for the " future to obey the ſaid Richard as " king." Then the ſtates, that nothing might be wanting, being ſeverally interrogated, did conſtitute certain perſons to be their proctors, named by the ſaid commiſſioners, to go and reſign to king Richard, the homage and fealty that had been made to him, and give him notice of what had been done touching his depoſition and renunciation. Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. IV.

[e] He claimed the crown in the form following: " In the name of the Fa- " der, Sonne, and Holy Ghoſt, I " Henry of Lancaſter, chalenge this " rewme of Ynglonde and the croune, " with all the membres and the ap- " purtenances, als I that am deſcendit " be ryght lyne of the blode, coming " fro the gude lord king Henry therde, " and throghe that ryght that God of " his grace hath ſent me, with helpe " of my kyn, and of my friendes to " recover it: the which rewme was " in poynt to be undone for defaut of " governance, and undoying of the " gude lawes."

1399. his ſuppoſition, the duke would have made the ignorant believe, he could ground his title upon being ſon of Blanch of Lancaſter, grand-daughter of Edmund Crouch-back, and heireſs of that family. But as he was ſenſible all could not be impoſed upon by ſo groſs a forgery, he added certain expreſſions, intimating, that he built his right alſo upon the ſervice he had juſt done the ſtate. This is the explanation of the claim, expreſſed in ſuch obſcure terms.

As it was reſolved to adjudge the crown to the duke, the parliament took care not to examine his claim too cloſely, but were very willing to ſuppoſe it unconteſtable. Thus, without any regard to the juſt rights of the earl of March, it was decreed that Henry of Lancaſter ſhould be proclaimed king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, which was done that very day, being the 30th of September [f].

End of the reign of Richard II.

Thus ended the reign of Richard II. a prince, who in his younger years ſeemed to have noble and generous inclinations, but unfortunately ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by flattery. He had the advantage of being deſcended from a father and grandfather ſo univerſally eſteemed, that had he ever ſo little anſwered the nobleneſs of his birth, he might have been one of the moſt glorious kings that ever wore the Engliſh crown. But like Edward II. his great grandfather, he had the weakneſs to give himſelf up to the guidance of his favourites. Accordingly he underwent the ſame fate with that prince, whom he did but too much reſemble in every other reſpect. The chief difference to be obſerved between them is, that Richard was of a more cruel and inflexible temper, and uſurped a more abſolute power than Edward, which rendered him more odious, and leſs lamented. Let us cloſe this reign with a reflection which the ſad cataſtrophe of theſe two princes affords; namely, that in a government like that of England, all the king's endeavours to uſurp an arbitrary power, are but ſo many ſteps towards his deſtruction [g].

[f] After all which Henry had ſaid, "Sires, I thank God and zowe ſpirituel "and temporel, and all the aſtates of "the lond, and de zowe to wyte, it "es noght my will that no man thynk "that be waye of conqueſt I wold diſ"herit any man of his heritage, "franches, or other ryghts that him "aght to have, nor put hym out of "that that he has, and has had by "the gude lawes and cuſtumes of the "rewme; except thos perſons that has "ben agan the gude purpoſe and the "commune profyt of the rewme."

[g] In king Richard's reign, was brought in the cuſtom of wearing piked ſhoes, tied to the knees with chains of ſilver. Alſo ladies uſed high attire on their heads, piked horns, with long trained gowns, and rode on ſide ſaddles, after the example of the queen, Anne of Bohemia, who firſt brought that faſhion into this kingdom; for, before, women uſed to ride aſtride like men,

men, as Stow says, but there is in the Cotton library, a deed of the lady Johanna de Stuteville, made in Henry III.'s time, whereon she is represented sitting sideways, on horseback, with her shield or coat of arms in her hand. Mount on sir R. Baker's Chr. ——In 1397. king Richard began repairing Westminster Hall, and caused the walls, windows, and roofs to be taken down and new built, with a stately porch, as it now remains. Stow's Survey, b. VI. p. 48. Camden in Middlesex. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 749.

1399.

R2.

In the 18th of Richard II. a pound weight of gold of the old standard, was to make by tale forty five nobles, amounting to fifteen pounds, or a proportionable number of half or quarter nobles: and a pound weight of silver of the old sterling, to make by tale seventy five grosses or groats, amounting to twenty five shillings, or a hundred and fifty half grosses, at two pence a piece, or three hundred sterlings at a penny a piece, or six hundred half sterlings: and Nicholas Malakine, a Florentine, was master and worker. These rose nobles (if that in Speed be genuine, for it wants both the rose and the constant [illegible] of Jesus autem, &c.) gives his portraiture in a sedentary posture, with a sword in his right hand, and RICAR. D. GRA. AGLIE. FRANCIE REX. D. AQVIT. On the reverse, AVXILIVM. MEVM. A. DOMINO. His crown is fleurie, as in those of his predecessors, but no rays betwixt the flowers. We ought perhaps to read HYB for AQVIT. since it is hard to imagine, why Aquitain should be so much as mentioned after France; and AGLIE instead of ANGLIE, makes it probable, that this was rather coined by Richard III, (in whose reign that way of writing was in use) than by the IId. His other coins were exactly like his grandfather's, RICARDUS. REX. ANGLIÆ. Reverse, CIVITAS. EBORACI.

THE

The State of the Church,

From the reign of EDWARD I. 1272, *to the end of the reign of* RICHARD II. 1399.

Tyranny of the court of Rome, with regard to England.

AFTER John Lackland had made himſelf vaſſal and tributary to the ſee of Rome, the popes conſidered England only as a conquered country, for which they had no manner of regard. Of this the reigns of John and Henry III. have afforded ſuch flagrant inſtances, that it would be needleſs to add any thing to ſhow to what exceſs the papal power was carried in the kingdom. It will ſuffice to remark, that the encroachments of the court of Rome continuing inceſſantly, or rather daily increaſing, the Engliſh grew ſo weary of them, that at length, in the reign of Edward I. they began to ſeek effectual means for their deliverance. This was not however till after frequent experience, that all their complaints and ſolicitations to the popes were to no purpoſe. Herein chiefly conſiſts what I have to ſay concerning religion during the four laſt reigns. But to render the matter more intelligible, it will be neceſſary briefly to obſerve the occaſion of the diſputes which England had, as well with the court of Rome, as with the clergy.

Complaints of the Engliſh againſt the pope. Ruley's Placit. Parl. p. 376. Statutes. Act. Pub. IV. p. 382, 385, &c.

I. The firſt cauſe of complaint, was the frequent appeals to the court of Rome, not one of which was rejected.

II. The frequent citations were complained of, cauſed by theſe appeals, which obliged people to ſpend their ſubſtance in journies to Rome, to ſolicit their affairs.

III. That the pope had uſurped the collation of almoſt all the church-preferments, not excepting the biſhopricks and archbiſhopricks, contrary to the rights of the king, the chapters, and the patrons.

The encroachment was grown to that height, that there was not a benefice great or ſmall, but what the popes diſpoſed of, by the infallible means they had contrived to be maſters of all the collations. One while, by the plenitude of

of the apoſtolick power, they reſerved to themſelves all the benefices which ſhould become void by tranſlation. Another while, all ſuch as ſhould be vacant by death or any other way whatever. By theſe means they eluded all the canonical elections in England, without alledging other reaſons, than that they had ſerved to themſelves beforehand the right of nomination to the benefices. It appeared ſo plainly that their aim was to procure by degrees the collation of all the benefices of the kingdom, that every one could not but ſee it. For whenever they could not uſe theſe pretences, they ſeldom failed to object againſt the party elected, and confer the benefice upon another. Very often, when the biſhop elect came to be confirmed, he found his biſhoprick already diſpoſed of by the pope.

IV. But as this was generally the occaſion of great conteſts, and as thoſe that were canonically elected were commonly ſupported by the king, the pope found a certain means to free himſelf from theſe importunities. He beſtowed the biſhopricks and other benefices, before they were vacant by way of proviſion; and this was another great cauſe of complaint to the Engliſh. Ibid. p. 371, 385.

V. It was moreover complained of, that moſt of the benefices diſpoſed of by the pope, by the plenitude of his power, were conferred on foreigners, particularly on the cardinals or their relations, who by virue of the pope's diſpenſation, enjoyed the profit without ever reſiding. Theſe benefices were commonly farmed out to the Engliſh, who, to make the more profit, got the cure ſerved for a very ſmall ſalary. Hence divine ſervice was neglected, the churches ran to ruin, hoſpitality was baniſhed, and the inſtruction of chriſtians almoſt wholly aboliſhed. Hence likewiſe this further inconvenience, the money was carried out of the kingdom for ever. It may eaſily be judged how prejudicial this was to the country, if it is conſidered, that by a calculation made in the reign of Henry III. the foreign eccleſiaſticks were found to have greater revenues in England than the king himſelf.

VI. Another cauſe of complaint aroſe from the frequent taxes impoſed on the clergy by the popes, one while under colour of a cruſade; another while, to ſupply the neceſſities of the holy ſee; and laſtly, by the tenths, which they liberally granted to the king, becauſe they generally had a ſhare.

VII. In the next place, the legates and nuncios, ſent into England without any neceſſity, were a great grievance Act. Pub. VI. p. 558.

to

to the Engliſh. The clergy were not only obliged to maintain them at a great expence, but alſo to make them conſiderable preſents, and pay them procurations and other impoſitions, which the pope allowed them to levy upon the eccleſiaſticks. Hence the money went out of the kingdom without any poſſibility of recovering it.

P. 747. VIII. The popes were likewiſe poſſeſſed of the firſt-fruits of all the benefices, from whence aroſe the ſame inconvenience, I mean a great exhauſting of the kingdom's treaſure.

IX. Peter-pence, which originally was only a charitable allowance, granted by the Saxon kings for the maintenance of the Engliſh college at Rome, was converted into a tribute, which the pope collected in a very rigorous manner, very different from that practiſed in former days.

X. In fine, the tribute king John had engaged to pay the holy ſee, and which the popes exacted with great haughtineſs, was conſidered by the Engliſh as an intolerable yoke and a ſtanding badge of their ſervitude.

Complaints againſt the clergy. XI. As to the conteſts between the crown and the clergy, the king and the magiſtrates complained that the clergy were continually endeavouring to encroach upon the prerogatives of the crown, ſecure as they were of being always ſupported by the pope.

XII. That the clergy had extended their juriſdiction to many things purely civil, under pretence there is no caſe but where religion may be concerned. This complaint chiefly regarded matrimonial cauſes.

XIII. They ſaid further, that the eccleſiaſticks, inſtead of ſupporting on occaſion the rights and prerogatives of the crown, were always ready to join with the pope, as if he were their only ſovereign.

Theſe are the principal grievances complained of by the Engliſh, and from which they endeavoured from time to time to free themſelves by acts of parliament or orders of council. But theſe precautions to ſcreen themſelves from the papal uſurpations, afforded the popes at the ſame time, occaſion of complaining in their turn, that the Engliſh were ſtriving to rob the church of her privileges. Herein they had a great advantage by loudly urging the cauſe of God, which they always took care to confound with their own intereſt. In a bull of pope Clement V. inſerted in the collection of the publick acts, are ſpecified the complaints of the court of Rome againſt the Engliſh. And ſince I have related

Act. Pub. T. I. p. 284.

related the grievances of the Engliſh, it is reaſonable I ſhould likewiſe make known thoſe of the pope.

Grievances of the pope againſt the Engliſh.

I. The pope complained, that the cardinals were hindered from enjoying the prebends he conferred on them, without any conſideration of the reſpect due to perſons ordained by God to bear their part of the burden of governing the church.

II. He ſaid, though he had an inconteſtable right to collate benefices, as well in England as in all other ſtates, yet thoſe on whom he had beſtowed them were not permitted to take poſſeſſion, neither were they that had the boldneſs to oppoſe it excommunicated.

III. That ſuch as were ſummoned upon that account, were not ſuffered to obey the ſummons. That notaries were forbid to act, and the king's ſubjects to appear out of the kingdom.

IV. That the pope's nuncios were hindered from exerciſing their commiſſion, without the king's licenſe. That ſome of them had even been publickly impriſoned, and not releaſed without paying a large fine.

V. That the magiſtrates would not ſuffer the excommunicated to be impriſoned after the forty days, which, according to good and laudable cuſtom, were allowed them to make the church ſatisfaction.

VI. That the king ſent frequent prohibitions to the eccleſiaſtical courts, not to try cauſes which were of their cognizance.

VII. That the ſame courts were abridged of their juriſdiction over the clergy, without conſidering that eccleſiaſtical perſons are in no manner dependent upon the laity.

VIII. Taat the civil courts dared to condemn eccleſiaſticks without the conſent of their ſuperiours.

IX. That clergymen were made to appear in their ſhirts in the civil courts, notwithſtanding they pleaded their privileges. That indeed they were ſent back to the eccleſiaſtical court when they were demanded; but it very often happened, if they were not found guilty, the civil judges were ſo bold as fully to acquit them, without ſuffering the eccleſiaſtical court to take any cognizance of the matter.

X. That clergymen were ſubjected to the tryal of twelve lay-perſons, and were acquitted or condemned by the verdict of theſe twelve incompetent judges.

XI. That

XI. That the great men frequently lodged in the monasteries, and put them to a great expence, on the frivolous pretence of their being founded by their anceſtors.

XII. That during the vacancy of the abbeys, thoſe who were entruſted with the cuſtody by the king, waſted the revenues and committed great damages.

XIII. Laſtly, that the tribute of a thouſand marks due to the holy ſee, was not regularly paid, and the arrears which were to be ſent to Avignon were put to other uſes.

Theſe are the mutual complaints of the Engliſh and the popes, concerning which it may be obſerved, that both parties were agreed as to facts, and differed only as to right. To diſcover on which ſide the right lay, it would be neceſſary to examine, whether the pope and clergy were originally poſſeſſed of the rights they aſſumed, or they were granted by ſome authority, and laſtly whether that authority could lawfully confer them. But this would be entering into an old diſpute, on which nothing new can be expected to be ſaid. Leaving every one therefore to his own notions, I ſhall only relate the means uſed by the Engliſh to do themſelves juſtice for the injuries they complained of, and the endeavours of the popes, to ſupport the privileges they were poſſeſſed of. But firſt, it will be proper to take notice, that in theſe conteſts, the popes had great advantages.

Advantages of the popes.

Every pope conſtantly adhered to the ſame maxims, without the leaſt variation. But it was not the ſame with the kings of England, who to pleaſe their humour or gratify their paſſions, ſcrupled not very often to derogate from the prerogatives of the crown. This is the true cauſe of the ſlow progreſs of the Engliſh in their deſign of freeing themſelves from the oppreſſions of Rome. The leaſt relaxation made them loſe a great deal of grouud. And perhaps, they would never have accompliſhed the redreſs of any one grievance, if the ſchiſms in the church had not afforded them opportunities, which they wiſely improved. For the popes, who at ſuch junctures ſtood often in need of the kings of England, found themſelves many times obliged to compliances, to which doubtleſs they would never have ſubmitted at any other ſeaſon.

Schiſms diſadvantageous to Rome.

Means of redreſſing the grievances.

Statute of mortmain.

As the pope and clergy mutually ſupported each other, one of the moſt effectual means practiſed in England to oppoſe the papal power was to check the growth of the clergy's riches. To that end, in the reign of Edward I. the ſtatute of mortmain was enacted, as has been related. This

was

was a fatal blow to the clergy, who without this ſtatute would have been maſters of all the lands in the kingdom, ſince they inceſſantly acquired and never alienated. But this ſtatute was almoſt as prejudicial to the pope ſince bounds could not be ſet to the clergy's power, without leſſening at this ſame time that of the court of Rome. Edward I. ſtruck likewiſe at the papal authority, at leaſt with regard to the collation of the biſhopricks, by obliging the biſhops to renounce the article of the proviſion-bull which gave them their temporalities, wherein he was followed by his ſucceſſors [a]. Renunciation of the biſhops.

If Edward II. had ſhown more reſolution and firmneſs, or had not been forced by the circumſtances of the times to keep meaſures with Rome, he might have greatly promoted the work of liberty, which the Engliſh had ſo long and ſo paſſionately deſired. Never were they in a better diſpoſition to ſhake off the galling yoke. This appears in the king's letters to the pope, and in the vigorous reſolutions of ſeveral parliaments in his reign. But Edward, expecting always to find in the pope's authority a protection againſt his ſubjects, frequently ſtooped to condeſcenſions for the court of Rome deſtructive of the intereſt of his kingdom. This rendered the parliament's endeavours ineffectual during the courſe of his reign. Fruitleſs attempts under Edward II.

But under Edward III. more effectual meaſures were taken to be delivered from the ſo long complained of oppreſſions. I mean the two ſtatutes, which tended to cut up by the roots two of the moſt conſiderable grievances had they been punctually executed. The firſt was the ſtatute of proviſors, whereby it was enacted, that in caſe the pope collated any archbiſhoprick, biſhoprick, dignity, or other benefice, contrary to the rights of the kings, chapters, or patrons, the collation was to devolve to the king for one turn. And if any perſon ſued for and procured reſervations, or proviſions from the court of Rome, he The ſtatute of proviſors.

[a] King Edward I. reſtored the old cuſtom, uſed before the conqueſt, and for above eighty years after, of bringing the whole body of the clergy to appear nationally in parliament, as a part thereof, which he partly effected, by inſerting into the writ of ſummons to the archbiſhops and biſhops, that remarkable clauſe of præmunientes, which is ſtill continued to this day: whereby they were obliged to warn the priors and chapters of their churches, and the archdeacons, and all the clergy of their reſpective dioceſes; the archdeacons and priors in their own perſons, and the chapters and clergy by two fit proxes, with ſufficient power from them to be preſent with the king, there by all means to treat, ordain, and do, together with him, and other prelates and peers, and other inhabitants of the kingdom, &c. Tyrrel, vol. III. p. 219.

ſhould

ſhould be impriſoned till he had made fine to the king at his will, and found ſufficient ſecurity not to proſecute any ma[illegible] in the court of Rome, on account of his impriſonment.

Statute of præmunire.

The ſecond act was the ſtatute of Præmunire, by which it was enacted, that in caſe any of the king's ſubjects ſhould carry into a foreign court, cauſes, the cognizance whereof belonged to the king's court, they ſhould be impriſoned, and their lands, goods, and chattels be forfeited to the king.

Memorial to the parliament againſt the court of Rome. Rot. Parl. 50 Edw. III. n. 94.

Notwithſtanding theſe two acts, which ſeemed to take from the pope all hopes of diſpoſing for the future of any benefice, and ought to have made him apprehenſive, that the parliament would proceed to redreſs other grievances, the court of Rome ſtill continued her oppreſſions. In 1376, that is, about a year before the death of Edward III. a memorial was preſented to the parliament, ſhowing, that by the death and tranſlation of biſhops, the pope exacted five times the yearly revenue of the vacant ſee, and by that means drew out of the kingdom twenty thouſand Marks a year. That the pope's agents collected the ſame ſum for the neceſſities of the holy ſee. That this very year, the pope had ſeized the firſt-fruits of all the benefices in England. That he had increaſed the number of the cardinals to thirty, among whom there were not above two or three well affected to England. That the pope's avarice was worſe than the plague. That in ſpite of the ſtatute of proviſors, there were perſons every day provided with benefices by the court of Rome, and there was no hindering it, but by baniſhing all that ſhould dare to accept of the proviſions. In ſhort, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to put a ſtop to theſe oppreſſions, in order to prevent England from falling into a fatal ſlavery. Upon theſe complaints, which were carried to Gregory XI. there was a ſort of agreement made between the king and the pope, but ſo full of equivocations and reſervations on the part of the pope, that it was eaſy to perceive he did not mean to deſiſt from his pretended rights. He was content with promiſing in general, that he would conſider the complaints of the Engliſh, and behave with more moderation for the future. Gregory dying ſoon after, his ſucceſſors, regardleſs of his engagements, ſtill continued to beſtow Engliſh benefices upon foreigners. This conduct obliged the houſe of commons to petition Richard II. to ſeize all the effects of the beneficed agents, and baniſh them the realm, which the king did accordingly.

Agreement between Edward III. and Gregory XI.

Freſh efforts of the Engliſh.

In

In the ſame reign, the ſtatute of proviſors was confirmed and enlarged.

Two years before, Richard forbid the clergy under great penalties to pay a tax impoſed by the pope.

The next year he iſſued out a proclamation commanding upon pain of death and forfeiture of eſtate all perſons that were gone to Rome to ſolicit the repeal of the ſtatutes of proviſors and præmunire, to return into England within ſuch a time.

All theſe precautions being inſufficient to check the popes, who pretended not to be bound by acts of parliament, the ſtatute of præmunire was revived in 1392, with amendments which ſeemed to leave the court of Rome no hopes of evading it. The act ran, that all perſons that ſhould purſue, in the court of Rome, tranſlations, ſentences of excommunication, bulls, mandates, or any other things whatſoever, contrary to the rights of the king and crown, ſhould be put out of the protection of the laws, and proceeded againſt according to the ſtatute of præmunire. That all thoſe who ſhould bring into the kingdom theſe foreign inſtruments, or receive and publiſh them, ſhould be liable to the ſame penalties. Laſtly, that they who purſued any proceſs in a foreign court, to the prejudice of the king's right, ſhould be treated in the ſame manner. The ſtatute of præmunire enlarged.

This rigid act might well curb the Engliſh who were ſubject to the laws, but not the pope who was out of their reach; accordingly he deſiſted not from his pretenſions. In 1398 he tranſlated the biſhop of Lincoln to the ſee of Cheſter [b], and gave the biſhoprick of Lincoln to Henry Beaufort a ſon of the duke of Lancaſter. But the biſhop of Lincoln, who had not ſued for the tranſlation, not daring to accept it by reaſon of the ſtatute of præmunire, retired to a monaſtery, and the pope tranſlated the biſhop of Landaff to the ſee of Cheſter. Richard was extremely offended, that the pope ſhould take upon him without being deſired, to remove biſhops from one ſee to another. He ſummoned the clergy upon the occaſion, and demanded their opinion of theſe tranſlations contrary to his will. This was a puzzling queſtion for the clergy, who fearing to diſpleaſe the king or the pope, avoided giving a poſitive anſwer. Some time after, the pope ſent a nuncio into England, to try to procure a repeal of the forementioned ſtatutes. But though the nuncio met with an honourable re- The pope goes on, notwithſtanding.

[b] Of Litchfield and Coventry. See vol. III. p. 315, note k.

ception, he could not poſſibly ſucceed in his commiſſion. Richard being depoſed the next year, the conteſts with the court of Rome remained in this ſituation.

Deſign of the popes to extend their authority over temporals.

Certainly it was time for the Engliſh nation, as well as the reſt of Europe, to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſtop the growth of the papal power. They muſt have voluntarily ſhut their eyes, not to ſee that all the proceedings of the popes tended to render them temporal ſovereigns of Europe. Of this the decretal unam ſanctam of Boniface VIII. which ſhows, that pope thought himſelf inveſted with the temporal as well as ſpiritual power, is a clear evidence, but ſince it might be ſaid, it is not reaſonable to aſcribe the ambitious deſign of Boniface to all the popes, this evidence may be ſupported by another, which demonſtrates that Boniface did but tread in the ſteps of his predeceſſors. I mean John XXII. who by his ſole authority, publiſhed a truce between England and Scotland, againſt the conſent of one of the parties, and impowered his legate to conclude a peace between the two kingdoms, upon what terms they pleaſed, with orders to compel the two kings and their ſubjects, punctually to obſerve the ſame, under pain of excommunication. Does not this proceeding ſhow that the popes all acted with the ſame ſpirit, and if their ambition had been indulged, would have conſidered chriſtian princes but as ſubjects, or at leaſt, as vaſſals of the ſee of Rome?

Hereſies.

Let us proceed now to the hereſies, or rather the opinions branded with that name, during the interval we are going through.

Opinions condemned. T. Wikes. Knighton. Spelman. Conc. t. II.

In 1286 or 1287, Peckham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, cenſured eight propoſitions, maintained by one Richard Knapwell, a Dominican friar. Some of the propoſitions, which will ſerve to ſhow what ſubjects were diſcuſſed in the ſchools, and wherein knowledge was made to conſiſt, were theſe:

I. That the dead body of Jeſus Chriſt had not the ſame ſubſtantial form, as when living.

III. That if the euchariſtical bread had been conſecrated with theſe words, this is my body, during the three days Jeſus Chriſt lay in his grave, the bread would have been tranſubſtantiated into the new form, which the body of Chriſt took at the ſeparation of his ſoul.

IV. That after the reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, the euchariſtical bread is tranſubſtantiated by virtue of theſe words, this is my body, into the whole living body of Chriſt, that

is,

is, the matter of the bread is converted into the matter of his body, and the ſubſtantial form of the bread, into the ſubſtantial form of his body, that is to ſay, into his intellectual ſoul, ſo far as it conſtitutes the form of his body.

VII. That in the articles of faith, a man is not bound to reſt upon the authority of the pope, or of any prieſt or doctor [c], but that the holy ſcriptures and evident deductions from thence [d], are the only foundation of our aſſent.

VIII. That the rational ſoul is the only form by which a man is a man [e].

This laſt article was conſidered as the foundation of the reſt, and all together were condemned by the archbiſhop.

In 1314, in the reign of Edward II. ſome ſtudents of Oxford maintained in their diſputations certain opinions, concerning the Trinity and creation of the world, which being brought before the univerſity, were condemned as heretical.

Theſe opinions being wholly founded on ſcholaſtick notions, were ſtifled in the birth, becauſe the people underſtood nothing of ſuch matters. But it was not the ſame with Wickliff's doctrine, publiſhed towards the cloſe of the XIVth century, in the ſame univerſity. The reaſon is, his doctrine was of another nature, and tended to reform the abuſes crept into the church. Accordingly his opinions were embraced by great numbers. As this is the moſt important eccleſiaſtical affair of the XIVth century, it will be neceſſary fully to ſhow theſe opinions, and the zeal wherewith they were received by ſome, and condemned by others. Wickliff publiſhes his doctrine.

John Wickleſ, or rather Wickliff, was educated at Oxford, in Merton college, where he took his degrees of doctor of divinity. He was ſo eminent for his learning, parts, and fine genius, that Simon Iſlip, archbiſhop of Canterbury, having founded Canterbury college [f] in Oxford, made him rector. Wickliff behaved in his poſt with univerſal approbation till the death of the archbiſhop, who had a great eſteem for him. Langham, ſucceſſor of Iſlip [g], willing to favour the monks, and introduce them into the college, attempted to

c Gregory, or Auguſtine. Spelman, Conc. t. II. p. 348.

d —Sed tantum auctoritati bibliæ, & neceſſariæ rationi. Ibid.

e Or rather, that in man there is only one form, namely, the rational ſoul, without any other ſubſtantial form. Spelman. Ibid.

f Now ſwallowed up in Chriſt-church.

g After the death of this Simon Iſlip, William Edington, biſhop of Wincheſter, was offered the archbiſhoprick; but he refuſed it, ſaying, that Canterbury was the higher rack, but Wincheſter the better manger. Tyrrel, vol. IV. p. 661.

turn out Wickliff, and put one Woodhull a monk in his room. But he could never obtain the conſent of the fellows of the college, who were deſirous to keep their old rector. The affair being brought to Rome, the monks of Canterbury ſolicited the pope ſo earneſtly in behalf of Woodhull, that Wickliff was deprived of his rectorſhip. However, this was no injury to the doctor's reputation. Every body ſaw it was a general affair, and that the monks did not ſo much ſtrike at his perſon, as at all the ſeculars that were members of the college. And indeed, they were all turned out as well as he, to make room for the monks. Shortly after, Wickliff was preſented to the living of Luterworth, in the dioceſe of Lincoln, and then it was that he publiſhed, in his ſermons and writings, certain opinions, which appeared to be novel, becauſe contrary to the received doctrine of thoſe days. As he did not declare his ſentiments till after the loſs of his rectorſhip, his enemies have taken occaſion, to accuſe him of acting from a ſpirit of revenge, by reaſon of the injury done him. I ſhall not undertake to clear him from this charge. As there is none but God alone that ſees into the hearts of men, it is raſhneſs to accuſe, or excuſe them, with regard to the ſecret motives of their actions. I ſhall only take notice, that Wickliff's greateſt enemies have never taxed him with any immoralities. Theſe are the chief articles maintained by Wickliff in his writings and ſermons.

Wickliff's doctrine. Walſing. p. 192, 201, &c. 283, 285. Ypod. p. 511. Knighton, col. 2644—2670.

I. That the euchariſt, after conſecration, is not the real body of Chriſt, but only its emblem or figure.

II. That the church of Rome is no more the head of the univerſal church, than any other church; nor was there any greater power given to St. Peter, than to the reſt of the apoſtles.

III. That the pope of Rome has no more juriſdiction in the exerciſe of the keys, than any other prieſt.

IV. That in caſe the church miſbehaves, it is not only lawful, but meritorious to diſpoſſeſs her of her temporalities.

V. That when a prince, or temporal lord, is convinced, that the church makes an ill uſe of her endowments, he is bound, under pain of damnation, to take them away.

VI. That the goſpel is ſufficient to direct a chriſtian in the conduct of his life.

VII. That all other rules inſtituted by holy men, and practiſed in the monaſteries, add no more perfection to chriſtianity, than whiteneſs to a wall.

VIII. That

VIII. That neither the pope nor any other prelate, ought to have priſons for the puniſhing offenders againſt the diſcipline of the church, but that every perſon ought to be left at his liberty in the conduct of his life.

It muſt be obſerved that Wickliff, in the laſt article, did not pretend, as he explained himſelf afterwards, to take from the pope or the prelates, the power of binding and looſing, but only meant that the church had no right to inflict temporal puniſhments on ſinners.

Whether Wickliff and his followers ſtretched theſe articles, by the conſequences which may naturally be drawn from them, or his adverſaries, from whom we have all we know of him, made any additions, in order to render him odious, we find in the hiſtorians, many other opinions aſcribed to him. Among theſe additional opinions, there may be ſome not to be maintained, and there are others, which, being contrary to the articles of the church of England, have made ſome Engliſh writers ſpeak of Wickliff with contempt, and even call him heretick. But it would be too long, fully to examine all theſe opinions. Let us therefore be contented with thoſe that firſt appeared, which are really his, and have ſerved for foundation to all the reſt.

Wickliff has many followers. Walſing.

Theſe opinions, maintained by Wickliff with great vivacity, were immediately eſpouſed by great numbers, not only among the ſtudents of Oxford, but the great men at court, particularly the duke of Lancaſter, and the lord Percy, earl marſhal, declared for him. It muſt be obſerved, that this happened towards the end of the reign of Edward III. at a time when that monarch, old and infirm, left the adminiſtration of the government to the duke of Lancaſter his ſon, as we have ſeen in his hiſtory.

The pope takes information againſt him; but he is ſupported by the duke of Lancaſter, and the lord Percy. Fox Acts and Mon.

Gregory XI. being informed that theſe articles were publickly maintained at Oxford, diſpatched an order to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of London, to apprehend and examine Wickliff, and ſend the depoſitions to Rome. But it was difficult for the two prelates fully to execute theſe orders, the duke of Lancaſter, and the earl marſhal, having openly declared, they would not ſuffer Wickliff to be impriſoned. Indeed, there was yet no act of parliament, impowering the biſhops to impriſon hereticks, without the king's conſent. The two prelates therefore were contented with ſummoning Wickliff before them, in St. Paul's church, where there was a vaſt concourſe of people to hear the examination. The duke of Lancaſter, and the lord

Percy, accompanied the doctor, aſſuring him, there was no danger, and that he might make his defence with courage againſt men, who were but mere ignoramuſes, in compariſon to him. Here is a ſhort dialogue which paſſed between theſe two lords, and the biſhop of London, upon Wickliff's account. The lord Percy bidding the doctor ſit down, the biſhop of London oppoſed it, and commanded him to ſtand up, but the earl marſhal would not let him.

Biſhop of London. "Lord Percy, if I could have "gueſſed you would have played the maſter here, I would "have prevented your coming."

The duke of Lancaſter. "Yes, he ſhall play the maſter "here for all you."

The lord Percy. "Wickliff, ſit down; you have need "of a ſeat, for you have many things to ſay."

Biſhop. "It is unreaſonable that a clergyman, cited before "his ordinary, ſhould ſit down during his anſwer. He ſhall "ſtand."

Duke of Lancaſter. "My lord Percy is in the right. "And for you, my lord biſhop, who are grown ſo proud "and arrogant, I will take care to humble your pride, and "not only yours, but that of all the prelates in England. "Thou dependeſt upon the credit of thy relations, but far "from being able to help thee, they ſhall have enough to "do to ſupport themſelves."

Biſhop. "I place no confidence either in my relations "or in any man elſe, but in God alone, who will give me "the boldneſs to ſpeak the truth."

The duke ſpeaking ſoftly to the lord Percy:

"Rather than take this at the biſhop's hands, I'll drag "him by the hair of the head out of the church."

The duke of Lancaſter muſt have been very paſſionate, ſince it is certain the biſhop's laſt words were not inſolent enough, to give juſt cauſe for ſo great a tranſport of anger. But it may be, the biſhop uſed harſher expreſſions, which the hiſtorians, friends of the clergy, have taken care to ſoften, that the duke might appear to be in the wrong. However, the duke's words to the lord Percy, being over heard by ſome ſtander-by, occaſioned the tumult mentioned in the reign of Edward III. the particulars whereof it will be needleſs to repeat. It ſuffices to obſerve, that upon this accident the aſſembly broke up, and Wickliff's examination was deferred to another time.

The

The death of Edward III. happening ſhortly after, and the duke of Lancaſter being preſident of the new king's council, the biſhops durſt not proceed againſt Wickliff. During that time, the number of his followers increaſed ſo conſiderably, that the univerſity of Oxford debated, whether they ſhould receive the pope's bull, commanding them to proſecute Wickliff with the utmoſt rigour. The hiſtorian who relates this particular, not acquainting us with their final reſolution, the bull was probably rejected. Hence it appears, that Wickliff's doctrine was not embraced by ſome ignorant perſons only, but by men of letters, and perſons of quality. Some would make us believe, that people were frightened into a feigned approbation of his doctrine. But it may be ſaid, on the contrary, with much more probability, that fear hindered many from being his followers. For a man ran no riſk in continuing to adhere to the old, whereas it was dangerous to embrace the new doctrines.

Wickliff's proſecution drops. Walſing. Collier.

The pope finding his bull to the univerſity of Oxford, produced no great effect, ſent freſh orders to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and biſhop of London, to proſecute Wickliff. But as he had intimation, that the biſhops could not proceed in the affair without the king's licenſe, he enjoined them to repreſent to Richard and his council, that Wickliff's errors were not only dangerous to religion, but likewiſe to the ſtate. However, the king's council, it ſeems, did not think ſo. Perhaps no body was willing to offend the duke of Lancaſter, Wickliff's open protector.

Bull to the archbiſhop to cite Wickliff. Walſing. p. 202. Spelman, Conc. t. II. p. 621.

The two prelates however willing to obey the pope to the utmoſt of their power, ſummoned Wickliff a ſecond time before them at Lambeth. He appeared, and by his manner of explaining his opinions, ſeemed ready to give the prelates ſome ſort of ſatisfaction. But, probably, they would not have been contented with ſo general an explanation, if Clifford, a gentleman, had not rudely entered the aſſembly, and forbid them to proceed. It is ſaid, the two prelates were over awed by this abſolute order, though they knew not from whence it came, believing that Clifford durſt not act thus of himſelf. Beſides, the populace intimated by their menacing words, that they would not ſee Wickliff ill treated. Theſe conſiderations obliged the biſhops to diſmiſs the doctor, forbidding him to amuſe the people any more with diſputations of ſo dangerous a conſequence. But he had no regard to the injunction, ſince, according to the teſtimony of an ancient hiſtorian, he continued to preach and defend his doctrine. By the way, this ſteadineſs ill agrees with the explanation

They cite him, but drop the affair. Knighton, col. 2647.

nation of his opinions, which it is pretended he gave to the biſhops, and is repreſented as full of equivocations and evaſions. The truth is, the diſguiſing his ſentiments was little agreeable to his natural temper, which was far from being timorous. Be this as it will, from that time he lived in quiet upon his cure of Lutterworth, without any farther diſturbance. Some time after, Courtney, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſucceſſor of Simon Sudbury, beheaded by the Kentiſh rebels, ſummoned a provincial ſynod at London, where Wickliff's doctrine was condemned. An hiſtorian affirms, that Wickliff was cited, and explained his opinion, in a manner very different from the literal ſenſe of the words. But as the records of the ſynod mentioned nothing like it, the hiſtorian has, very probably, confounded this ſynod with that of Lambeth.

His doctrine condemned by a ſynod. Spelman, t. II. p. 629. Knighton.

The condemnation of Wickliff's doctrine prevented not its ſpreading all over the kingdom, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that the forementioned hiſtorian aſſures us, two men could not be found together, and one not a Lollard. Richard II. as was obſerved in his hiſtory, permitting the biſhops to proſecute and impriſon hereticks, ſeveral Lollards were cited before their biſhops. Some recanted, and others bravely ſtood the ſhock. But among the laſt, there was not one delivered over to the ſecular arm, there being yet no law to that purpoſe. It was not till the next reign, that thoſe barbarous executions commenced in England. So, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the biſhops, Wickliff's opinions flew over the kingdom with a wonderful ſwiftneſs, becauſe the clergy were not at liberty to employ the only means they have all along thought proper to extirpate hereſy. It ſeems alſo, the biſhops durſt not perſonally attack Wickliff, for fear of having their ignorance too much diſplayed by his ſuperior learning. Be that as it will, Wickliff was left in quiet at Lutterworth till his death, in 1384 [h]. Probably, in proceſs of time, his followers made ſome additions to his doctrine, and hence it is, they have aſcribed to him whatever was advanced by his diſciples.

Wickliff's followers increaſe. Knighton, col. 2655, &c.

The loſs of the maſter diſheartened not his followers. They continued to preach and maintain their opinions, with the ſame courage as during his life. The daily progreſs of their doctrine became at length ſo conſiderable, that in 1386, the parliament thought themſelves obliged, to petition the king, to take care that the church and ſtate received no

[h] He died of the palſy, December 31, 1385. Walſing.

detriment

detriment by the novel opinions of the Lollards. Whereupon the king appointed commiſſioners to peruſe Wickliff's books, but the commiſſion was very negligently executed.

In 1389, the Wickliffites, or Lollards, began to ſeparate from the church of Rome, and appoint prieſts from among themſelves, to perform divine ſervice, after their way. Though ſome were from time to time proſecuted by the biſhops, theſe proſecutions were not very rigorous. Their aim ſeemed to be only to hinder them from pleading preſcription. Beſides, a petition preſented to the king by a former parliament, to revoke the power granted the biſhops to impriſon hereticks, reſtrained the moſt forward. The Wickliffites ſeparate from the reſt of the church.

But in 1395, the endeavours of the Lollards, in the king's abſence, to get their doctrine approved by the parliament, put the biſhops upon taking other meaſures. The pretended hereticks finding themſelves ſupported by an infinite number of followers, preſented to the houſe of commons a remonſtrance [1], containing theſe twelve articles. Remonſtrance to the commons.

I. That when the church of England, treading in the ſteps of the church of Rome, began to make an ill uſe of her temporalities, faith and charity began to diſappear. Spelman, Conc. t. II. p. 646.

II. That the Engliſh prieſthood derived from Rome, and pretending to a power ſuperior to angels, is not the prieſthood ſettled by Chriſt upon his apoſtles.

III. That the celibacy of the clergy was the occaſion of many ſcandalous irregularities in the church.

IV. That the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation renders the greateſt part of Chriſtendom guilty of idolatry.

V. That exorciſms, benedictions, pronounced over water, bread, oil, ſtones, for the altar, church walls, prieſt's veſtments, the mitre, croſs, pilgrim's ſtaff, have more of necromancy than religion.

VI. That it was a great crime to join in the ſame perſon eccleſiaſtical and civil offices.

VII. That prayers for the dead, in which one perſon is preferred to another, are not conformable to the charity preſcribed by the goſpel.

VIII. That pilgrimages, and offerings made to images and croſſes, and eſpecially the pictures repreſenting the holy Trinity, are a ſort of idolatry.

[1] By ſir Richard Story, Lewis Clifford, Thomas Latymer, &c. Walſing.

IX. That

IX. That auricular confeſſion ſerves only to make the prieſts proud, and by letting them into the ſecrets of the penitent, gives opportunities for many ſins and ſcandalous intrigues.

X. That the taking away any man's life, either in war, or courts of juſtice, is contrary to the doctrine of the goſpel, which is a diſpenſation of grace and mercy.

XI. That the vow of ſingle life taken by women is the occaſion of numberleſs diſorders, and of the murder of multitudes of children unbaptized, or even unborn.

XII. That it is neceſſary to baniſh from civil ſociety all uſeleſs trades, which ſerve only to ſupport pride and luxury.

All theſe articles were backed with proofs too long to be inſerted.

The remonſtrance, which very likely was privately approved by ſeveral members of parliament, ſo alarmed the clergy, that they immediately deputed the archbiſhop of York and biſhop of London to the king, praying him to return with all ſpeed into England, that he might by his preſence and authority check the growth of the new doctrine, as was related in the reign of Richard II.

Spelman; Conc. t. II. p. 662.

Some time after, Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſummoned a ſynod at London, where eighteen articles extracted from Wickliff's book, entitled Trialogus, were condemned.

Theſe are the moſt remarkable particulars concerning Wickliff and his doctrine, before the depoſing of Richard II. But I muſt not forget to add, that certain Bohemian ſtudents being at Oxford when Wickliff began to publiſh his doctrine, they carried it into their own country, where it ſpread wonderfully. It is time now to proceed to other affairs relating to the Engliſh church, and in the firſt place to the councils.

Councils.

Council of Lyons, 1274.

I ſhall begin with the general council of Lyons, opened May 1, 1274. The council was ſummoned chiefly to receive the Greeks into the communion of the church of Rome, from which they had ſeparated a ſecond time, upon the Latins being driven out of Conſtantinople. The union indeed was accompliſhed, but did not laſt long. Another reaſon of the council's meeting, was to reſtore the affairs of the chriſtians in Syria. As great endeavours were pretended to be uſed in their favour, the pope demanded a ſubſidy of every church. It was eaſy to ſee the pope's intereſt in the demand. His predeceſſors had made ſo frequent uſe of this means to procure money, that there was no being deceived. However,

However, not a prelate dared to open his mouth againſt it, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was preſent, kept ſilence like the reſt. Richard Mepham [k], dean of Lincoln, was the only perſon that ventured to ſpeak for the intereſts of England. He boldly ſaid, the Engliſh clergy were not able to contribute to the war, by reaſon of the continual exactions of the court of Rome, which ſcarce left them wherewithal to ſubſiſt. This freedom coſt him his deanery, of which the pope inſtantly deprived him. Hence we may judge of the liberty in this council. I come now to the councils held in England during the four laſt reigns.

The firſt was convened in the reign of Edward I. by John de Peckham, archbiſhop of Canterbury. In this council were ratified the canons of the general council of Lyons, concerning pluralities. Then the archbiſhop paſſed ſome canons directly contrary to the prerogative royal, and for that reaſon he was obliged to repeal them afterwards. Synod of Reading, 1279. M. Weſt. T. Wikes. Spelman, Conc. t. II. p. 523.

The firſt decreed excommunication againſt ſuch as ſued for the king's letters, to prohibit certain cauſes from being tried in the eccleſiaſtical court.

The ſecond rendered liable to the ſame penalty the magiſtrates, who refuſed to impriſon excommunicated perſons, after the forty days allowed by the canons.

By the third, they that invaded the church's lands, were likewiſe to be excommunicated.

The fourth prohibited, under the ſame penalty, the ſelling of proviſions to the archbiſhop of York, whenever he ſhould come within the archbiſhop of Canterbury's juriſdiction.

This was a ſhort and ſure way to end his diſpute with the archbiſhop of York, about carrying the croſs. So, in caſe the canon had not been annulled, the archbiſhop of York would have found it difficult to be preſent at the parliament, which was generally held at London.

The fifth ordered the copies of magna charta to be ſet up on church-doors, that every one might read them.

Hence may be judged with what ſpirit this prelate, who had long ſojourned at Rome, was returned to England, and how far he would have extended the church's power, if the king had not oppoſed his deſigns.

In 1281, the ſame archbiſhop convened at Lambeth a provincial ſynod, where, among others, the following canons were made. Synod of Lambeth, 1281.

[k] Rapin by miſtake calls him Richard de Peckham. It was Richard Mepham, who is ſuppoſed to have died at the council of Lyons.

The

The IId enjoined the prieſts to acquaint the more ignorant ſort of the laity, that the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt are delivered to them, together with the ſpecies of bread, and that what they receive in the chalice is not holy but only mere wine, to help them to ſwallow the other ſpecies with more eaſe. For (as the canon goes on) the blood of our Lord is allowed only to the prieſts that celebrate divine ſervice in the leſſer churches [1].

The IIId canon forbids prieſts to rebaptize the children that had been baptized by the laity, unleſs there is reaſon to doubt, whether the child was baptized or not.

In that caſe, the canon allowed the prieſt to baptize the infant, with theſe additional words, "If thou art not already baptized, I baptize thee in the name of the Father," &c.

The Xth enjoins the prieſts to inſtruct the people committed to their charge in plain intelligible language, without making uſe of ſcholaſtick terms and diſtinctions. Then the canon lays down the heads they were to expound upon, and the ſenſe they were to give them.

Synod of Exeter, 1287. Spelman, Conc. t. II. p. 350.

In 1287, Peter Quivel, biſhop of Exeter, held a dioceſan ſynod, which enjoined, that care ſhould be taken to inſtruct the people concerning the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. They were to be told, that the adoration of the hoſt could not be carried too far, ſince they received under the ſpecies of bread the ſame body that hung upon the croſs for their ſalvation, and under the ſpecies of wine the blood which was ſhed from Chriſt's ſide. It ſeems that we may infer from hence, that in the church of Exeter, the laity received the ſacrament then in both kinds.

Synod against the templars, 1310.

We meet but with one remarkable council in the reign of Edward II. held at London in 1310, where the templars were condemned to perpetual impriſonment.

Synod at London, 1328.

In 1328, in the reign of Edward III. Mepham, archbiſhop of Canterbury, held a provincial ſynod at London. By the ſynod, Good-Friday, and the conception of the bleſſed virgin were made holidays, and all work forbidden; but however, the country people were allowed to follow their

[1] —Sollicitè eos inſtruam ſub panis ſpecie ſimul eis dari corpus & ſanguinem Domini, immò Chriſtum integrum, vivum, & verum, qui totus eſt ſub ſpecie ſacramenti. Spelman. Conc. tom. II. p. 329. Monſtrous abſurdities! By this canon it ſhould ſeem, that the innovation of communion in one kind, had not yet prevailed in cathedral and conventual churches; and was to be inculcated only upon the illiterate, whoſe ignorance was moſt likely to make them admit ſo unprimitive a practice.

buſineſs

buſineſs after divine ſervice. By the ſame ſynod, all monks, hermits, and canons regular, were prohibited taking confeſſions. A canon made in a former ſynod at Oxford, which admitted appeals only after a definitive ſentence, was revoked.

In 1332, Mepham held another provincial ſynod at Magfield, which ſettled all the holidays obſerved in the province of Canterbury. Among the feſtivals we find St. George's day, and St. Auguſtine's, firſt archbiſhop of Canterbury [m]. Synod at Magfield, 1332.

Stratford, archbiſhop of Canterbury, held at London, in 1342, a provincial ſynod, the moſt remarkable canons whereof are theſe: Synod at London, againſt the Mendicant friars.

The IVth enjoined the monks, who had any appropriated livings, to relieve the poor in proportion to the value of the benefice. In caſe of failure, the biſhops were impowered to compel them to their duty, by ſequeſtring the profits.

The IXth was levelled againſt the Mendicant friars, who abuſing the confidence of dying perſons, perſuaded them to make wills prejudicial to their families. As the ſynod durſt not directly attack the friars, who were under the pope's protection, thoſe who were prevailed on to diſpoſe of their eſtates ſo unreaſonably, were barred the benefit of chriſtian burial.

During the reign of Richard II. we find no remarkable councils, but thoſe held on occaſion of Wickliff and his followers. But as theſe have been mentioned elſewhere, it will be needleſs to repeat what has been ſaid.

Though England was no more concerned than other chriſtian ſtates in the ſchiſms that happened in the church, I do not think it proper wholly to paſs them over in ſilence. This knowledge is not only abſolutely neceſſary for the underſtanding of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of thoſe times, but it may in ſome meaſure be ſaid, that the beſt part of that hiſtory conſiſts of what followed from the ſcandalous ſchiſms. Of the ſchiſms.

From the beginning of the reign of Edward I. to the end of the reign of Richard II. Chriſtendom was divided by two ſchiſms. The firſt laſted not long. Clement V. removing the papal chair to Avignon, died there in 1314, and was ſucceeded by John XXII. who kept his reſidence at the ſame place. This pope's election was after an extraordinary manner. The holy ſee remaining vacant about two years after the death of John XXII. and Nicholas V.

[m] And St. Thomas of Canterbury's, which is placed between Innocents and the Circumciſion, on December 29.

Clement,

Clement, becauſe the cardinals could not agree, they met at length at Lyons in 1316, in order to chooſe a pope. But the ſame diviſions ſtill reigning among them, they agreed to refer the matter to the cardinal of Oſtia, biſhop of Oporto, who, without any ſuſpenſe, nominated himſelf, and took the name of John XXII. At the ſame time the empire was divided by a double election, one part of the electors voting for Lewis of Bavaria, and the other for Frederic duke of Auſtria. John's refuſal to acknowledge Lewis, occaſioned a quarrel between them, which continually increaſed till 1328, when Lewis paſſing into Italy degraded pope John, and cauſed Peter de Corbaria, a cordelier, to be elected, who aſſumed the name of Nicholas V. aad reſided at Rome. The anti-pope being ſupported by the emperor and the general of the cordeliers, kept his ground for ſome time. But at laſt the emperor being forced to quit Italy, and diſſention ariſing among the cordeliers, Nicholas having none to defend him, was taken and carried to Avignon, where he aſked John's pardon with a halter about his neck. After his ſubmiſſion, he was put into cloſe confinement, where he died in a few months.

Mat. Weſt. p. 447. Walſing. p. 89.

Schiſm of Urban VI. and Clement VII.

The ſecond ſchiſm between Urban VI. and Clement VII. was more conſiderable, and of longer continuance. I have related the riſe of it in the hiſtory of Richard II. for which reaſon I ſhall only ſhew its effects to the end of this century.

To pope Urban VI. ſucceeded in 1389 Boniface IX. who, as well as Clement, pretended to be deſirous to put an end to the ſchiſm, but nothing was farther from their intentions. Clement VII. who died at Avignon in 1394, had for ſucceſſor Benedict XIII.

All Chriſtendom being tired and offended at the ſchiſm, the court of France endeavoured to perſuade the two popes to reſign their dignity, that another pope might be canonically elected. They both conſented, but broke their word. Benedict eſpecially uſed ſo many evaſions, that the king of France reſolved to withdraw his kingdom from his obedience. For that purpoſe, he gained the cardinals of that party, who promiſed to deſert him; but Benedict having notice, fortified himſelf in his palace of Avignon, by introducing an Arragonian garriſon. He was beſieged by marſhal Boucicaut, but ſhortly after, that general had orders to raiſe the ſiege. Thus by the intrigues of ſome princes of the court of France, the ſchiſm ſtill continued, notwithſtanding the king's endeavours to cloſe it.

Nothing more remains but to give a brief account of ſuch eccleſiaſticks as were eminent for their merit and learning, in the reigns of the three Edwards and Richard II.

Robert Kilwarby, a cordelier or minorite, was archbiſhop of Canterbury in the reign of Edward I. and a prelate of eminent learning for the age he lived in. He wrote ſeveral theological tracts, which were in great repute in thoſe days. His merit having raiſed him to the dignity of a cardinal, he reſigned his archbiſhoprick, and went and lived at Rome, where he died. Kilwarby.

Robert Burnell, biſhop of Bath, was choſen for ſucceſſor to Kilwarby; but the pope, by the plenitude of his apoſtolick power, gave the ſee of Canterbury to John Peckham an Engliſh Franciſcan, who was auditor of his chamber. This prelate had great conteſts with Edward I. as well on occaſion of the canons of his ſynod, before-mentioned, as upon other accounts. The quarrel went ſo far, that the king was going to baniſh him the realm. He was reckoned very learned, particularly in the civil and canon law. There are ſome theological tracts of his, with commentaries upon ſeveral books of the ſcripture. Burnell. Peckham.

Robert Winchelſey, ſucceſſor of Peckham, preferred his archbiſhoprick to a cardinalate, which the pope would have honoured him with. This prelate is chiefly praiſed for his charities. He uſed to relieve four thouſand poor people twice a week at his houſe, beſides maintaining many young ſcholars at both the univerſities. Theſe charities gained him the affections of the people, who, after his death, flocked in crowds to his tomb, and paid him the regard of a ſaint. Mean while, this archbiſhop, ſo beloved by the people, had great conteſts with Edward I. for being deeply concerned in the intrigues of the lords, who oppoſed the deſigns of the king. The pope, whom Edward knew how to gain to his intereſt, cited the archbiſhop to Rome, to juſtify his conduct, and laid him under a ſuſpenſion. It was not till the reign of Edward II. that he was reſtored. Winchelſey. M. Weſt. Walſing. Act. Pub. II. p. 989, 1002.

John Britton, biſhop of Hereford, chiefly excelled in the knowledge of the common law. He wrote a book much eſteemed, de juribus Anglicanis, and died in 1275. Britton.

Joannes Duns Scotus, commonly called, Doctor Subtilis, lived in the reign of Edward II. and is too well known to be enlarged upon. It ſuffices to obſerve, that he differed in many things from the opinion of Thomas Aquinas, and was a great champion for the immaculate conception of the bleſſed virgin. After being profeſſor in divinity at Oxford and Paris, Duns Scotus.

Paris, he died at Cologn in the ſame office, in 1309 or 1310.

Stapleton. Walter Stapleton, biſhop of Exeter, was eminent for his learning and capacity in the adminiſtration of the publick affairs, and particularly for loyalty to Edward II. his ſovereign, for which he loſt his life, as was related in the hiſtory of that prince [n].

Stratford. Stratford, archbiſhop of Canterbury, under Edward III. was more famous as a ſtateſman than as an archbiſhop. I have related elſewhere his conteſt with Edward III. who accuſed him of miſdemeanours. But afterwards, the king commanded his accuſations againſt him to be cancelled, as containing things neither true nor reaſonable.

Bradwardin. Thomas Bradwardin, ſucceſſor of Stratford, was a great philoſopher and mathematician, and withal a very learned divine. He was commonly called the profound doctor, according to the cuſtom of thoſe days, of giving ſuch titles to thoſe that were eminent for their learning. He wrote a book againſt the Pelagians, which gained him great reputation, intitled, of the cauſe of God. But what rendered him ſtill more eſteemed than his learning, was his humility, and his zeal to inſtruct the people committed to his care. Before his promotion to the archiepiſcopal ſee, he was confeſſor to Edward III. and attended that great prince in all his expeditions. Some have done him the honour to ſay, that the progreſs of Edward's arms in France, was in great meaſure owing to his prudent counſels.

Occam. William Occam, of the order of St. Francis, diſciple of Duns Scotus, is famous for being head of the nominaliſts againſt the realiſts, of whom his maſter Scotus was chief. It would be needleſs to explain here, wherein conſiſted the difference between theſe two ſects of philoſophers, with which, God be thanked, the publick ſchools are now ſeldom troubled.

Fitzralph. Walſing. P. 173. Richard Fitzralph, archbiſhop of Armagh [o], born at Dundalk in Ireland, was a great enemy to the Mendicant friars. He attacked them vigorouſly in his ſermons preached at London, wherein he undertook to prove the nine following propoſitions:

[n] With him may be joined Walter de Merton, biſhop of Rocheſter, and founder of Merton college in Oxford, in the year 1267, who died in 1277. T. Wikes.

[o] He was inſtalled dean of Litchfield, April 20, 1327, and tranſlated to Armagh, 1347. He died in 1360.

I. That,

I. That, with reſpect to the place where confeſſions are to be made, the pariſh churches are to be preferred before thoſe of the friars.

II. That pariſhioners ought rather to confeſs to a curate than to a friar.

III. That notwithſtanding Jeſus Chriſt was poor whilſt upon earth, yet he never affected poverty.

IV. That Chriſt did never beg, nor make profeſſion of voluntary poverty.

V. That he never taught people to make profeſſion of beggary.

VI. That Chriſt held the contrary, namely, that men ought not to beg by inclination and choice, but only when forced to it by neceſſity.

VII. That to profeſs beggary is a thing contrary to religion and common ſenſe.

VIII. That to be under engagements of voluntary poverty, is not agreeable to the rule of the friars minorites or cordeliers.

IX. That the bull of Alexander IV. which condemns the libel of the doctors of Paris, cenſures none of theſe eight propoſitions.

Theſe articles, which attacked the mendicant friars in the moſt ſenſible part, it being by their voluntary poverty that they had gained and preſerved their credit with the people, were carried to the pope, who cited the archbiſhop before him. He appeared, and courageouſly maintained all his aſſertions. But before the affair was decided, he died at Avignon 1360. He tranſlated the bible into Engliſh, and wrote two treatiſes, one in defence of the pariſh prieſts againſt the friars, the other, de audientia confeſſionum.

John de Treviſa, a Corniſh man, who lived in the reign of Edward III. tranſlated the bible, and ſeveral other books into Engliſh. He was of the ſame opinion as the archbiſhop of Armagh, and maintained, that Jeſus Chriſt ſent apoſtles, but never mendicant friars to preach the goſpel. Treviſa.

Theſe are almoſt all that were eminent for their piety and learning during the four laſt reigns, unleſs we reckon among the famous and learned men, a company of ſchoolmen, who, in my opinion, deſerve not to be placed in that claſs. Some add, the founders of colleges and monaſteries, as meriting to hold a conſiderable rank among the devout. But theſe are too ambiguous marks to be relied on. One may judge by

this ſmall number of learned perſons, how the ſciences were degenerated, ſince among all the above-named, hardly is there one truly learned. In ſpite of the prejudices of Wickliff's enemies, I ſhall make no ſcruple to except that doctor, of whom I have already ſaid enough to excuſe me from adding any thing farther P.

P The moſt noted hiſtorians of the fourteenth century were:

Thomas Wikes. His hiſtory begins at the conqueſt, and ends at the death of Edward I. 1304. He was canon regular of Oſney, near Oxford, and writes as clearly and fully (eſpecially in ſome paſſages relating to the barons wars) as ſo compendious a chronicle as his is, would allow him to do. Dr. Gale has publiſhed this hiſtory in his Hiſt. Angl. vol. II.

The author of the chronicle, which goes under the name of John Brompton, abbot of Joreval or Jorevaulx in Yorkſhire, lived about this time. The chronicle begins with the coming of Auſtin, in 588, and ends with the death of Richard I. 1198. It is plain from this hiſtory's taking no notice of the foundation of that monaſtery, &c. that neither Brompton, nor any member of that religious houſe was author of this chronicle, but that it was procured by that abbot, and by him beſtowed on his monaſtery. The author (who ever he be) is very full in his collections for the Saxon times, but takes no notice of the chronological part in the whole hiſtory of the heptarchy. He gives the Saxon laws at large, and tranſlates pretty honeſtly. This chronicle is publiſhed among the Decem Scriptores.

Ranulph Higden, monk of St. Werburg's in Cheſter, where he died very aged in 1377, was a downright plagiary. He falls foul on William of Malmſbury in many places. He ſtyles his work, Polychronicon. What he collected relating to the times of the Britons and Saxons, has been lately publiſhed by Dr. Gale, vol. I. who commends him for preſerving many remains out of ancient chronicles, now wholly loſt or miſlaid.

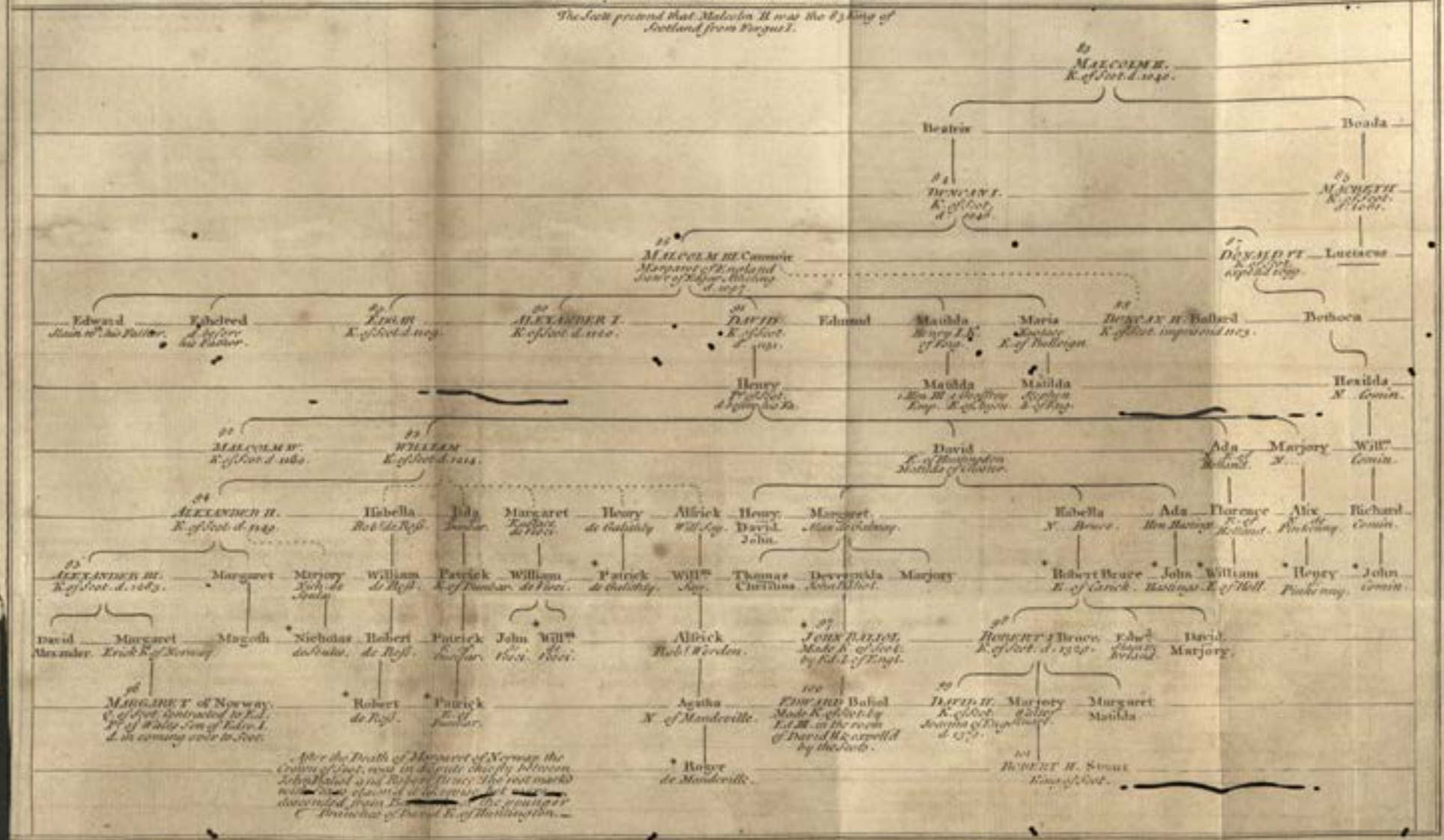
Matthew, a Benedictine monk of Weſtminſter, ended his hiſtory at the year 1307, though it was afterwards continued by other hands. He was a choice collector of the flowers of former hiſtorians, from whence he is uſually ſtyled Florilegus. He entirely tranſcribes Matthew Paris. His moſt eminent continuator was Adam Merimuth, canon regular of St. Paul's, and an eminent civilian, who, in his latter days gave himſelf wholly to the reading and writing Engliſh hiſtory. He begins his work in 1302, and reaches to 1380.

THE

Rapin.

I.st GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF SCOTLAND FROM MALCOLM II TO ROBERT II.

The Scots pretend that Malcolm II was the 83 King of Scotland from Fergus I.



After the Death of Margaret of Norway the Crown of Scot. was in dispute chiefly between John Baliol and Robert Bruce the rest made little figure at the time of the former but descended from Isabella the youngest Daughter of David E. of Huntington.

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XI.

The reigns of HENRY IV. *and* HENRY V. *containing the ſpace of twenty two years and ten months.*

13. HENRY IV. *ſurnamed of* BULLINGBROKE.

HENRY, duke of Lancaſter, ſurnamed of Bullingbroke, the place of his birth [a], having been proclaimed the 30th of September, aſſumed that very day the reins of the government. As the parliament then aſſembled was called in Richard's name, and as their authority ceaſed upon his being depoſed, Henry's firſt care was to call another. To proceed according to cuſtom, the repreſentatives muſt have been choſen anew. But Henry did not think fit to run the riſk, of having a leſs favourable parliament than that which had ſo heartily eſpouſed his cauſe. He was contented therefore, with impowering the ſame repreſentatives, to make, with the houſe of lords, a new parliament under his authority. I ſhall not venture to decide, whether this proceeding was irregular, or authoriſed by any former precedent. Be that as it will, after a few days interruption, the ſame parliament met again on the 6th of October, as if called by the new king [b]. 1399. Henry IV. continues the ſame parliament called by Richard. Cotton's Abridg. Brady.

Mean

[a] A town in Lincolnſhire.

[b] The archbiſhop of Canterbury aſſerting, that the moment king Richard's ceſſion was given, the parliament would be diſſolved; it was thought neceſſary to have new writs ready, to iſſue

1399. Mean time Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, conſidering it would be no leſs dangerous than fruitleſs, at ſuch a juncture, to aſſert his juſt right to the crown, retired to his lordſhip of Wigmore, near the borders of Wales. The more inconteſtible his title was, the more reaſon he had to dread the new king's jealouſy. So, giving way to the torrent which he could not ſtem, he reſolved to live in retirement, without ſhewing the leaſt ambition, or the leaſt uneaſineſs at the injuſtice that was done him. He had no other way to ſecure his repoſe, and even his life, againſt the ſuſpicions of a prince, whoſe intereſt it was to deſtroy him. It was but too probable, that the new king would embrace the firſt occaſion, to free himſelf from the uneaſineſs which ſuch a rival could create.

The earl of March retires to Wigmore.

The parliament being aſſembled, Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, made a long ſpeech, tending to inſpire a high opinion of the advanatges procured to the kingdom by the late revolution. He enlarged chiefly on the diſorders of the late reign, and aſſured that the new ſovereign propoſed to govern after a very different manner, and to preſerve to all their rights and liberties. This prelate was baniſhed the realm in the late reign, and Roger Walden, who was appointed in his room, had hitherto performed the archiepiſcopal functions. But as Arundel was not canonically depoſed, the parliament in their firſt ſeſſion, ordered that he ſhould reſume his dignity, and the rather as the other had not yet obtained the pope's confirmation. The archbiſhop's ſpeech, and ſome preliminary formalities, were the only things remarkable in the firſt ſeſſion of the new parliament, which was adjourned to the 14th of October. The adjournment was neceſſary in order to prepare for the coronation, which was to be on the 13th.

The archbiſhop harangues the parliament in praiſe of the new king. Cotton, ibid.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 96.

During this interval, the king filled ſeveral poſts, which were vacant, or poſſeſſed by perſons he did not like. Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Ralph Nevill, earl of Weſtmoreland, had ſhown too great a zeal for the king, by joining him at Ravenſpur, preſently after his landing, not to have a ſhare in his favours. Henry, willing to ſhow his gratitude, made the firſt high conſtable, and the other, earl marſhal [c]. A few days after, he gave alſo to the earl of Nor-

The king fills the vacant poſts; rewards the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 89.

iſſue out as ſoon as the ceremony of his reſignation was over. Accordingly freſh writs were iſſued out, dated at Weſtminſter, Sept. 30, and made returnable in ſix days.

[c] There was given him by the king, as a badge of that office, a golden ſtaff, enamelled with black at both ends; the king's arms at the upper end, and his own at the lower. All the marſhals

Northumberland, the iſle of Man, with the privilege of carrying at the coronation the ſword called Lancaſter, on the king's left hand [d]. This was the ſame ſword the king wore when he landed at Ravenſpur. 1399.

After Henry had requited theſe two lords, whom he conſidered as moſt attached to his intereſt and perſon, he made Thomas of Lancaſter his ſecond ſon, high ſteward. It was abſolutely neceſſary to fill that poſt before the coronation, becauſe to the high ſteward's court all muſt apply who claim any ſervice in that ceremony, in order to be maintained in their rights. But as the prince was not above ten years old, the king gave him for deputy, Thomas Percy, earl of Worceſter, brother to the earl of Northumberland. Thomas his ſecond ſon made high ſteward. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 90. Walſing.

On the 13th of October, Edward the confeſſor's day, Henry was crowned with all the uſual formalities, being then thirty three years of age [e]. He was anointed with a certain oil, pretended to be brought by the bleſſed virgin, to St. Thomas of Canterbury, whilſt he was in France. The vial which held this precious oil, was fallen into the hands of a hermit, who preſented it to Henry, duke of Lancaſter, grandſon of Henry III. with this prophecy, that the kings which ſhould be anointed with that ſacred oil, ſhould become true champions for the church. The duke of Lancaſter gave it afterwards to the famous prince of Wales, ſon of Edward III. who was reſolved to be anointed with it when crowned. After the death of that prince, the vial which was of ſtone, having on the top a gold eagle ſet with diamonds, was laid up among the jewels, without being minded. Richard II. his ſon, finding it, ſome time before his laſt voyage into Ireland, deſigned to be crowned again, on purpoſe to be anointed with this divine oil. But the archbiſhop of Canterbury oppoſed it, by repreſenting, that the unction of kings ought not to be repeated. At length, the vial was fallen into Henry's hands [f], who, either out of devotion, or The king is crowned, and anointed with an extraordinary oil. Walſing. p. 360, 361, Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 55.

ſhals before him wore a wooden ſtaff. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 115.—He was alſo created earl of Richmond. Walſing.

[d] He was to hold the iſle of Man by that office. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 91, 95.—per ſervitium portandi, diebus coronationis noſtra & hæredum noſtrorum, per ſe ipſum aut ſufficientem & honorificum deputatum ſuum, illum gladium nudum, quo cincti eramus quando in partibus de Holderneſſe applicuimus, vocatum Lancaſtre Swerde.

[e] He lodged the night before in the Tower of London, where he made his three ſons, with ſeveral of the ſons of the nobility, and others, to the number of forty ſix, knights of the Bath. Comp. Hiſt. p. 273.

1399. becauſe it came from the duke of Lancaſter, his grandfather by the mother's ſide, was pleaſed to be anointed with it at his coronation. But if we examine the reigns of this prince, and ſeveral of his ſucceſſors, who were anointed with the ſame oil, we ſhall not find, that the good hermit's prophecy was accompliſhed.

Henry refuſes to own he holds the crown of the people.

I have obſerved, in the reign of Richard II. that when, after the depoſing of that prince, Henry claimed the crown, he affected to uſe obſcure expreſſions. His aim was to make the people believe, there was ſome foundation in the right, he pretended to derive from the firſt houſe of Lancaſter, of which he was heir by his mother. But this pretext, which might then have ſome effect upon ſuch as voluntarily ſhut their eyes, was too groſs to deceive any longer. It was therefore neceſſary for the new king, to find ſome plauſible title, to juſtify the nation's choice of his perſon. There was none more equitable than the ſervice he had juſt done the ſtate. But he judged it dangerous to reſt his right upon ſuch a foundation. When he was to receive the crown, he very willingly owned the parliament's power to confer it upon him. But when it was once placed on his head, he was afraid, from that principle it would be inferred, that they who had given the crown, had power to take it away. He was therefore under ſome perplexity. It was requiſite the people ſhould be ſatisfied, that the parliament could lawfully depoſe Richard, and that their authority was ſuperior to the king's. On the other hand, it was as neceſſary to let them underſtand, that in placing Henry on the throne, the parliament had not proceeded by way of authority, and could not diſpenſe with owning him for king. In a word, they were to acknowledge in the parliament an unlimited power, with reſpect to Richard's depoſing, and to decline that authority in the new election. Theſe two things ſeemed irreconcileable. But when a man has power on his ſide, he does not ſo much trouble himſelf about finding good reaſons, as about amuſing the publick with appearances. Henry, perſuaded that in this juncture, no one would have the boldneſs to contradict him, reſolved to let his ſubjects know, he did not mean to derive his right from their bare conſent. On his very coronation day, he publiſhed a proclamation, declaring, that he aſcended the throne, firſt, by right of conqueſt: ſecondly, by virtue

The king's proclamation to ſhow his title to the crown. Hayward. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 5.

f He had it of Richard II, at Cheſter, by the archbiſhop's means. Walſing. p. 361.

of

of Richard's ceſſion, and deſignation of him for his ſucceſſor: laſtly, as he was the next male heir of the late king ſ. By this means he excluded the only lawful title he had, namely, the general conſent of the people, in order to build his claim upon three manifeſtly weak foundations. In the firſt place, how could he pretend to a right of conqueſt? he entered the kingdom but with fourſcore men, who, probably, were for the moſt part Engliſh. Beſides his ſucceſs was entirely owing to the concurrence of all England, and conſequently he could not ſay he had conquered the kingdom. In the next place, it was not true that Richard had reſigned the crown to him. We have ſeen in the reign of that prince, that Henry himſelf, as well as his friends, did not think it proper. Richard was only obliged to make an abſolute reſignation, leaſt it ſhould appear too conſtrained, if he did it in favour of a prince, to whom he was actually a priſoner. Moreover, ſuppoſing Richard had appointed Henry for his ſucceſſor, how could a king, depoſed for tyranny and inability, be allowed a right to chooſe the perſon who ſhould ſucceed him, eſpecially as the nomination was contrary to the laws of the land? laſtly, it was ſtill leſs true, that Henry was Richard's next heir, unleſs the Salic law had been revived in England, as in France, and the deſcendants of the daughters were debarred the ſucceſſion. It is true, in the third title alledged by the king, there was a ſort of equivocation capable of deceiving. He was couſin german of the late king, and conſequently a nearer relation than the earl of March, who was one degree farther removed. But it did not follow, that he was the next heir, ſince, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion, the branch, and not the degree of relation, was to be regarded. Thus, after the death of Edward III. Richard his grandſon ſucceeded him, though he was one degree farther removed than his uncles. Again, ſuppoſing this rule had not been inviolably obſerved, Henry could not ſay, he was the neareſt relation of Richard. He was firſt couſin, but the duke of York, who was uncle, had no leſs right than he. So, on which ſide ſoever Henry's pretended titles were viewed, they muſt have appeared ill grounded. The only title he could have produced with any colour, was the conſent of the people. But he would not uſe it for the reaſon abovementioned. 1399.

ſ This laſt reaſon in the proclamation occaſioned that pun of the earl of March, that he was indeed hæres malus.

1399. The ſame day the king iſſued out his proclamation, he created Henry his eldeſt ſon, aged thirteen years, duke of Cornwall, prince of Wales, and earl of Cheſter. But he added not to theſe titles, as ſome affirm [h] that of duke of Aquitain.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 91, 94. Walſing.

The ceremony of the coronation being ended, the parliament met the next day, being the fourteenth of October. The importance of the acts paſſed in this ſeſſion, obliges me to deſcend to particulars, abſolutely neceſſary for the ſequel of the hiſtory.

The parliament meets. Cotton's Abridg.

In the firſt place, was paſſed an act of indemnity, to ſcreen thoſe, who, during the late troubles, had taken arms in favour of the king, then duke of Lancaſter. This act was abſolutely neceſſary, ſince the laws condemned, without diſtinction, thoſe that oppoſed the government eſtabliſhed, which was preciſely the caſe of the king's friends, and of the king himſelf.

Acts of parliament.

After this act was paſſed, the parliament examined what had been done in the late reign, to ſtretch the prerogative royal beyond the uſual bounds. They applied themſelves chiefly to the proceedings of the parliament, begun at Weſtminſter, in 1397, and continued at Shrewſbury, in 1398. All the acts, as well with regard to the three lords unjuſtly condemned, as to the exorbitant privileges granted to the king, were ſo manifeſtly deſtructive of the nation's liberties, that they were unanimouſly repealed. At the ſame time were revived and confirmed, the ſtatutes of the parliament of 1388, annulled by that of Shrewſbury. It was thought likewiſe abſolutely neceſſary to paſs a particular act againſt the pope's bull, ratifying the ſtatutes of Shrewſbury. This bull, whereby Richard II. pretended to give more force to the acts of his parliament, was founded on a principle too oppoſite to the rights of the people to be ſuffered to ſubſiſt. For the pope's power to confirm acts of parliament could not be acknowledged, without aſcribing to him a right of ſovereignty over England. Wherefore, the parliament declared in that act, that the kingdom of England was independent of all foreign power, particularly of the court of Rome, and that the pope had no right to interpoſe in the civil government of the realm.

The parliament examines the proceedings of the former one. Walſing.

[h] Rapin is herein miſtaken, for it appears from Cotton's Abridg. that king Henry now enacted, that his eldeſt ſon Henry ſhould be called prince of Wales, duke of Aquitain, Lancaſter, and Cornwall, and earl of Cheſter, p. 392. See Walſing. p. 361.

The

The Shrewſbury parliament deſigning to extend the royal authority as much as poſſible, had ſo multiplied the caſes of high treaſon [i], that none, but ſuch as acknowledged in the ſovereign an unlimited power, could poſſibly avoid the penalty of it. To redreſs ſo dangerous a grievance, which tended to render the king abſolute maſter of the lives and fortunes of his ſubjects, the parliament revived a ſtatute, made in the reign of Edward III. [k] and enacted, that nothing ſhould be adjudged to be treaſon, but what was contained therein. 1399.

After the rights and privileges of the people were, by theſe acts, reſtored to the ſame ſtate as before the encroachments of Richard, the authors and adviſers of the uſurpations were called to an account. When king Richard apprehended the duke of Glouceſter, and the earls of Warwick and Arundel, he was not inveſted with that abſolute power, ſo liberally conferred upon him afterwards by the Shrewſbury parliament; ſo that he was forced to proceed according to law, in the condemnation of theſe three lords. To that end, he ſo ordered it, that John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, his half brother, Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, his nephew, Edward Plantagenet, earl of Albemarle, his couſin, ſon of the duke of York, John Beaufort, earl of Somerſet, ſon of the duke of Lancaſter, by his third wife, and the lord Thomas Spencer, were the accuſers of the three impriſoned lords. The earl of Saliſbury [l], and the lord Morley [m], were reported to be the chief contriyers of the plot. After condemnation, Richard diſtributed the eſtates of the three lords among the accuſers and evidences. Moreover, he made the earl of Albemarle, a duke, and conferred the title of duke of Exeter, on the earl of Huntingdon, of duke of Surrey, on the earl of Kent, of duke of Somerſet, on the earl of Somerſet, and of earl of Glouceſter, on Thomas Spencer.

Richard's adviſers and favourites are called to account. Walſing. Cotton's Abridg.

[i] See p. 62. note y, of this vol.

[k] In the 25th of Edward III. The offences declared to be treaſon by that ſtatute are theſe: "Compaſſing or "imagining the death of the king, the "queen, or of their eldeſt ſon and "heir: violating the king's compa-"nion, or the king's eldeſt daughter "unmarried, or the wife of the king's "eldeſt ſon and heir: levying war a-"gainſt the king in his realm, or be-"ing an adherent to the king's ene-"mies in his realm, giving them aid "or comfort in the realm, or elſe-"where: counterfeiting the king's "great ſeal, or privy ſeal, or his mo-"ney, or bringing counterfeit money "into the kingdom; killing the chan-"cellor, treaſurer, or any of the "king's juſtices, in their places, and "in the execution of their office.— "Petit treaſon, is, when a ſervant "killeth his maſter, or a wife a huſ-"band, or when a man ſecular or re-"ligious ſlayeth his prelate." Statutes at large, 25 Edw. III.

[l] John de Montacut.

[m] Thomas lord Morley.

As

1399. As it was publickly known, that the three lords were unjuſtly oppreſſed by the late king, the parliament thought it neceſſary to puniſh the authors and inſtruments of that violence. For that purpoſe, after reverſing the ſentence againſt the earls of Arundel and Warwick, as directly contrary to the pardon that was granted them, it was reſolved, that the accuſers ſhould be deprived both of their new titles, and the eſtates diſtributed among them [n]. As to their own lands, it was left to the king, either to continue them in poſſeſſion, or turn them out as he pleaſed. Henry, willing to ſhow his clemency in the beginning of his reign, not only left them their eſtates, but likewiſe reſtored them to their honours. Moreover, he made the duke of Exeter, his brother in law [o], governor of Calais. The earl of Saliſbury, and the lord Morley, Richard's deteſted miniſters, and principal authors of the violence practiſed upon the duke of Glouceſter, and the other two lords, were releaſed after a ſhort impriſonment, though the people loudly called for their death. As the friends of theſe lords alledged in their excuſe, that Richard had uſed compulſion, the parliament took occaſion to paſs an act, declaring, that for the future, compulſion ſhould be no legal excuſe to juſtify actions contrary to law.

Walſing.

General pardon.

This affair being over, the parliament prevailed with the king to grant a general pardon, in which however were excepted, the duke of Glouceſter's murderers. One of the villains [p] being apprehended and convicted, was hanged at London, and his head ſent to Calais, to be fixed on one of the gates.

The ſucceſſion ſettled on the houſe of Lancaſter. Walſing. Cotton's Abridg.

Though the injuſtice done to the earl of March was manifeſt, it might in ſome meaſure be coloured, with the pretence of rewarding Henry for the ſignal ſervice he had done the ſtate. If this reward had been limited to his perſon, perhaps it would not have ſeemed very ſtrange, that in ſo extraordinary a caſe the laws ſhould be ſuperſeded in favour of a prince, who had ſo freely expoſed himſelf for the publick. But at ſuch junctures, it is very difficult to keep within the bounds of equity. The parliament, not content with adjudging to Henry the crown taken from Richard, would moreover ſecure it to his poſterity. To that end, an act was paſſed, ſettling the ſucceſſion on the houſe of Lancaſter;

[n] With this condition, that they ſhould not be obliged to refund the rents of the lands, for the time they had poſſeſſed them. Walſing.

[o] John Holland, who had married his ſiſter Elizabeth, ſecond daughter of John of Gaunt, by Blanch d' Artois. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 78.

[p] John Hall. He was executed November 28. Cotton's Abridg.

firſt

firſt on the perſon of the prince of Wales, the king's eldeſt ſon and his heirs, then on his three brothers and their iſſue. 1399.

A very important affair ſtill remained, concerning which the king was deſirous to have the advice of the parliament before they broke up. The commons, not ſatisfied with the bare depoſing of Richard, after a very irregular manner, would have had him tried in form, and petitioned the king for that purpoſe [q]. It was therefore to know how Richard was to be diſpoſed of, that the king wanted the advice of the two houſes. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was charged with his orders, having exacted an oath of ſecrecy from all the members, made the firſt motion. It may well be thought that Richard had not many friends in the houſe, and if any diſapproved of the proceedings againſt him, they were too much awed to venture to ſpeak in his behalf. There was one however bold enough to ſay publickly, what others only thought, namely, Thomas Merks, biſhop of Carliſle, who, without regarding the motives which might induce him, as well as the reſt of Richard's friends, to keep ſilence, made a long ſpeech, wherein he alledged every thing that could with any plauſibleneſs be ſaid for the king depoſed, and againſt the king on the throne.

The king aſks the parliament what is to be done with Richard.

The biſhop undertook to prove three things. "Firſt, "that there was no authority which could lawfully depoſe "a king of England. Secondly, that the offences Richard "was accuſed of, deſerved not depoſition, and beſides were "not proved. Thirdly, that the crown was unjuſtly ad-"judged to the duke of Lancaſter.

The biſhop of Carliſle's ſpeech in defence of Richard.

"He enlarged very much on the firſt, ſhowing the great "difference between the ſeveral kinds of government eſta-"bliſhed in the world. He confeſſed that in ſome, the prince "or head might be depoſed, becauſe the ſupreme autho-"rity was not ſolely lodged in his perſon, but the people, or "nobles, had a ſhare. Of this ſort he reckoned the repub-"licks, the ancient government of Rome, the empire of "Germany, the kingdoms of Swedeland and Denmark, "the earldom of Flanders, and ſome other ſtates. But he "maintained, it was otherwiſe in the governments where "the ſupreme authority reſides in the ſingle perſon of the "ſovereign. In this claſs, he ranked the kingdom of Iſrael,

[q] Hollingſhead ſays, the commons addreſs was to this purpoſe; that ſince king Richard had reſigned, and was lawfully depoſed from his royal dignity, he might have judgment decreed againſt him. p. 512.

"among

1399. "among the ancients, with the three firſt empires; and "among the moderns, England, France, Spain, Scotland, "Muſcovy, Turkey, Perſia, and in general all the king- "doms of Aſia and Africa. With regard to theſe he al- "ledged, that though the vices of a ſovereign ſhould be not "only detrimental, but even intolerable to his ſubjects, he "could not be lawfully depoſed by any means whatever: "that force could not be uſed, without incurring the crime "of rebellion and treaſon; and much leſs authority, ſince "there was not in the ſtate any lawful authority but what "was derived from him. He produced arguments and "precedents from the holy ſcriptures and prophane au- "thors, which cannot be repeated without being exceſſively "tedious."

Upon the ſecond article, he boldly aſſerted, "that the "crimes for which Richard was depoſed, were either falſe "or aggravated: that indeed, he might be guilty of ſome "errors or overſights, but his faults could not be ſtyled "tyranny: that if his failings afforded juſt cauſe to depoſe "him, how many ſovereigns would daily be treated as ty- "rants, and depoſed by their ſubjects? every tax, execution "of rebels, in a word, whatever was not reliſhed by the "people, would furniſh a pretence to dethrone the moſt law- "ful prince." He paſſed over the more ſlightly the proofs of this ſecond head, as the parliament itſelf ſeemed to queſtion the truth of the crimes alledged againſt Richard, ſince there was no ſtep taken to prove them in a legal manner. By the way, it is very likely that for fear of this reproach, the commons wanted to proceed in form againſt the depoſed king.

Upon the third article the biſhop maintained, "that even "ſuppoſing Richard guilty, and granting the nation had au- "thority to depoſe him, there was not the leaſt colour of "juſtice to give the crown to the duke of Lancaſter. That "if the duke was the true heir of Richard, as he pretend- "ed, he muſt wait his death before he could inherit. But "that it was known to all there was a nearer heir, whoſe fa- "ther was declared ſucceſſor of Richard by act of parlia- "ment." As for Henry's pretended right from Edmund Crouchback, ſon of Henry III. the biſhop diſdained to con- ſider it, affirming, "he was very certain, that people of "ſenſe were aſhamed of a right, built upon ſo ſlender a "foundation."

After that the orator proceeded to examine the other two titles contained in the king's proclamation, namely, conqueſt, and

and Richard's reſignation. To the firſt he ſaid, "That a 1399.
"ſubject could never pretend to a right of conqueſt againſt
"his ſovereign, ſince the victory itſelf was high and heinous
"treaſon." As for the reſignation, he ſaid, "it was not
"only extorted by force, but ſuppoſing it voluntary, could
"be of no validity: that in Richard's ſituation, it was not
"in his power to make a valid act: that beſides, ſince by
"the laws of the land the king could not alienate the crown
"jewels, much leſs ſurely could he give away the crown
"itſelf[r]." Then he ſpoke of the general conſent of the people, though Henry had not thought proper to inſiſt upon it, "That the kingdom of England having never been
"elective, it was ridiculous to aſcribe to the people the pow-
"er of diſpoſing of the crown." Laſtly, he replied to the objection, which might be alledged from the depoſing of Edward II. "That wiſe men muſt be guided by law, and
"not by examples and precedents. That however, the de-
"poſing of Edward II. was no more to be urged, than the
"poiſoning of king John, or the murder of any other prince:
"but even in the depoſing of Edward II. care was taken
"to preſerve the rights of the lawful ſucceſſor."

What the biſhop had hitherto ſaid, might paſs for reaſons to queſtion whether Richard II. could be lawfully depoſed. At moſt, it might be conſidered as the private opinion of the ſpeaker. But towards the concluſion of his ſpeech, he launched out ſtrangely againſt Henry, and expreſſed a paſſion very injurious to the reaſons he had alledged. He ſaid, "It was to be feared the people of England would ſoon find
"themſelves in the caſe of Æſop's frogs, boldly adding, as
"long as Richard was alive, the Engliſh could not with
"juſtice own any other ſovereign. In fine, he maintained,
"that the perſon whom they called king had committed much
"more heinous crimes, than thoſe for which Richard was
"depoſed: that he had, after his baniſhment, entered the
"kingdom, contrary to his oath, and without being legally
"recalled: that, not content with diſturbing the quiet of
"the land, by an unjuſt and impious inſurrection againſt his
"ſovereign, he had moreover diſpoſſeſſed him: that he had
"alſo demanded judgment againſt him, without offering to
"prove his accuſation, or permitting the party accuſed to
"make his defence, contrary to the expreſs laws of the
"realm." He concluded with ſaying, "That if the wrong

[r] If a king is ſubject to the law, with regard to the alienation of the crown jewels, why not in other reſpects? Rapin.

1399. "done Richard was not capable of moving the hearts of the "Engliſh, at leaſt their common and manifeſt danger ought "to ſtop the courſe of theſe violent proceedings."

The biſhop impriſoned.

This ſpeech produced not the effect the ſpeaker expected. It was ſo unſeaſonable, that, ſuppoſing the majority had been of his mind, it was impoſſible to recede from what had been done. But moſt of the members perſiſted in the ſame maxims they had followed when Richard was depoſed. Accordingly, the biſhop reaped no other fruit from his harangue, than to be confined in the abbey of St. Albans, from whence, however, he was ſhortly after releaſed without farther puniſhment [s].

Godwin in Epiſ. Carl.

Extraordinary ſentence paſſed upon Richard.

The biſhop of Carliſle's opinion being unanimouſly rejected, the parliament came, with regard to Richard, to a reſolution ſeemingly ſo extraordinary, that there is ſome reaſon to ſuſpect that hiſtory is defective in this place. However, all the hiſtorians agree, that it was reſolved, Richard ſhould be kept in confinement during life, with a princely allowance: but in caſe any perſon ſhould attempt his deliverance, Richard ſhould be the firſt that ſhould ſuffer death. If this be true, it cannot be denied that he was really condemned to die, ſince his life was only granted him on a condition not in his power. Beſides, ſuch a condition cannot be annexed to the ſentence of a criminal, but on ſuppoſition that he is already condemned.

Remarks on the ſentence.

It is not my buſineſs to determine, how far the authority of the parliament may be extended, with reſpect to the king's perſon. I ſhall only obſerve, that this is the ſecond inſtance of the depoſing of a king of England, without hearing his defence, or ſo much as obſerving the uſual formalities preſcribed by the law, in the trial of the meaneſt ſubject. The parliament which depoſed Edward II. was ſatisfied with decreeing, that he ſhould be kept in ſafe cuſtody during life. But this parliament, to Richard's depoſing, adds the ſentence of death: for no otherwiſe can the condition be conſidered, upon which his life is granted. Let us farther remark, that one of the chief articles of accuſation againſt this prince, was his putting to death the duke of Glouceſter his uncle, without a previous trial. And yet this ſame parliament condemns him unheard, upon his bare confeſſion, when

[s] He was deprived of his biſhoprick, and had the titular ſee of Samos conferred on him by the pope. Walſin. p. 364. There is a writ for the reſtitution of the temporalities of the ſee of Carliſle, to William Styrkland, or Strickland, his ſucceſſor, dated November 15, this year, 1399. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 106.

a priſoner; not, that he is guilty of the particular crimes laid to his charge, but that he is, in his own opinion, unworthy to wear the crown. They are not content with ſtripping him of his royalty, but order him to be impriſoned for life. What do I ſay? They really condemn him to die, ſince in ſeeming to grant him his life, they add a condition, which probably muſt ſoon make him loſe it. If in peruſing the reign of Richard II. one cannot help deteſting the principles of the Shrewſbury parliament, which tended to ſubject the lives, honours, and fortunes of the nation to the king's will, what ought we to think of this? By a contrary exceſs, they put the life and honour of the king himſelf in the power of his ſubjects, and refuſe the ſovereign a privilege, which every Engliſh ſubject has a juſt right to demand. The examples theſe two parliaments afford, are a clear evidence, that the Engliſh conſtitution can never pretend to that degree of perfection, boaſted by ſome, till the bounds to be preſcribed to the prerogative royal, and the privileges of parliament, are preciſely determined. 1399.

The king aſſures the clergy of his protection.

Whilſt the two houſes acted in common, and with equal ardour, for the intereſt of the prince they had placed on the throne, the convocation was ſitting in St. Paul's. As the king rightly judged, that, in order to ſupport himſelf in the throne, it was abſolutely neceſſary to make the clergy his friends, he ſent the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, to aſſure them of his protection. The earls being admitted into the aſſembly, ſaid, they were come from the king not to demand money, as was cuſtomary in the late reign, but to acquaint the clergy of the king's reſolution to maintain their privileges and immunities. Adding, they had orders to aſſure the convocation, that the king was ready to concur with them, in whatever means ſhould be judged proper to extirpate hereſy, and puniſh obſtinate hereticks. They concluded, with deſiring the clergy's prayers for the welfare of the king and kingdom. Nothing was more apt to gain the hearts of the eccleſiaſticks, than the king's promiſe with regard to hereſy. The number of the Lollards, which daily increaſed, gave the clergy juſt occaſion to fear, that in the end a reformation might be ſet on foot, which could not but be very detrimental to their temporal intereſts. Accordingly, the aſſurances the king gave the convocation were received with great demonſtrations of joy and thankfulneſs.

He promiſes to extirpate hereſy.

The parliament diſſolved.

Some days after, the parliament, having finiſhed the principal affairs to the king's ſatisfaction, and, in appearance, with the approbation of the whole kingdom, was diſſolved according

1399. according to cuſtom. Prorogations were not then ſo frequent as ſince [t].

Ambaſſadors ſent to divers courts. Walſing.

During the whole ſeſſion, Henry had little attended to foreign affairs. Thoſe at home ſeemed to him of much greater moment, ſince the buſineſs was to ſettle a revolution that procured him the crown. As ſoon as he found himſelf free from theſe firſt concerns, he thought of means to juſtify to the other ſovereigns the late alterations in England. The depoſing of a king being odious in itſelf, and ſeeming to affect all princes, it was not eaſy to perſuade them, that a nation had ſufficient reaſon to uſe ſo violent a remedy, to free themſelves from tyranny. Upon that account, Henry diſpatched ambaſſadors to all the principal courts of Europe [u], to endeavour to give a plauſible colour to Richard's depoſition, and his own promotion. He was chiefly concerned to pacify the court of France, as the only one whoſe reſentment was dangerous [w]. He was not ignorant, that Charles VI. had formed a deſign to revenge the injury done to his ſon-in-law, and that his diſtemper, into which he was relapſed upon hearing the news, had hindered him from inſtantly breaking the twenty-eight years truce made with England. Henry choſe for ambaſſadors the biſhop of Durham and earl of Worceſter [x], who had inſtructions to propoſe a perpetual league and alliance between the two crowns. Moreover, to make the alliance the firmer, he ordered them to propoſe a double marriage. The firſt, which he had projected, was between Henry his eldeſt ſon, and a daughter of the French king, or of one of his uncles: the ſecond, between his own daughter, and one of the king's ſons, or neareſt relations. The ambaſſadors met with a cold reception in France, but, as they had orders not to obſtruct their negotiation, by ſtanding on ceremony, they patiently waited till the French were grown cooler.

Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 56.

Propoſals to the court of France. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 108, 128.

The ambaſſadors are coldly received.

As for the other courts of Europe, Henry had no occaſion to proceed ſo cautiouſly. The emperor Wenceſlaus, who was ſtill alive, was a prince grown ſtupid with drinking, and withal, like the reſt of the German princes, regardleſs of

Diſpoſition of the other courts.

[t] In this parliament king Henry reſtored the alien priories, that had been ſeized by Edward II. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 101, &c.

[u] To the pope he ſent John Trevenant, biſhop of Hereford, ſir John Cheyne, and John Cheyne, eſq; to the kings in Spain, John Trenor, biſhop of St. Aſaph, and ſir William Parr, To the emperor of Germany, the biſhop of Bangor, &c. Walſing. p. 362.

[w] The count de St. Pol, and other great men of that kingdom, ſent him very abuſive letters of defiance, as the reader may ſee in Monſtrelet, beginning of vol. I.

[x] Walter Skirlowe, and Thomas Percy.

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what paſſed in England. As for the kings of Caſtile and Portugal, they were rather gainers than loſers by a revolution that advanced their brother-in-law to the throne. So, they readily approved, or at leaſt ſeemed to approve it. 1399.

But another affair of more importance created the new king great uneaſineſs. Guienne was going to revolt. Already the Gaſcons publickly talked of putting themſelves under the dominion of France. It was the city of Bourdeaux, Richard's birth-place, that ſtirred up the whole province, prompted by her affection for that unhappy prince, whoſe misfortune ſhe lamented. On the other hand, the court of France, watchful to improve theſe diſpoſitions, had ſent the duke of Bourbon into Guienne, to inflame the diſcontents. The famous Robert Knolles, governour of that province, who was no leſs commendable for his prudence than valour, could hardly curb the rebellious ſpirit of the Gaſcons. Nay, perhaps he would never have accompliſhed it, had he not been timely aſſiſted by the earl of Worceſter [y], who being in embaſſy at Paris, haſtened to Bourdeaux. The moderation and prudent conduct of theſe two lords effected what could ſcarce have been executed by force, and at length they had the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the commotions appeaſed.

The Gaſcons ready to revolt. Froiſſart. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 110, &c.

Froiſſart, ibid.

They are appeaſed.

Henry had moreover upon his hands another affair, which gave him no leſs diſturbance. As he was ſenſible that amidſt all the acclamations he was flattered with, it could not be but that the late revolution had bred many malecontents, it was his intereſt to keep peace with his neighbours. Accordingly this was his purpoſe, leaſt a foreign war employing his forces abroad, he ſhould be unprovided in caſe of any ſudden inſurrection. Beſides, a war would have obliged him to demand ſupplies of the parliament, which he was willing to avoid till his dominion was more firmly eſtabliſhed. Theſe conſiderations made him extremely uneaſy to hear that the Scots had broke the truce, and taken Werk caſtle [z]. He thought beſt, however, to take no notice of the inſult, till it was more in his power to revenge it. But leaſt this diſſimulation ſhould encourage the king of Scotland, he ſent ambaſſadors to demand ſatisfaction for the outrage. However, as the Scots complained likewiſe of ſome breach on the part of the Engliſh, he uſed that pretence to demand a confirmation of the truce, by a mutual reparation of the damages the two nations had done each other. When Ro-

The Scots take Werk-caſtle. Walſing.

Embaſſies to Scotland. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 113.

y Froiſſart ſays, he was immediately ſent from England, l. 4. c. 56.

z They not only took it, but alſo razed it to the ground. Sir Thomas Gray, the governor, was then at the parliament. Walſing.

1399. bert broke the truce, he imagined France would have taken his part, and that the depoſing of Richard would raiſe commotions in England, which he deſigned to improve. But finding France remained quiet, and England undiſturbed, he did not think fit to puſh his enterpriſe further. So, without much ſolicitation, he agreed to put his affairs with Henry in negotiation.

A negotiation.

Henry tries to gain the people's affection.

Things being thus in a fair way abroad, Henry chiefly applied himſelf to what might contribute to ſupport him on the throne. Two things were abſolutely neceſſary for that purpoſe. Firſt, to preſerve the affection the people had hitherto expreſſed for him. Secondly, to guard Richard ſo ſtrictly, that it ſhould be impoſſible for him to make his eſcape. As to the firſt, he affected to make himſelf popular, by ſhowing, upon all occaſions, a deteſtation of his predeceſſor's tyrannical government, and a greater concern for the people's intereſt than for his own. To that end, he ordered all the ſubſcribed blanks extorted by Richard from the inhabitants of London, and the ſeventeen condemned counties, to be brought into chancery, and publickly burnt. Theſe blank bonds, which were called ragmans, had been filled not only with the ſums, Richard was pleaſed to exact from the ſubſcribers, but moreover with an engagement to obſerve, under certain penalties, the ſtatutes of Shrewſbury and all the conſequent acts. In burning theſe bonds, Henry's intent was to inſinuate to the people, that he deſigned not to make an advantage of theſe extorted engagements, much leſs to practiſe the like methods himſelf to fill his coffers.

He burns the bonds Richard had extorted. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 109.

Richard is ſhut up in Pontfract caſtle.

As for the depoſed king, he did not think proper to keep him any longer in the Tower of London, for fear he ſhould move the compaſſion of the citizens, but ordered him to be conducted to the caſtle of Leeds in the county of Kent. Some time after, fearing ſtill that Richard's neighbourhood to London would give too frequent occaſion to talk of him, he cauſed him to be removed to Pontfract caſtle in the north.

Death of the duke of Bretagne.

This year in November, John the valiant, duke of Bretagne, departed this life in his capital city. His firſt wife was daughter of Edward III. by whom he had no iſſue. By his ſecond, Joan of Navarre, he left two ſons, of whom John the eldeſt ſucceeded him, under the guardianſhip of the duke of Burgundy and Oliver de Cliſſon [a].

In

a This year alſo, on October 2, died Eleanor de Bohun, relict of Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter, and was buried in Weſtminſter abbey, where

In this manner paſſed the three firſt months of Henry's reign, in a deceitful calm followed by violent ſtorms. It was neceſſary to enlarge a little on the firſt events of this reign, becauſe they ſerve for foundation to all the reſt. 1399.

The year 1400 began with a conſpiracy againſt the king, from which he was as it were miraculouſly delivered. Hiſtorians differ concerning the firſt author of the plot, commonly aſcribed to the abbot of Weſtminſter. However, it is more likely, the abbot was only the agent of the lords conſpirators, and lent them his houſe for their meetings. Perhaps he was employed to ſound the inclinations of ſeveral perſons, according to the direction of men more powerful than he. However this be, it is agreed, that in his houſe the plot was formed, into which came as heads, the late dukes of Albemarle, Surrey, and Exeter; the late earls of Glouceſter and Saliſbury; the biſhop of Carliſle, and ſir Thomas Blunt. All theſe lords had been in great favour with Richard II. and were the ſame perſons to whom the king had left their honours and eſtates, taken from them by the parliament [b]. Among theſe conſpirators, John Holland duke of Exeter was his brother-in-law, and Edward de Langley, duke of Albemarle, his firſt couſin. Notwithſtanding theſe ties, and the favours they had all received from the king, they reſolved to aſſaſſinate him, and reſtore Richard to the throne. The affection ſhown them by that unfortunate prince, the deſire of revenging their late diſgrace, of which they looked upon the king as the principal author, and perhaps the fear that the pardon granted them was not ſincere, concurred to inſpire them with this furious reſolution. They had drawn into the plot one Maudlin, a domeſtick of Richard's [c], who reſembled his maſter ſo perfectly, that many were deceived. The reſult of their debates was, that the duke of Exeter, and John Montacute earl of Saliſbury, ſhould pretend to challenge one another at a tournament to be held at Oxford, and deſire the king to honour it with his preſence; and, whilſt he ſhould be intent upon the fight, an opportunity ſhould be taken to murder him. To the end each might know what part he was to act in the tragedy, they carefully ſet down all the particulars in writing. Then they tranſcribed ſix copies under their

1400.

Conſpiracy againſt the king. Walſing. Froiſſart. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 120.

Chief conſpirators.

They ſet up a pretender for Richard.

where her tomb is ſtill to be ſeen. Their only ſon, Humphrey, died of the plague in Ireland. Walſing.

[b] Their new titles of duke, marquis, and earl, were taken away, with all the lands, caſtles, and manors belonging to the condemned lords, of whom they were the accuſers.

[c] A prieſt, and one of his chaplains.

1400. hands and ſeals, of which each of the principal parties took one. Purſuant to this ſcheme, the duke of Exeter waited upon the king at Windſor, and invited him, as was agreed. The king not miſtruſting a brother-in-law to whom he had juſt given ſuch ſignal marks of his favour, promiſed to be at Oxford on the day appointed. Thus the conſpirators, pleaſed with the firſt ſucceſs of their enterpriſe, went and prepared to put it in execution.

The conſpiracy is diſcovered.

Under colour of the pomp and magnificence uſual upon ſuch occaſions, the lords conſpirators came to Oxford, with a numerous train of armed domeſticks, and many other attendants, who pretended to come only out of curioſity. The duke of Albemarle was the only perſon wanting at the rendezvous. He had a mind firſt to viſit his father the duke of York, then at his ſeat at Langley [d], not to communicate the plot, but upon ſome other buſineſs. Whilſt they were at dinner, the duke of York ſeeing a paper in his ſon's boſom, aſked him what it was. The ſon, confounded at the unexpected queſtion, replied, but with a viſible concern, that the paper contained nothing of moment. But, whether the old duke had received ſome dark intimations of the plot, or his ſon's confuſion inſpired him with curioſity, he ſnatched it out of his boſom. The paper was one of the ſix copies ſigned by the conſpirators. His ſurpriſe was extreme, at ſeeing all the particulars of the plot. He reproached his ſon the more juſtly, as beſides the blackneſs of the crime, he had not ſcrupled to expoſe his own father's life, who was bound for his allegiance. But his reproaches being uncapable of remedying the evil, he reſolved to prevent it, by acquainting the king with what was to come to his knowledge. To that end, he ordered his horſes to be ſaddled immediately, in order to go himſelf to Windſor, and carry the paper to the king. The young duke ſeeing himſelf infallibly ruined, if the king was informed of the conſpiracy by any but himſelf, reſolved to be before hand with his father. As he was the better able than the old duke to take the journey, he rid another way, and came full ſpeed to Windſor. Upon his arrival he caſt himſelf at the king's feet [e], and diſcovered the whole plot. Henry was ſo far from imagining, that the duke of Exeter, and the reſt of the conſpirators, had plotted againſt his life, that he believed at firſt, the duke of Albemarle had invented the accuſation, on purpoſe to ruin them. He told him, if

d In Hertfordſhire.

e He pretended very earneſt buſineſs with the king, and having cauſed the gates to be locked, took the keys along with him. Compl. Hiſt. p. 278.

the thing was true, he would pardon him upon his repentance, but if it was a malicious accuſation, he ſhould find no favour. The duke of York arriving ſoon after, put him out of all doubt, by delivering him the paper taken from his ſon. After ſo convincing a proof, the king no longer queſtioned the truth, broke off his journey to Oxford, where he was to be the next day. However, he reſolved to ſtay at Windſor, to ſee what courſe the conſpirators would take, when they ſaw themſelves diſappointed. 1400.

Mean while, the lords were extremely uneaſy at Oxford, becauſe the duke of Albemarle was not yet arrived. They had already ſent to his houſe to know the reaſon of his delay, and were told that he was ſet out for Oxford, but by the way of Langley, to viſit his father. The viſit giving them ſome ſuſpicion, their trouble increaſed, upon hearing that the king deſigned not to come to Oxford, and had ſeen the dukes of York and Albemarle. Then, no longer doubting that they were diſcovered, they reſolved to accompliſh by force, what they could not effect by other means. Accordingly they dreſſed up Maudlin, in royal robes, and gave out he was Richard, who having eſcaped out of priſon, was come to implore the aſſiſtance of his good ſubjects [f]. The conſpirators in perplexity. They reſolve to take up arms, and give out Richard was with them.

The readineſs wherewith people liſted under the banner of the pretended king, plainly ſhewed, that all had not approved the depoſing of Richard, though the parliament acted in the name of the whole nation. Wherefore, there is nothing more liable to miſtake, than judging of the ſentiments of the people, by thoſe of their repreſentatives. The reaſon is, becauſe the repreſentatives debating upon matters without inſtructions from their conſtituents, their reſolves can be conſidered but as private opinions, though they are of force to bind the people. Hence it is, that the people ſometimes appeal to arms from the deciſions of parliament, when thought too prejudicial to the nation. Of this we have many inſtances, but particularly in the reign of Henry IV. Though Richard was depoſed by the parliament, it appeared upon ſeveral occaſions, that the people ſubmitted to the ſentence, purely by conſtraint, ſince, not only at the time we are ſpeaking of, but, upon other occaſions, they were always ready to run after any counterfeit Richard that was preſented them. The people flock to the pretended king.

[f] They alſo ſent to the king of France for aſſiſtance. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 123, &c.

1400. In a very ſhort time, the lords conſpirators ſaw themſelves at the head of ſo formidable an army, that they thought themſelves able to ſeize the king at Windſor. It is ſaid, that in two or three days, their army conſiſted of forty thouſand men. With theſe numerous troops, they began their march to Windſor, which lies but thirty miles from Oxford, and arrived at break of day, in great expectation of ſurpriſing the king. And indeed, Henry not imagining they could poſſibly be ſo ſoon in condition to execute ſuch an enterpriſe, ſtaid at Windſor till that very night, and was gone but a few hours before their arrival. His retreat blaſting their deſign, they were in great perplexity. Some were for marching directly to London, before the king had time to ſecure the city. Others affirmed, their buſineſs was to go to Pontfract, and ſet Richard at their head. This diverſity of opinion made them loſe in debates, the time they ſhould have ſpent in action. So the king had leiſure to provide for his defence, and aſſemble an army of twenty thouſand men. As he did not queſtion but the malecontents would take the road to London, he went and expected them on Hounſlow heath, in hopes his army would daily increaſe. However, he was reſolved, though much inferior, to hazard a battle. The reſolution inſpired his troops with courage, and made them imagine, the male contents were not ſo formidable as reported. It was likewiſe the cauſe, that many, ſeeing the king march unconcerned towards his enemies, came and joined him, in order to ſhew their diligence, which doubtleſs they would not have done, had he ſhewn the leaſt ſigns of fear or diffidence. At ſuch junctures, the majority of the people, without conſidering right or juſtice, generally declare for the ſide that is moſt like to ſucceed.

Walſing.

The king's reſolution of advantage to him.

Mean while, the conſpirators ſeeing the king able to withſtand them, durſt not cope with him. Whether it proceeded from their little capacity, or from a fear of being deſerted by their army, they only thought of avoiding a battle. Inſtead of marching to London to meet the king, they took the road to Reading, and encamped near Colebrook, where the young queen Iſabella reſided [g]. Here they reſolved to put an end to Maudlin's acting the part he had hitherto

The conſpirators avoid a battle,

and retire. Walſing.

g According to Walſingham, the conſpirators (headed by the earls of Kent and Salisbury) came to Windſor the ſame night the king was retired from thence to London; and being diſappointed in their deſign of ſeizing him, they paid a viſit to queen Iſabella, at Sunning, and from thence went to Wallingford, Abbington, and Cirenceſter, in their way to Pontfract, where they intended to go, and releaſe the late king Richard. Walſing. p. 362, 363.

played,

played, thinking it more proper to ſpread a report, that Richard was in Yorkſhire, at the head of a hundred thouſand men. Their deſign was not only to avoid the king, but in all appearance, to approach Wales, from whence they expected aſſiſtance, as Richard was well beloved in that country. Be that as it will, encamping near Cirenceſter [h], the generals took up their quarters in the town, whilſt the army lay without. The duke of Surrey, and the earl of Saliſbury lodged at one inn, and the duke of Exeter, and the earl of Glouceſter at another. Their little experience cauſing them to neglect to ſet guards at the gates, the mayor of the town, a man of ſenſe and courage, took advantage of their negligence, to do the king a ſignal ſervice. He privately aſſembled in the night, four hundred townſmen, and ordering the gates to be ſhut, divided his followers into two companies, and attacked at once the two inns where the four generals were lodged. Though the lords had only their domeſticks with them, they defended themſelves the beſt part of the night. During the conflict, one of their people bethought himſelf of ſetting fire to a neighbouring houſe, imagining the townſmen would run to extinguiſh the flames, and give the lords opportunity to eſcape. But the ſtratagem had a quite contrary effect. The townſmen, ſtill more incenſed by that action, redoubled their efforts, and at length broke open the inn, defended by the duke of Surrey, and the earl of Saliſbury [i]. The two lords being much wounded, were by the mayor's order, immediately beheaded. On the other hand, the duke of Exeter [k], and the earl of Glouceſter, perceiving they were no longer able to reſiſt with ſo few attendants, made their eſcape over the houſes, and got out of the town by the help of ſome of the inhabitants. They intended to march the army into the town, but upon coming to the camp found it deſerted. The report the ſoldiers had heard, and the fire they had ſeen in the town, making them believe the king's army was there, they had all taken to ſudden flight, ſeized with a panic, which made them ſee danger where there was really none. So the two lords, perceiving it out of their power to execute their deſign, parted, the better to make their eſcape. But they had the misfortune to be

1400.

The four chiefs are attacked by the mayor of Cirenceſter. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 130.

Two are taken and beheaded on the ſpot.

h And not Chicheſter, as ſame have affirmed. Act. Pub. tom. VIII. p. 89. Rapin.

i This lord was a great favourer of the Lollards. Walſing.

k Walſingham affirms, he ſtaid all the while in London, to wait for the iſſue of his accomplices enterpriſe, p. 363.

1400. taken [l], and ſhortly after loſt their heads on the ſcaffold. Maudlin was alſo apprehended [m], as he was flying into Scotland, and condemned to be hanged. The abbot of Weſtminſter, likewiſe withdrawing, was ſeized with ſo violent a fright, that he fell into a fit of the apoplexy, and died. As for the biſhop of Carliſle, he was alſo taken, and ſentenced to death. But though, out of regard to his character, the king pardoned him, he was not in a condition to enjoy the benefit, when the news was brought him. The terror of his puniſhment made ſuch an impreſſion upon him, that it occaſioned his death, when mercy was influencing the king to ſpare his life.

The other two are likewiſe taken andexecuted.

The biſhop of Carliſle dies with fear.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 165.

Tragical death of Richard II. Walſing.

In all likelihood, the ill ſucceſs of the enterpriſe haſtened Richard's end. There is ſome diverſity among the hiſtorians concerning the manner of his death, though all agree, it was unnatural. Some affirm, he was ſtarved to death. Others, pretending to be better informed, relate his death with theſe circumſtances. After the troubles were appeaſed, by the death of the principal conſpirators, ſir Pyers Exton [n] came to Pontfract, with eight attendants. On the day of his arrival, Richard perceived at dinner, that the victuals were not taſted as uſual. He aſked the reaſon of the taſter, and upon his telling him that Exton had brought an order forth from the king, took up a carved knife, and ſtruck him on the face, Exton coming in, with his eight attendants, at the noiſe, Richard found he was a loſt man, and reſolving to ſell his life dearly, wrung a pole ax out of one of their hands, and defended himſelf ſo bravely, that he ſlew four of them. But at length, ſtanding accidentally near Exton, who was got upon a chair, the villain diſcharged ſuch a blow on his head, as laid him dead at his feet [o].

Fabian.

Thus

[l] John de Holland, duke of Exeter, attempted more than once to eſcape out of England, but was always blown back by contrary winds. He was at laſt taken in Eſſex, and carried priſoner firſt to Chelmsford, and afterwards to Pleſhey caſtle; the very place, from whence by his counſel and contrivance, the duke of Glouceſter was enticed away, in order to be ſent to Calais, as is related above. In this town of Pleſhey, the ſaid duke of Exeter was beheaded on Jan. 15.—Thomas le Spencer, earl of Glouceſter, was taken at Briſtol, and beheaded there. Walſing.

[m] He, and one William Ferby, were apprehended in their flight to Scotland, and being brought to the Tower of London, were hanged and quartered. Ibid.

[n] Called by Rapin, ſir Thomas Pyers, but he is not ſo named, as far as can be found, by any other writer.

[o] This is Fabian's account. Walſingham ſays, he faſted himſelf to death for grief, at the miſcarriage of the plot, and died on Feb. 14. p. 363. Stow ſays, he was kept fifteen days together in hunger, thirſt, and cold, till he died, p. 325. Polydore Virgil ſays, he was not ſuffered to touch or taſte the victuals which lay before him.

Hector

Thus died this unfortunate prince, thirty three years old, of which he had reigned twenty two [p]. A melancholy reward for the many ſignal ſervices his father had done England! he was carried to London in a coffin, with his face uncovered, to be ſeen of all perſons. His funeral was ſolemnized at St. Paul's, the king himſelf being preſent. After that, he was carried to Langley abbey, and buried [q] without any ceremony. Henry V. ordered his body to be removed to Weſtminſter abbey, and laid among his anceſtors [r]. Though it was reported all over the kingdom, that he was murdered, no inquiry was made. This neglect confirmed the people in their belief, that the king was not innocent. Indeed, if Richard had died a natural death, it would have been neceſſary to undeceive the publick. But if his life was taken away by violence, it was difficult to do it without the king's knowledge [s]. 1400. Walſing.

Though Richard was not beloved whilſt he ſat on the throne, his misfortunes failed not to raiſe the compaſſion of the very people that were ſo ready to deſert him. It is peculiar to misfortunes, eſpecially to thoſe of princes, generally to turn hatred into pity. Of this we ſhall ſee in the courſe of the preſent reign ſeveral inſtances.

The Engliſh authors pretend, that Charles VI. made great preparations to reſtore Richard to the throne. But the hiſtory of France, mentions no ſuch thing. It is true, there are in the collection of the publick acts ſeveral of Henry's orders relating to the preparations in France, to invade England; but that might be an effect of Henry's policy, to ſhow the neceſſity of Richard's death. And indeed, the truce of twenty eight years between the two crowns, was confirmed in May, this very year, and all the pretended motions of France, ended only in a negotiation, to draw from England queen Iſabella, with whom Richard had not conſummated his marriage. It was not without reaſon, that Henry en- Act. Pub. VIII. p. 223. p. 138, 144. Truce with France confirmed. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 142.

Hector Boethius will have it, that Richard fled in diſguiſe into Scotland, where giving himſelf up wholly to contemplation, he lived and died, and was buried at Sterling. Perhaps this was true of ſome counterfeit Richard.

[p] The beautiful picture of a king ſighing, crowned in a chair of ſtate, at the upper end of the choir in St. Peter's, Weſtminſter, is ſaid to be his. Speed, p. 615.

[q] In the church of the Friars Preachers, at King's Langley, in Hertfordſhire. Walſing.

[r] Henry V. erected for him and his firſt queen, Anne, a glorious tomb of grey marble, on the ſouth ſide of the chapel of the kings, at the head of Edward III. upon which lie their portraitures of gilt copper, with a prepoſterous epitaph in Latin.

[s] Sir Pyers Exton, inſtead of being rewarded for this piece of ſervice, was quite put out of favour, and forced to fly to avoid the puniſhment he deſerved.

deavoured

1400. deavoured to preſerve the truce with France. He had a quarrel with the king of Scotland, which would not ſuffer him to carry his forces out of the kingdom. The occaſion of the rupture between the two princes was this:

The cauſe of the war with Scotland. Buchanan.

Robert Stuart, king of Scotland, the third of that name, was deſirous to marry prince David, his eldeſt ſon, to a daughter of George Dunbar, earl of March. The earl thinking himſelf honoured by the alliance, joyfully received the propoſal, and even paid before hand part of the portion. However, ſhortly after, by intrigues foreign to our purpoſe, prince David married a daughter of Archibald, earl of Douglaſs. Dunbar was extremely mortified at the affront, to which the king added another cauſe of diſcontent, by refuſing, or delaying to repay the money he had received. The deſire of being revenged, and making the king ſenſible that he deſerved a better treatment, inſpired the earl with a reſolution to throw himſelf into the arms of the king of England, and do his enemies all poſſible miſchief. To that end, he imparted his deſign to the earl of Northumberland, governor of the northern counties, who preſently after ſent him a ſafe-conduct from the king his maſter. Upon receiving this aſſurance, he repaired to Henry, and had ſeveral conferences with him [t]. The king of Scotland being ſenſible, that the earl of March was contriving ſome plot againſt him in England, ſent ambaſſadors to Henry, to demand the fugitive, and upon his refuſal, proclaimed war againſt him.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 131, 133, 149, 153.

Henry marches into Scotland. Walſing. Buchanan. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 146, 154, 155, —157.

Henry not thinking fit to expect his enemy in England, prepared to carry the war into Scotland. As ſoon as his army was ready to march, he came to Newcaſtle, and ſent Robert a ſummons to appear in perſon, and do homage for the kingdom of Scotland. In the ſummons, he revived the pretenſions of Edward I. to the ſovereignty of that kingdom, from the time of Locrinus, ſon of Brutus, firſt pretended king of the whole iſland of Albion. Upon Robert's refuſal, to do any ſuch homage, Henry entered Scotland, and made ſome progreſs. Towards the end of September, he beſieged the caſtle of Edinburgh, defended by prince David, and the earl of Douglaſs, his brother-in-law. But the ſeaſon being too far advanced to continue the ſiege, he ſuddenly raiſed it, and retired into his own dominions. As ſoon as he was gone, the Scots, under the conduct of ſir Patrick Hepburn and ſir Thomas Haliburton, made an inroad into England, and

He beſieges Edinburgh.

Raiſes the ſiege.

The Scots invade England, and are defeated. Ib. p. 162.

[t] He did homage at Newcaſtle, July 25. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 153.

cruelly

cruelly revenged the ravages committed by the Engliſh in Scotland. But in their return, they were met by the earl of Northumberland, who defeated and ſtripped them of their booty. Hepburn, one of the Scotch generals, was ſlain in the action [u]. This victory procured between the two nations a ſix weeks truce, which was afterwards prolonged, by reaſon of the poſture of Henry's affairs. Hardly had he begun the war with Scotland, when he received certain advice, that the Welſh were about to revolt, and intended to raiſe commotions in their country, which could not but be attended with fatal conſequences. This was the reaſon, that notwithſtanding his ſucceſs againſt the Scots, he would not improve his advantages, for fear of exaſperating them too much. Buchanan himſelf gives this teſtimony, aſcribing to his generoſity what was entirely owing to his policy, for the motions of the Welſh had rendered a peace with Scotland abſolutely neceſſary.

1400.

Truce between the two kingdoms. Ib. p. 166, 167, 185.

The Welſh, who, ſince the reign of Edward I. were ſubject, or rather united to England, believed they could in the preſent juncture, recover their former ſtate. Owen Glendour or Glendourdy, as he is called in the collection of the publick acts [w], was the perſon that inſpired them with the deſign. This man, though a private gentleman only, had all the qualities proper for ſuch an undertaking, if forces ſo little conſiderable as thoſe of the Welſh could have promiſed him a happy ſucceſs. Nevertheleſs, he ſo managed the project, that for ſeveral years he freed his countrymen from the ſervitude, wherein they thought themſelves kept by the Engliſh. A law ſuit he had loſt at London with the lord Grey of Luthin, his neighbour, was the firſt occaſion of the diſguſt he conceived againſt the whole Engliſh nation [x]. The conſpiracy breaking out in England at that very time, Glendour, not doubting it would cauſe great diſturbances, thought it a favourable juncture, to deliver his country from the Engliſh dominion. He privately founded the Welſhmen,

Revolt of the Welſh, under Glendour. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 159, 163. Walſing.

[u] The Engliſh did likewiſe the Scots much damage in the iſles of Orkney, and took the greateſt part of their fleet, which they had ſent out under the command of ſir Roger Logan, to ſurpriſe the Engliſh fiſhermen. Walſing.

[w] He is ſometimes called Glyndordy. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 163; but generally Glendourdy, p. 182, 225, &c.

[x] He was brought up at the inns of court in London, and was, it ſeems, king Richard's eſquire: but in Henry's time, he retired to his manor of Glendourdy, where he had a diſpute with Reginald, lord Grey, for having entered upon part of a common lying between Ruthin and Glendourdy. Walſing.

and

1400. and finding them very inclinable to receive his impreſſions, he eaſily perſuaded them to reſolve to throw off the Engliſh yoke. He would have immediately diſcovered his deſigns, if the ill ſucceſs of the Engliſh conſpiracy had not reſtrained him. The moment he ſaw the king engaged in the war with Scotland, he prepared to execute his project, and ſo ordered it, that the Welſh unanimouſly renouncing their allegiance to the crown of England, acknowledged him for ſovereign. From thenceforward he always ſtyled himſelf prince of Wales, as appears in ſeveral acts.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 156, 367, 382.

His firſt exploit was againſt the lord Grey, his adverſary, whom he took priſoner in a battle, and then made him marry his daughter, without giving him his liberty, contrary to his word.

Glendour takes the earl of march priſoner. Walſing.

Emboldened with this firſt ſucceſs, he made an incurſion into Herefordſhire. Edward Mortimer earl of March, who was retired to his lordſhip of Wigmore, finding the king was employed in Scotland, thought to do him a ſignal ſervice, by drawing together the gentry of the country, in order to ſtop the progreſs of the rebel. But he had the misfortune to be taken priſoner in a battle, and though he offered a large ranſom, could not obtain his liberty. Glendour imagined, a priſoner of that conſequence might be of uſe hereafter, or at leaſt that the king would ſpare nothing for his deliverance, and therefore it would be more advantageous to treat with the king, than with the priſoner himſelf.

Henry is glad of the earl's misfortune.

But he was miſtaken in his conjecture. Henry was too well pleaſed with ſeeing the earl of March a priſoner and unable to hurt him, to contribute towards his releaſe. Glendour, however, ſtill kept his priſoner, in expectation that by his means he ſhould one day give the king ſome diſturbance, as it actually happened. The earl was not afterwards ſorry for being in the hands of the Welſh. Henry's jealouſy of every thing relating to his crown, and his ſeverity to thoſe that would diſpute it with him, made the captive earl ſenſible, that his life was ſafer in priſon than at his own houſe. Mean while, the king being employed in a Scotch war, Glendour had ſufficient time to ravage the country on the weſt of the Severn, and carry away a great booty.

The emperor of Conſtantinople arrives in England. Walſing.

About the end of the year, Manuel Palæologus, emperor of Conſtantinople, arrived in England, to deſire aſſiſtance againſt Bajazet emperor of the Turks. The king received and preſented him honourably, but as for aſſiſtance put him off till his own affairs were better ſettled. The emperor went from England into France, from whence he departed not

not till two years after, upon news that Bajazet his enemy was vanquiſhed and taken priſoner by Tamerlane. 1400.

On the 20th of January 1401, Henry aſſembled a parliament, which paſſed ſeveral acts with relation to the church. 1401.

The firſt confirmed the ſtatutes made in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. againſt ſuch as ſolicited for papal proviſions, or carried to the eccleſiaſtical courts cauſes belonging to the cognizance of the judges of the realm. This was the old ſubject of quarrel with the court of Rome. Whatever rigour was uſed to ſtop the courſe of theſe abuſes, it was not poſſible, becauſe it was the intereſt of too many to countenance the pretended prerogatives of the pope. But however this parliament, conſidering the pope ſtill continued to engroſs the collations of all the church preferments of the kingdom, and that the eccleſiaſtical courts were perpetually encroaching upon the civil, reſolved at laſt to oppoſe it effectually. For that purpoſe was revived the old ſtatute of proviſors in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. commonly known by the name of præmunire. As this term often occurs in the Engliſh hiſtory, it will not be improper to explain it. By præmunire then is meant, either the ſtatute itſelf, or the penalty. Former parliaments, led by the ſame motive as this, had ordained puniſhments againſt the proviſors, that is, againſt ſuch as ſued for bulls, called proviſiones, or gratiæ expectativæ, to the court of Rome, for benefices, that were or ſhould be vacant. The ſame puniſhments were ordained againſt thoſe that carried to the eccleſiaſtical courts what belonged to the civil. When any perſon was guilty of this ſort of crime, a writ or order was iſſued againſt him, beginning with theſe words, præmunire facias, whereby he was commanded to appear in the king's court. Hence the ſtatute, as well as the penalty, were called præmunire [y]. The penalty conſiſted in forfeiture of lands, and goods, and impriſonment during the king's pleaſure. In proceſs of time, ſeveral other offences of a like nature with thoſe that were the firſt cauſe of the ſtatute, were made liable to the ſame penalty. So, all the ſtatutes of præmunire are only enlargements of thoſe made in the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. In general, the præmunire chiefly concerns offences committed in matters eccleſiaſtical belonging to the civil juriſdiction.

Statutes in church affairs. Cotton's Abridg.

Statutes of præmunire.

Explication of that term.

The clergy were always ſo intent upon favouring the pretenſions of the court of Rome, that the endeavours of the

y Suppoſed to be uſed in the barbarous law Latin, inſtead of præmonere.

former

1401. former parliaments had been incapable to ſtop the courſe of the abuſe. The ſtatute I have juſt mentioned, was but little more effectual. The attempt the laſt year to dethrone the king giving him occaſion to fear the like conſpiracies for the future, he had reſolved to ſhew great regard for the clergy, in order to attach them to his intereſt. Accordingly, though he did not think proper to refuſe his aſſent to the new ſtatute, he connived however at the breach of it, as much or more than any of his predeceſſors. But this was not all he did to gain the affection of the clergy. His condeſcenſion for them in another article of no leſs importance, drew on him the bleſſings of the eccleſiaſticks, and cauſed him to be conſidered by the whole body, as a prince very zealous for the church.

Statutes againſt hereticks. Walſing.

Since Wickliff firſt publiſhed his opinions about the end of the reign of Edward III. his doctrine was ſo ſpread, that the clergy were in continual apprehenſions of its prevailing. I have already related, that in the reign of Richard II. the biſhops obtained a general licenſe to impriſon hereticks, without being obliged to have a particular order from the court, but that the houſe of commons cauſed it to be revoked. From that time there was no alteration, except that the king more frequently granted ſuch orders. However, as the penalty of impriſonment was not capable to check the pretended miſchief dreaded by the biſhops, Henry, ever propoſing to gain the affection of the eccleſiaſticks, earneſtly recommended to the parliament the care of the church's concerns. How reluctant ſoever the commons might be to proſecute the Lollards; the credit of the court and cabals of the clergy obtained at length an act for the burning of obſtinate hereticks [z]. The ſtatute was no ſooner paſſed, but the eccleſiaſtical court immediately condemned William

A Lollard burnt. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 178.

z By this act it was ordained, "That no perſon ſhould preſume to "preach, hold, teach, or inſtruct, o- "penly, or privily, or make or write "any book contrary to the catholick "faith, or determination of the holy "church; or of any ſect make con- "venticles, or hold and exerciſe ſchools. "And if any perſon, of whatſoever "kind or eſtate, do any thing againſt "this ſtatute, or is evidently ſuſpected "thereof, his dioceſan may cauſe him "to be arreſted, and under ſafe cuſto- "dy in his priſons to be detained, till "he purges himſelf, and abjures. "And if any perſon or perſons refuſe "to abjure, or, after legal conviction "and abjuration, do relapſe, then the "ſheriff of the county, or mayor, or "bailiffs of the place to which the "party belongs, ſhall be preſent in pre- "ferring ſentence, when required by "their dioceſan, or his commiſſaries; "and after promulgation of the ſen- "tence, receive, and do, (or cauſe) "them to be burnt before the people "in an high place." Raſtal's Statutes, anno 2 Hen. IV. This bloody ſtatute ſtood unrepealed till the year 1677.

Sawtre [a] a Lollard, who being delivered over to the ſecular arm, was burnt alive by virtue of the king's writ [b] directed to the mayor [c] of London. He was the firſt who ſuffered death in England for the ſake of religion. During the ſeſſion ſeveral acts were likewiſe paſſed [d] concerning the diſputes between the Engliſh and the court of Rome, which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of elſewhere. 1401.

Since the truce with France was confirmed, Charles VI. or rather the duke of Orleans his brother, and the dukes of Berry and Burgundy his uncles, who governed in his name, often demanded the young queen Iſabella, widow of Richard II. Henry deferred giving a poſitive anſwer, not that the demand was unjuſt, but two reaſons made him deſirous of keeping that princeſs. Firſt, as he could not help dreading a war with France, he wanted to make a firm and laſting peace with Charles VI. to which he believed the marriage of Iſabella with the prince his ſon would greatly contribute. To that end, before he returned a poſitive anſwer to the court of France, he frequently propoſed that marriage. But neither Charles's brother nor uncles would ever conſent to marrying the young queen to a prince, whoſe father was generally reckoned the murderer of her firſt huſband. They alledged however another reaſon of their refuſal, namely, that her father not being in condition to manage his affairs, they durſt not treat of his daughter's marriage without his conſent. A ſecond reaſon why Henry deferred to ſend back Iſabella was, becauſe he knew the money, Richard received with her, would be demanded. However, as he had no plauſible pretence to detain her, he conſented at laſt to reſtore her with part of her jewels. He managed ſo artfully, that in the conventions made at Lelingham, there was no mention of reſtoring her portion. That was the ſubject of another negotiation ſpoken of hereafter.

Negotiation about ſending back Richard's widow. Ibid. P. 142, 152, 164, 186, 196—200, P. 132, 186.

Henry demands Iſabella for his ſon. He is put off.

He ſends her back. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 162, 194, 217, &c.

Whilſt this affair was tranſacting, Henry had in Germany another negotiation on foot about a marriage between Blanch his eldeſt daughter, and Lewis of Bavaria, grandſon of Robert, earl palatin of the Rhine, who was lately advanced to the imperial throne, vacant by the death of Henry of Brunſwick, ſucceſſor of Wenceſlaus. The affair was concluded in May, to the king's great ſatisfaction. The princeſs's

Marriage of Blanch, Henry's daughter, with the earl palatin. Ibid. p. 170, 176, 179. Walſing.

[a] Pariſh prieſt of St. Oſith, in London.

[b] Writ de Hæretico Comburendo.

[c] To the mayor and ſheriffs of London, Feb. 26. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 178.

[d] Particularly one forbidding people's carrying gold or ſilver out of the realm, except for their reaſonable expences, upon pain of forfeiture.

portion

1401. portion was forty thouſand pounds ſterling [e]. At the ſame time, a treaty of perpetual alliance was made between the emperor and Henry.

The king's expedition againſt the Welſh. Act. Pub. Ib. p. 225. Walſing.

Since the revolt of the Welſh, Henry had made no preparations to reduce them to obedience. Mean while Glendour taking advantage of his negligence, continued to ravage the counties bordering upon Wales. Far from dreading the king's juſt indignation, he ſtudied to provoke him by continual inſults. Henry's indolence appeared ſtrange to many people, becauſe they were ignorant of the reaſons. Before he took up arms againſt the Welſh, he was deſirous of finiſhing his affairs with France, intending to make a ſtrict alliance with that crown. As he knew the rebels could have no aſſiſtance but from thence, he believed, if he could deprive them of that protection, they would not be able to ſupport themſelves long. Mean time, the negotiation with France proceeding more ſlowly than he wiſhed, and Glendour ſtill continuing to infeſt his borders, he could no longer delay taking up arms. Before he put himſelf at the head of his army, he publiſhed a general pardon for the Welſh, provided they ſubmitted within a certain time. But finding his clemency ineffectual, he marched to chaſtiſe them. Upon his approach, Glendour withdrew to the mountains, where it was impoſſible to attack him. All the king could do was to ravage the country, and then return to London.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 181, 209. Walſing

An invention to kill the king diſcovered. Walſing.

The king's return to his metropolis was immediately followed by the diſcovery of a plot againſt his life, by the means of an iron inſtrument, with three ſharp ſpikes placed in his bed. Had he chanced to lie down, he muſt inevitably have been run through the body, but by good fortune, he perceived it as he was going into bed. What inquiry ſoever was made, there was no poſſibility of diſcovering the author of that attempt.

Death of the duke of York. Succeeded by his ſon. Walſing.

It was this and not the laſt year, as ſome affirm, that Edmund duke of York, the king's uncle, died [f]. He left two ſons, Edmund duke of Albemarle, who took the title of duke of York, and Richard earl of Cambridge. I ſhall have frequent occaſion hereafter, to ſpeak of the poſterity of the younger, who, by his marriage with a ſiſter of the earl of march, acquired to his iſſue rights which cauſed terrible commotions in the kingdom.

e Forty thouſand nobles.—XL. M. nobilium cunei Angliæ. — Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 179, 206.

f Sandford ſays, it was Auguſt 1, 1432. He was buried in Langley abbey in Hertfordſhire. Walſing.

In

In the beginning of the next year, the king by his ſole authority, and without the intervention of the parliament [g], laid a tax for the marriage of his daughter. Though herein he acted by virtue of an ancient privilege of the kings on the like occaſions, the people however ſeemed diſſatisfied. There were not wanting in the kingdom perſons, who laid hold of every thing to find fault with his conduct. About the middle of the year he had reaſon to perceive, there was ſtill a dangerous ferment among his ſubjects, and if the malecontents remained quiet, it was only in expectation of a favourable opportunity to riſe. On a ſudden, an unexpected rumour was ſpread over England, that Richard was alive, and had levied an army in Scotland, in order to expel the uſurper. The people muſt have wiſhed the news true, ſince it every where met with ſuch credit. At the ſame time, on church doors and in other publick places, papers were poſted up, containing outrageous invectives againſt the king. The authors of the papers aſſerted, among other things, that the crimes for which Richard was depoſed, were nothing in compariſon of the tyrannical proceedings of Henry, ſince his acceſſion to the throne. The king was ſo provoked at this audaciouſneſs, that he ſwore never to pardon the offenders. Sir Roger Clarendon, natural ſon of Edward the renowned prince of Wales, fell the firſt ſacrifice to his vengeance, being condemned to the ignominious death of a traitor. Eight monks guilty of the ſame crime were alſo hanged with him. Walter Baldock, prior of Laund [h], underwent the ſame fate, with a Franciſcan doctor in divinity, who was hanged in his friar's habit, to the great mortification of his fraternity [i]. Many more were apprehended, upon finding among the papers of a certain prieſt, a liſt of the names of thoſe who declared Richard was alive. But upon ſtrict examination, it appeared he had made that liſt, on purpoſe to render the news the more probable, or upon

1402.

Tax raiſed for the marriage of the king's daughter. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 232, 237, 242.

A rumour of Richard's being alive. Ib. p. 255. Writings againſt the king. Walſing.

He puniſhes the authors.

[g] Here mr. Rapin is miſtaken. King Henry levied this aid, not by his ſole authority, but by virtue, and in conſequence, of the act made in 25 Edw. III. which impowers the king to levy a reaſonable ſubſidy, to marry his eldeſt daughter; and he raiſed it according to the rate ſet down in that act; i. e. he took of every knight's fee, immediately holden of the king, twenty ſhillings; and the ſame ſum of every twenty pounds in land, immediately holden of the king in ſocage. See the ſtatutes, and Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 232.

[h] In Leiceſterſhire.

[i] He being aſked what he would have done, if king Richard had been living, and in the field; boldly replied, he would have ventured his life for him againſt any perſon whatever. Upon which he was hanged and drawn in his habit. Walſing.

1402. groundleſs conjectures. So, he ſuffered alone the puniſhment of his raſhneſs. The king's great ſeverity upon this occaſion, contributed very much to efface the good opinion conceived of his clemency and humanity.

Marriage of the king with Joanna of Navarre. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 257. 259, 265, 280, 281, 288.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, Henry was negotiating in foreign courts three marriages at once. The firſt was between Philippa his ſecond daughter, and Eric king of Denmark, a minor, under the guardianſhip of queen Margaret his mother. The ſecond was between the prince of Wales, and a ſiſter of Eric's. And the third was his own, with Joanna of Navarre, widow of the duke of Bretagne. Of theſe three marriages, the firſt and laſt were concluded this year, but the prince of Wales's did not ſucceed.

The court of France get in their power the perſon of the young duke of Bretagne.

Henry, in reſolving to eſpouſe the ducheſs dowager of Bretagne, had probably an eye to the guardianſhip of the three princes, which the late duke of Bretagne had left under age. At leaſt the court of France taking it for granted, appeared very much alarmed at an alliance, which might be very prejudicial to them. This was the reaſon that the duke of Burgundy, guardian of the young princes, took them from the ducheſs their mother, and carried them to Paris, where they were educated. By that means, the court of France had the direction of the affairs of Bretagne, during the young duke's minority. If it be true, that Henry had an eye to Bretagne, he not only was diſappointed, but drew upon himſelf freſh enemies. During the whole time the new duke was in France, the Bretons ſcarce ever ceaſed infeſting the coaſts of England; though there was no war proclaimed between their ſovereign and Henry. The king's marriage was not conſummated till the year following.

Ibid. 281.

Expedition of the king into Wales. Ib. p. 264, 271. Walſing.

The negotiations being ended, Henry prepared in good earneſt to chaſtiſe the Welſh. To that end, he drew together a numerous army, and heading them in perſon, advanced towards Wales. Upon his approach, Glendour retired to the mountains of Snowdon, where he knew there was no poſſibility of attacking him. Mean time, the king was preparing to ravage the country, but the weather became on a ſudden ſo tempeſtuous, that he was forced to retire. The ſtorms were ſo uncommon for the ſeaſon, that the Engliſh fancied Glendour had made a contract with the devil, to prevent the deſtruction of his country.

The Scots invade England. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 252, 257.

Whilſt the king was employed in thoſe parts, the Scots, under the command of Hepburne, ſon of him ſlain two years before, made an irruption into England, and advanced as far as Newcaſtle. The earl of Northumberland, general of the

the north, was unprepared to repulſe the invaſion. But afterwards aſſembling ſome troops, whilſt they continued their ravages, he went and expected them at Niſbet, where he attacked and defeated them, ſeizing all their booty. The Scotch general loſt his life in the action. 1402. Are defeated at Niſbet. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 278. Walſing.

Theſe Scots were properly but the vanguard of an army, with which the earl of Douglas was advancing to make a more conſiderable effort. Upon news of Hepburne's defeat, he haſtened his march into England, to fight the earl of Northumberland, who being too weak to venture a battle, was forced to retire, and leave the borders expoſed to his ravages. Mean while, he laboured without ceaſing to augment his army, and as ſoon as he was able to withſtand him, marched in queſt of him, attended by Henry Hotſpur his ſon, who was reckoned the braveſt man in England. The two armies meeting at Halidown hill, a bloody battle enſued, wherein the Engliſh were entirely victorious [k]. The Scotch general loſt an eye, and fell into the hands of the conquerors, with the earl of Fife, nephew of the king of Scotland, the earls of Angus, Athol, Monteith, and a great number of other officers of diſtinction. According to the Engliſh hiſtorians, this battle was fought in July, about a month after the former. Buchanan places it among the occurrences of the year 1401, but in that he is certainly miſtaken. Another invaſion of the Scots. Buchanan. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 292. Walſing.

During the whole ſummer, the ambaſſadors of France and England continued at Lelingham, on account of the truce which had been violated, particularly in Guienne. The French hiſtorians caſt the blame upon England, and the Engliſh upon France, but we are not obliged to believe either on their bare word. In caſes of this nature, the hiſtorians of both nations generally contradict one another with mutual reproaches of partiality. Their honour, it ſeems, is concerned, to maintain upon all occaſions the faith and ſincerity of their reſpective ſovereigns. Be this as it will, the circumſtances of the two kings had for ſome time paſt been ſuch, that it could be to neither's advantage to renew the war. Henry believed the Welſh, and the malecontents in England, could procure no aſſiſtance but from France alone, which he thought to prevent by means of the truce, but was miſtaken. On the other hand, king Charles's diſtemper, and the diviſions in his court and council, promiſed the French no hopes of any great ſucceſs of their arms. So, the The French and Engliſh blame one another for breaking the truce. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 229, &c. 263, 274, 286. p. 300-305,

[k] In Northumberland, on May 7. (Buchan. l. 10.) About ten thouſand Scots were ſlain.

1402. truce was again confirmed, without examining too ſtrictly, by which ſide it was firſt violated.

The French demand Iſabella's portion. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 293, 302.

This affair being ſettled, the French ambaſſadors demanded the reſtitution of what king Richard had received with his queen. Henry, who foreſaw the demand, had inſtructed his ambaſſadors what anſwer to make. They pretended to be ſurpriſed at the propoſal, and ſaid, they had no orders about it. However, they added, as of themſelves, that they did not queſtion, that, for the preſervation of a good underſtanding between the two crowns, their maſter would agree to deduct that ſum out of the million and half of crowns, ſtill due to England, for the ranſom of king John. This pretenſion did not a little ſurpriſe the French plenipotentiaries, who having no inſtructions upon that head, deferred their anſwer, till they knew their maſter's pleaſure.

The English offer to deduct it out of king John's ranſom. Ib. p. 267.

The parliament meets. Cotton's Abridg. Walſing.

The parliament that met in October, granted the king a ſubſidy, and then confirmed divers ſtatutes, made in the reign of Edward III. in favour of the clergy [l]. The ſeſſion ended with a petition to the king, recommending to him the concerns of the Scotch earl of March, who had done the ſtate conſiderable ſervices, ſince his putting himſelf under the protection of England [m].

1403. The new queen being arrived in England, in February 1403, the king received her at Wincheſter, where the marriage was conſummated. After which, ſhe was ſolemnly crowned at London.

The queen arrives. Walſing.

The French make a deſcent in the iſle of Wight Monſtrelet. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 342. Walſing.

Whilſt the court was wholly taken up with entertainments and diverſions, the king received intelligence, that the French were going to make a deſcent in the iſle of Wight, under the conduct of Waleran, earl of St. Pol, of the houſe of Luxemburg. The earl having married a half ſiſter of Richard II. pretended to act in his own name, to revenge the death of the king his brother-in-law. The court of France connived at the undertaking, and even furniſhed the earl with troops, as if it were no prejudice to the truce. Mean time, this bravado was unſucceſsful to the earl of St. Pol. After plundering ſome villages, he was diſhonourably forced to re-embark, though the inhabitants of the iſle had received no aſſiſtance. Henry complained to the court of France of the invaſion, but could get no other anſwer, than

[l] Namely, that a clerk convict for treaſon, or being a common thief, ſhall not make his purgation: that in appropriations of benefices, there ſhall be a proviſion made for the vicar, &c.

[m] The earl petitioned, that ſuch of his lands in Scotland, as were conquered by the Engliſh, might be reſtored to him. Cotton's Abridg. p. 418.

that

that it was the king of France's intention, to keep the truce. Had he not been reſolved to avoid a rupture, the earl of St. Pol's attempt would have afforded him a juſt reaſon to renew the war. But as he was ſenſible, the kingdom abounded with malecontents, he would not give occaſion to France openly to ſupport them. On the contrary, by preſerving the truce with that crown, he meant to deprive them of the hopes of aſſiſtance. So, taking no farther notice of the inſult, he was contented with obtaining of the court of France a freſh confirmation of the truce. 1403. Henry takes no notice of it.

They who governed for king Charles were not ignorant of Henry's reſolution, which induced them to have the leſs regard for him. This very year the duke of Orleans ſent him a challenge to fight, either in ſingle combat, or with a hundred knights on each ſide. The reaſon of the challenge is not mentioned by the Engliſh hiſtorians, and the French alledge no other, than the duke of Orleans's deſire to revenge the death of Richard II. Very likely, it was only a ſally of the young duke, to ſignalize himſelf, by ſending a challenge to a king of England; but he was not pleaſed with the anſwer. Henry intimated, that there was a great diſtance between a king, and any ſubject whatever, and therefore he could not accept his challenge, but they might happen to meet in a place, where being both attended with a more numerous train than what he propoſed, they might meaſure ſwords with one another. This anſwer drew from the duke of Orleans a very reproachful reply, wherein he called him traitor, uſurper, murderer of his king. Henry ſent him a no leſs abuſive anſwer, giving him the lie in form, and charging him with uſing ſorcery, to throw his father into his preſent diſtemper. Mean while, he ſent to know of the French ambaſſadors, who were ſtill with his at Lelingham, whether the challenge was approved by the king their maſter, if ſo, he conſidered it as an open rupture. But though the ambaſſadors were frequently called upon to return a poſitive anſwer, it was not poſſible to oblige them to ſpeak plainly. They only affirmed, their maſter had not broke the truce, nor intended to break it for the future. In fine, as the Engliſh preſſed them for a declaration, from thoſe that governed in Charles's name during his illneſs they plainly told them, whether the king continued out of order, or recovered his health, no other anſwer was to be expected. Henry, conſidering this ſilence as a diſavowing, or rather thinking proper to diſſemble, for reaſons already mentioned, was contented with that ſlight ſatisfaction. The duke of Orleans challenges him. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 310. Henry complains of it, but receives no ſatisfaction.

1403. During the congreſs, the French ambaſſadors moved again the reſtitution of Iſabella's portion. On the other hand, the Engliſh plenipotentiaries demanded the reſidue of king John's ranſom, and endeavoured to evade the demand of the French, by alledging that their maſter not receiving Iſabella's dowry, was not obliged to repay it. But they thereby furniſhed their adverſaries with as juſt a pretence, to ſay in their turn, that neither was their maſter under any engagement to Henry, concerning king John's ranſom. However, as Henry demanded the arrears of the ranſom, only to be excuſed paying the dowry, he had his ends, and the affair reſted there.

Debate about Iſabella's portion. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 315—318.

Whilſt the ambaſſadors of the two crowns were employed in theſe mutual cavils, matters of much greater moment to Henry paſſed in England. Nothing leſs than his crown was at ſtake. From the beginning of his reign, to the victory over the Scots at Halidown hill, no lord was in greater favour with the king, than the earl of Northumberland. As it was properly by the ſpeedy junction of that earl with Henry, at his landing in England, that his affairs were ſo ſucceſsful, the king had always retained a very grateful ſenſe of it. The government of the northern counties, the office of high conſtable, the grant of the iſle of Man, and ſeveral other favours, were plain indications of his eſteem for the earl, who, on his part, had always appeared very zealous for his ſervice. The laſt year he had gained over the Scots two victories, the latter of which had diſabled them from giving his maſter any freſh diſturbance. This was a ſignal ſervice, but, beſides the forementioned favours, the king had rewarded him with the grants of certain lands [p]. Nothing therefore ſeemed capable of breaking the correſpondency between the earl's ſervices, and the king's favours. And yet an affair of intereſt bred ſuch a quarrel, that theſe happy diſpoſitions were ſuddenly altered. The occaſion of their difference was this.

Quarrel between the king and earl of Northumberland. Walſing.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 289.

I have before obſerved, that the earl of Northumberland had in the battle of Halidown, taken ſeveral priſoners of great quality. The king believing theſe priſoners belonged to him, did not think fit to leave them in the earl's diſpoſal: Perhaps his deſign was to raiſe a large ranſom, or elſe by their means, to procure an advantageous peace with Scotland.

[p] The earldom of Douglas; the vales of Eſſedale, Lydeſdale, Lawatdale; the lordſhip of Selkeryk; and the foreſt of Eteryk. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 289.

Be that as it will, immediately after the battle, he ſent an expreſs order to the earl, to releaſe none of his priſoners. The order was quickly followed by another, enjoining him to deliver them into his hands. The earl, who expected the benefit of their ranſom, forthwith repaired to court, and prayed the king to leave his priſoners at his diſpoſal; but had the mortification to be denied. He exclaimed againſt the injuſtice that was done him, and ſpoke to the king a little too haughtily. The reproaches he let fall on the occaſion, ſo diſpleaſed Henry, that he no longer looked upon him with the ſame eye as formerly. This coolneſs was carried ſo far, that when the earl would have ſpoke with the king, he was denied admittance. This alteration could not but exaſperate the earl, who thought his ſervices deſerved a different treatment. As he was naturally very haughty, he could not bear this contempt, without ſeeking occaſion to be revenged. He had, as may be ſaid, placed the king on the throne, and thought himſelf powerful enough to pull him down. This was the reſult of ſeveral conferences with Henry Hotſpur his ſon, the earl of Worceſter his brother [a], and ſome other lords. Their aim was, to ſet the crown on the head of Edmund Mortimer, earl of March (ſtill a priſoner in Wales) not out of affection for that prince, but becauſe there was not a more plauſible pretence to gain the people to their intereſt. Purſuant to the reſolution, they diſpatched ſecret agents to Glendour and Mortimer, to perſuade them to come into their plot. Glendour promiſed to employ all his forces to accompliſh it. As for the earl of March, he very readily lent his name for the execution of a project tending to place him on the throne. But that all three might find their advantage in it, it was agreed, that the earl of March, ſhould take poſſeſſion of the kingdom, the earl of Northumberland hold all the country lying north of the Trent, on condition of homage to the crown, and Glendour enjoy all the counties weſt of the Severn. The project being thus formed, the earl of Northumberland feigned for ſome time, to forget the cauſe of diſguſt given him by the king. He even came to court, where he took occaſion to repreſent to the king, that the earl of March having loſt his liberty in his ſervice, it was but reaſonable he ſhould pay his ranſom to Glendour. This remonſtrance was taken very ill. Henry was too well pleaſed with the earl's being in the hands of the Welſh, and unable, as he imagined, to hurt him, to

1403.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 278.

The earl of Northumberland projects the dethroning of the king.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 313, 319.

Leagues with Glendour and Mortimer.

Walſing.

Terms of their league.

The earl of Northumberland ſolicites the king to redeem Mortimer.

[a] Thomas Percy.

1403. contribute to his deliverance. He replied therefore, with ſome ſigns of anger, that the earl having marched againſt the rebels, of his own accord, and with the ſole view of ſaving his lands from plunder, it was his buſineſs to get out of captivity as well as he could: that, for his part, he did not think himſelf obliged to procure his liberty, much leſs to pay his ranſom. The earl was not ſurpriſed at the expected refuſal. His intent was only to render remarkable the king's cruelty to the earl of March, and thereby inſinuate, he muſt be convinced of the juſtice of the priſoner's title to the crown, ſince he dreaded to ſee him at liberty. The denial making no alteration in the project of the confederates, the earl of Northumberland retired into the north, where he privately ſecured ſome troops, who were to be in arms upon the firſt notice. Then he ſettled a correſpondence with ſome Scotch lords, who engaged to aſſiſt him. He likewiſe releaſed ſeveral Scotch priſoners, that were yet in his power, upon their promiſing to levy troops for his ſervice. At the ſame time Glendour was making extraordinary preparations, which coming to the king's ears, obliged him to be upon his guard, though he knew not for what they were intended.

The king refuſes.

The earl puſhes the execution of his project.

As ſoon as the confederates were ready, the three Percies ſuddenly appeared in arms in the north. Shortly after, the earl of Northumberland falling ill, his brother and ſon marched with his troops to join the Welſh, who were advanced as far as Shropſhire. When the two armies were joined, the malecontents publiſhed a manifeſto, ſetting forth, that the king treated his ſubjects with intolerable tyranny: that none but the clergy had acceſs to him, and the greateſt lords could not be admitted into his preſence, unleſs introduced by ſome biſhop: that moreover, he converted to his own uſe, the ſubſidies granted by the parliament for the publick occaſions. They likewiſe ſpread a report that Richard II. was alive, and at Cheſter with a body of troops, ready to join them.

The malecontents take up arms. Walſing.

They publiſh a manifeſto, Walſing.

and report Richard is alive.

Henry, who had received no intelligence of their deſigns, was extremely ſurpriſed at the news of the rebellion. But as he had fortunately an army quite ready, deſigned againſt the Welſh, he ſhowed no concern. However, as he was apprehenſive, the rebels manifeſto might poiſon the people, he believed he ought before all things to efface theſe impreſſions, by an anſwer publiſhed by way of proclamation. He cleared himſelf from the two principal articles of the manifeſto, firſt by denying he had ever refuſed to admit into his preſence the very meaneſt of his ſubjects, much leſs any of the

The king vindicates himſelf in a proclamation. Walſing.

the nobility, and called his whole court to witneſs. As for the ſubſidies granted by parliament, he affirmed, moſt part of the money was paid on account of the Scotch war, to the earl of Northumberland himſelf, as he could prove by his own receipts. 1403.

After publiſhing this anſwer, he marched [p] towards the rebels [q], who were encamped at Shrewſbury. When the two armies were in ſight, and ready to engage, he ſeemed to dread the event. His uneaſineſs cauſed him to offer ſuch advantageous terms to the malecontents, that Henry Percy being moved by them, deſired the earl of Worceſter his uncle to wait on the king, and endeavour to procure an agreement. It is ſaid, that in the conference with the earl, the king made ſuch conceſſions in favour of the malecontents, that they would have had reaſon to be ſatisfied, had not the earl of Worceſter falſly intimated there was nothing to be expected [r]. However this be, the negotiation proving ineffectual, the battle began. The king had at firſt ſo great a diſadvantage, that he was like to be entirely defeated. He had his horſe killed under him, and the prince of Wales his ſon was wounded in the face. But he ſo ſeaſonably called in his body of reſerve, that by their help he recovered his ground, and inſpired his troops with freſh courage. From that moment, the face of the battle was entirely changed, to the diſadvantage of the malecontents. The king's laſt charge putting their army in diſorder, they were ſo briſkly puſhed, that Henry obtained in the end a complete victory. Young Percy was ſlain, and buried after the battle, with the king's leave. But afterwards, altering his mind, the king ordered his body to be taken up, quartered, and fixed on poles in the high ways. The earl of Worceſter being taken priſoner, was beheaded, and his head ſet up over London bridge [s].

The battle of Shrewſbury. Walſing.

Hotſpur is ſlain.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 322.

Mean time the earl of Northumberland being recovered, was advancing with a body of troops to reinforce the malecontents, and take upon him the command. But hearing by

The earl of Northumberland withdraws to the north. Walſing.

[p] With a choice body of fourteen thouſand men. Walſing.

[q] Being preſſed on chiefly by George de Dunbar, earl of March; who rightly obſerved, that delays upon ſuch occaſions are dangerous. Ibid.

[r] —Contraria referens regis reſponſis, exacerbavit mentem juvenis (Henrici Hotſpur) & ad bellum impulit, etiam non volentem. Ibid.

[s] It is ſaid, that earl Douglas (who was in the battle, and taken priſoner, but releaſed for his valour) ſlew three; Boethius ſays four, armed in all points like the king. Henry is reported to have ſlain that day thirty ſix with his own hand. Of the rebels were killed about ten thouſand, of the king's ſide about ſixteen hundred. Walſing.

the

1403. the way of his ſon's and brother's misfortune, he diſmiſſed his troops, not daring to keep the field with ſo few forces, before a victorious army. Mean while, the king was marching towards the north, well knowing the center of rebellion was there, by reaſon of the earl of Northumberland's great intereſt in thoſe parts. When he came to York, he took all imaginable care to ſecure the fidelity of the northern counties, as well by the oath of the inhabitants, as by other ways which he judged proper [t]. When he thought he had taken juſt meaſures to prevent an inſurrection, he ſummoned the earl of Northumberland to appear before him. He promiſed him an abſolute pardon, in caſe he obeyed without delay, but threatened him with utter ruin, if he refuſed the proffered favour. The earl, having no way to free himſelf from his preſent condition, choſe rather to caſt himſelf upon the king's mercy than live in perpetual exile. So, without farther conſideration, he repaired to York, and threw himſelf at the king's feet, who punctually kept his word with him. He even left him all his eſtate, except the iſle of Man, which he had given him in the beginning of his reign. This was a very ſlight puniſhment for ſo great a crime. But probably, Henry, not forgetting the ſervices done him by the earl, thought he ſtill owed him this acknowledgment. Beſides, the criminal was already ſufficiently puniſhed in the death of his ſon and brother.

Henry comes to York. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 320, 321, 338.

He pardons the earl of Northumberland. Walſing.

France ever ready to take advantage of the troubles in England. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 327, 336, 365, 374, 382.

Whilſt the king was employed in the north, the court of France, having been informed of the earl of Northumberland's rebellion, was reſolved to take advantage of the troubles. It appears in the collection of the publick acts, that Henry received advice of a deſcent, which the duke of Orleans was to make in England, whilſt John duke of Burgundy, who loſt his father this year, was to beſiege Calais. It is obſervable, that notwithſtanding the truce, confirmed almoſt every year by the two crowns, France never failed to ſhow a readineſs to improve the advantages procured by the troubles in England during this reign [u]. They who were at the helm during king Charles's illneſs, and particularly the duke of Orleans, that monarch's brother, never thought themſelves bound by any treaties with Henry. This might be very evidently proved. But as Henry always got clear

[t] Particularly by offering the rebels a pardon, and ſtrictly forbidding all plundering and devaſtation of the country. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 320.

[u] On June 14, in 1404, they entered into a league offenſive and defenſive with Owen Glendour. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 356, 365.

of

of the troubles raiſed in his kingdom, the court of France could only diſcover frequently their ill intentions, without reaping much advantage. In all appearance, Henry's late victory over the rebels fruſtrated the projects formed againſt him by that court. However, not to leave him in perfect tranquillity, as they directed the affairs of Bretagne during the duke's minority, they engaged the Bretons to make a deſcent in the weſtern coaſts of England, where they committed great ravages [w]. This invaſion, for which the Bretons could not alledge the leaſt reaſon, provoked the king greatly. Nevertheleſs, as he was willing to avoid an entire rupture with Bretagne, in hopes of gaining one day the young duke to his intereſts, he thought it moſt adviſable to hide his reſentment. This was the reaſon he was ſatisfied with ſome ſlight excuſes made by the regency of Bretagne, in diſclaiming the perſons concerned in the deſcent, as acting without the government's orders. But at the ſame time, he privately gave leave to the inhabitants of Plymouth, and other places in thoſe parts, to fit out a fleet under the command of William Wilford. This admiral, though without the king's commiſſion, ſet ſail for Bretagne, and revenged the damages ſuſtained by his countrymen [x].

1403.

Ib. p. 325. The Bretons make a deſcent. Walſing.

The Engliſh take their revenge.

The parliament called laſt year, and afterwards prorogued, met again in January 1404. The king found means to obtain a ſubſidy, which muſt have been very extraordinary, ſince it was not to be recorded [y]. But in vain are precautions taken to bury in oblivion ſuch ſort of precedents, which princes upon occaſion too frequently call to remembrance.

1404.

A ſubſidy granted the king. Walſing.

The ſeverities exerciſed upon the authors and accomplices of the two late rebellions, induced the parliament to petition the king for a general pardon. Henry very readily complied with their requeſt, but with ſuch exceptions as rendered the pardon of little effect, ſince he forgave only thoſe whom he deſigned not to puniſh.

Act of Indemnity. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 338, 353.

[w] And burnt Plymouth. Walſing.

[x] He took forty merchant ſhips, burnt ſeveral more, and making a deſcent, burnt and plundered the villages and country for near twenty miles together. Ibid.

[y] This tax is ſaid to be twenty ſhillings of every knight's fee, and twenty pence of every one that had twenty pounds a year in land and one ſhilling in the pound for money or goods, and ſo upwards, according to that rate. Com. Hiſt. p. 289. Or rather, it is not known what it was, for all the records relating to it were ordered to be burnt. —Conceſſores ipſi, & authores dicti tallagii, in perpetuum latere poſteros voluerunt: nempe ſub ea tantum conditione concedebatur, ne traheretur poſterius in exemplum, nec ſervarentur ejus evidentiæ in theſauraria regia, nec in ſcaccario, ſed ſcripturæ vel recordationes ejuſdem, portinus poſt datum compotum cremarentur. Walſing. p. 369, 370.

Henry's

1404. Henry's ſeverity to thoſe who were infatuated with the falſe notion of Richard's being ſtill alive, was not capable of undeceiving every body. A rumour being once more ſpread that Richard was in Scotland, one Serle, who had been gentleman of his bed-chamber, went to ſee his old maſter. He met with people, who ſhewed him a man ſomething like Richard, but not enough for a domeſtick, who had long ſerved him, to be deceived. Nevertheleſs Serle feigning to take him for Richard himſelf, wrote to ſeveral perſons in England that he was actually with him. The teſtimony of a man who could not (as was thought) be miſtaken, produced ſo great an effect, that many ſuffered themſelves to be ſeduced with the impoſture. The counteſs of Oxford, mother of the late duke of Ireland, Richard's favourite, believed, or pretended to believe it, and took care to ſpread the report. She even ſent to ſeveral perſons in Richard's name little ſilver harts, ſuch as that prince uſed to give his favourites. Mean while the king's diligence prevented the ill effects, the impoſture might have cauſed. He ordered the counteſs to be taken into cuſtody [z], with her ſecretary who was in the ſecret. Some time after Serle was ſeized on the borders of the north, and hanged at Berwick. As he confeſſed the cheat, and that he was concerned in the duke of Glouceſter's murder, the report died away by degrees.

Richard is reported to be living. Walſing.

Walſing.

Henry puniſhes the authors of the report. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 379. Walſing.

This year the Bretons made a deſcent near Portland, and plundered ſome houſes on the coaſt. But advancing farther into the country, they met a body of militia ready to receive them, who drove them back to their ſhips, and took ſeveral priſoners of diſtinction [a]. Hitherto there was no declaration of war between England and Bretagne: but the two nations however continued to infeſt one another, though without the conſent of the ſovereigns. France, which then managed the Bretons, was very glad to ſow diſcord between them and the Engliſh, leſt Henry ſhould ſtrengthen himſelf with the alliance of Bretagne, when the duke was of age. For the ſame reaſon Henry connived at theſe inſults, for fear of depriving himſelf of that advantage. Beſides, he ſeemed reſolved to avoid, as much as poſſible, engaging in any war, being apprehenſive, that the malecontents would raiſe trou-

The Bretons land at Portland. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 356. Walſing.

Henry connives at it.

[z] But ſhe was ſoon after pardoned, and releaſed; as appears by her pardon, dated Decem. 5, 1404. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 379.

[a] At Dartmouth, and places adjacent. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 382. The lord De Caſtel, their leader, was ſlain; and three lords, with twenty knights, taken priſoners. Walſing. The women of thoſe parts ſignalized themſelves upon this occaſion, and fought bravely. Ibid.

bles in the kingdom, in caſe he was obliged to ſend his forces abroad. 1404.

It was probably for the ſame reaſon that he concluded with Scotland a truce, from the 20th of July this year to the Eaſter next enſuing. Truce with Scotland. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 363, 368.

However, he could not think that all his precautions would for ever prevent a war. Beſides that, he plainly ſaw France only ſought an occaſion of quarrel, he conſidered the affairs of Wales were in a very ill way. Glendour not only perſiſted in his rebellion, but had even ſeized ſome places on the weſt of the Severn. Moreover, the truce with Scotland being to expire in the ſpring, there would be a neceſſity of ſending an army into the north. Theſe conſiderations determined him to ſummon a parliament, in order to obtain an aid to enable him to carry on theſe wars. Ib. p. 374.

The parliament met at Coventry the 6th of October. It is ſaid, the king in the writs of ſummons commanded the ſheriffs and mayors to return none but ſuch as were unlearned, and that from hence, this aſſembly was called the illiterate or lack-learning parliament [b]. It is a queſtion however, whether the king's command was ſo expreſs as is affirmed [c]. The breach Richard II. had made in the nation's liberties by the like method, and the puniſhment which followed were yet too recent for Henry ſo publickly to imitate his example, and expoſe himſelf to the ſame danger. It cannot be denied, however, that the court on this occaſion had taken pains to get ſuch repreſentatives choſen, as were not too much prepoſſeſſed in favour of the clergy, for reaſons we ſhall preſently ſee. Be this as it will, the king repreſenting to the parliament thus compoſed, his great want of an extraordinary aid, the commons went in a body, and addreſſed him, remonſtrating, "That without burdening "his people he might ſupply his occaſions, by ſeizing the "revenues of the clergy." They ſet forth, "That the "clergy poſſeſſed a third part of the lands of the kingdom, "and not doing the king any perſonal ſervice, it was but "juſt, they ſhould contribute out of their revenues towards "the preſſing neceſſities of the ſtate. That it was evident, "the riches of the eccleſiaſticks made them negligent in "their duty, and the leſſening of their exceſſive incomes, "would be a double advantage to the ſtate and church." The illiterate parliament. Walſing. Cotton's Abridg. The commons petition the king to ſeize the church lands. Walſing.

[b] It is moſt probable, that it was ſo called afterwards, upon account of its deſigns againſt learned men, or the clergy; for it is alſo called the layman's parliament.

[c] Moſt of the hiſtorians ſay, ſuch were to be choſen as had no ſkill in the laws of the land, and the canons.

The

1404. The king ſo received the addreſs as plainly ſhewed, it was not diſagreeable to him, and in all likelihood, it was he that by his emiſſaries had chalked out this method of raiſing the money he wanted. The archbiſhop of Canterbury being preſent, thought it his duty to ſpeak on an occaſion, where the intereſt of the whole clergy was concerned. He repreſented to the king, "That though the eccleſiaſticks "ſerved him not in perſon, it could not be inferred that "they were unſerviceable, ſince they ſent into the field their "vaſſals and tenants whenever there was occaſion: that the "ſtripping the clergy of their eſtates would put a ſtop to "their prayers night and day for the welfare of the ſtate, "and there was no expecting God's protection of the king-"dom, if the prayers of the church were ſo little valued." He added, with a menacing tone, "That if theſe conſide-"rations were not capable of ſuppreſſing the plots againſt "the clergy, it would be found difficult to deprive them of "their eſtates, without expoſing the kingdom to great dan-"ger; and ſo long as he was archbiſhop of Canterbury, "he would oppoſe this injuſtice to the utmoſt of his power." Then ſuddenly falling on his knees to the king, he ſtrongly preſſed him in point of conſcience, endeavouring to make him ſenſible, that of all the crimes a prince could commit, none was ſo heinous as the invaſion of the clergy's revenues. Whether Henry was moved with the archbiſhop's ſpeech, or the ſtrong oppoſition he foreſaw from the clergy, convinced him of the difficulty of accompliſhing his deſign, he ſuddenly reſolved to deſiſt. He anſwered the archbiſhop, that though he blamed not his zeal, he could not help ſaying, his fears were groundleſs; for when he mounted the throne, he made a firm reſolution to favour the church with all his power, and hoped, by God's grace, to leave her in a better ſtate than he found her. The archbiſhop encouraged by this anſwer turned to the commons, and ſpoke to them in a manner not very proper to gain their good will, telling them, their demand was built wholly on irreligion and avarice [d]. The commons made no reply to this offenſive ſpeech, but when they came back to their houſe, reſolved to perſiſt in their demand, and brought in a bill to ſeize the clergy's revenues. But there was no poſſibility of ſucceeding in their project. The ſolicitations of the archbiſhop and the reſt of the clergy were ſo prevalent with the lords, that they threw

The archbiſhop of Canterbury oppoſes it.

The king yields to his inſtances.

The commons perſiſt in it.

The bill thrown out by the lords.

[d] Adding, he would ſooner loſe his head, than that the church ſhould be deprived of the leaſt of her rights. Walſ. p. 372.

out

out the bill. So the commons were forced to find other means to ſupply the king's occaſions *. 1404.

Towards the latter end of the year, Innocent VII. notified to the king his promotion to the papal throne. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 381.

It is not ſtrange, that to the great number of his enemies both at home and abroad, Henry was unwilling to add likewiſe the clergy, who, as the archbiſhop had threatened, would have had it in their power to create him great trouble. Though all was ſeemingly quiet in the kingdom, he diſcovered about the beginning of the year 1405, that ſome ill deſign was contriving againſt him, but however, could not find out the authors. 1405.

The earl of March had very well concealed his diſguſt, when Henry was placed on the throne; but his league afterwards with Glendour and the earl of Northumberland, was ſufficient to open the king's eyes, though he had ſuffered himſelf to be deceived by his diſſimulation. He was too jealous of his crown to believe the earl was unmindful of his juſt rights. For that reaſon, he had always refuſed to promote the recovery of his liberty. Upon the ſame account, he kept his children in ſafe cuſtody at Windſor, as pledges of their father's allegiance. Notwithſtanding all his care, means were found to convey away the priſoners, and keep them concealed for ſome time. But the king cauſed ſuch diligent ſearch to be made, that they were at length found, and brought back to their confinement at Windſor. He would have ſeverely puniſhed this attempt, if he could have diſcovered the authors, but all his endeavours were fruitleſs. There was only a poor locksmith hanged for being concerned in it, but he would not diſcover by whom he was employed. Mortimer's children carried away from Windſor. Walſing.

The duke of York being ſuſpected, was taken up and ſent to the caſtle of Pevenſey, where he remained a priſoner above three months. But at laſt he was releaſed for want of ſufficient evidence againſt him. The duke of York is apprehended. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 386, 387.

This attempt made the king apprehenſive, his enemies would form ſome new plot in favour of the earl of March, and he imagined, before it broke out, they would ſecure theſe young princes. As Glendour was always ready to Prince Henry goes againſt the Welſh.

* The lords and commons granted the king two tenths, and two fifteenths, beſides the ſubſidy of wool, woolfells, and ſkins, viz. of denizens, for every ſack of wool, forty three ſhillings and fourpence; of every two hundred and forty woolfels, the ſame ſum; and for every laſt of ſkins, five pounds: and of aliens, ten ſhillings more in every particular, for two years; three ſhillings on every tun of wine, and one ſhilling on every pound worth of merchandize; but they recalled the penſions and annuities granted by the two late kings. The clergy granted a tenth and a half. Cotton's Abridg. p. 438.

countenance

1405. countenance the malecontents, Henry reſolved to free himſelf from theſe fears, by exerting his utmoſt to deſtroy that rebel. To that end, he gave the command of an army to Henry his eldeſt ſon, who, in the beginning of the campaign, came to an engagement with the Welſh, and put their army to flight. Two months after, this victory was followed by another ſtill more important, wherein Glendour's ſon was made priſoner. Theſe two defeats were not, however, capable of diſheartening the Welſh. On the contrary, they made freſh efforts in defence of their liberty. The ſituation of their country, the aſſurances given them by France of a powerful diverſion, and probably Glendour's knowledge of a conſpiracy forming in England, put them in hopes of better ſucceſs for the future.

He gains two battles. March 11. May 14. p. 390. Stow.

The Welſh perſiſt in their revolt.

France daily ſeeks occaſion to diſturb Henry.

It was not without ground, that the Welſh relied upon the aſſiſtance of France. That crown, or rather the duke of Orleans, who then governed the kingdom, made no account of the truce, whenever he thought he could break it with advantage. Though it was confirmed in 1403, Mezerai owns, the conſtable d'Albret and the earl of Armagnac had taken from England above ſixty places in Guienne. This very year, the duke of Orleans openly beſieged Bourg and Blaye, though in vain, and the duke of Burgundy was preparing to lay ſiege to Calais. To facilitate the undertaking, the earl of St. Pol attempted to ſeize the caſtle of Merck; but the garriſon of Calais poſting to its relief, forced him to retreat in diſorder, though he was now maſter of the inner court.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 397.

The king is denied money by the nobles and clergy. Walſing.

The continual breaches of the truce taught Henry what he was to expect from France, in caſe his affairs were not proſperous in England. For that reaſon, he was deſirous to end the Welſh war before he ſhewed his reſentment to the French, chooſing rather to let them act privately, than give occaſion for an open rupture. With this view, he had ſent againſt the Welſh the prince his ſon, who was crowned with the forementioned ſucceſs. Before he entered upon the expedition, he aſſembled the lords to deſire an aid of money, being aſhamed to aſk the parliament, who had lately granted him a conſiderable ſubſidy. But the lords plainly refuſed to comply with the king's requeſt without the authority of the parliament. The clergy, whom the king likewiſe ſounded, anſwered with the ſame reſolution, not being willing to eſtabliſh a precedent of that nature, leſt it ſhould be drawn into cuſtom. Henry, extremely mortified with theſe denials, diſmiſſed both the nobles and clergy with ſigns of diſpleaſure, which

which ſhewed, he would not miſs an opportunity of making them feel the effects of his indignation. He furniſhed thereby certain lords with an occaſion and pretence to haſten the execution of a deſign, which probably had ſome time been formed. 1404.

Richard Scrope, archbiſhop of York, being diſſatisfied, and wanting to revenge Richard, by whom he was promoted to that dignity, engaged ſeveral lords in a confederacy to dethrone Henry. The earl of Northumberland entered into the plot, though the king had already forgiven him the like fault, and by his intereſt in the north drew the people of thoſe parts into the confederacy. Thomas Mowbray, earl marſhal, the lords Bardolf, Haſtings, Falconbridge, and ſeveral other lords and gentlemen came into the plot, and levied a great number of troops, which they led to York, where the rendezvous was. When theſe forces, which made a conſiderable army, were drawn together, the leaders publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the king, and cauſed it to be fixed upon the doors of the churches in York for publick view. The ſubſtance of the articles contained in the manifeſto was as follows: Conſpiracy formed by the archbiſhop of York. Walſing.

I. That Henry, at his return into England, had proteſted and ſworn, that he was only come to recover his private inheritance, without any deſign upon the crown, and yet had cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king. The rebels manifeſto. Walſing. Comp. Hiſt. p. 292.

II. That as an arch-traitor he had impriſoned his ſovereign, and forced him to reſign the crown, and then barbarouſly murdered him.

III. That ever ſince the death of Richard, he had unjuſtly detained the crown from Edmund Mortimer earl of March, to whom it lawfully belonged.

IV. That he had unjuſtly put to death ſeveral perſons of quality, who were guilty of no other crime than endeavouring to redreſs the abuſes of the government, and contrary to law impriſoned the biſhops by his ſole authority.

V. That he had oppreſſed the people with needleſs taxes, and by his threats hindered them from complaining.

VI. That he had violated the privileges of the nation, and his oath to maintain them, by hindering the free election of parliaments.

VII. That in a parliament held at Wincheſter, he had given his aſſent to a very pernicious ſtatute againſt the church of Rome, and the authority conferred upon St. Peter, and his ſucceſſors, and thereby, been the cauſe of the ſimony,

1404. perjury, and other diſorders among the clergy and gentry, who ſold the vacant benefices to perſons unqualified to ſerve the cure.

VIII. That notwithſtanding the frequent inſtances of ſeveral lords of his council, he had refuſed to ranſom the earl of March, and evaded his juſt petition, by falſely charging that prince with voluntarily making himſelf a priſoner to the Welſh.

IX. That for all theſe reaſons, they had taken up arms, with deſign to free the nation from the oppreſſions of this tyrant, and place the lawful heir on the throne.

The earl of Weſtmoreland ſeizes the heads of the conſpiracy by fraud. Walſing.

Some time before the king had intelligence of the rebellion, he had ordered a body of troops to march into the north, under the command of Ralph Nevil, earl of Weſtmoreland, to oppoſe the Scots, who ſeemed inclined to renew the war. The earl was near York, when he heard the news of the inſurrection. The ſuperiority of the rebels troops, not permitting him to advance any farther, for fear of being engaged in an unequal fight, he thought it more adviſable to uſe policy. To that end, he diſpatched a truſty meſſenger to the archbiſhop of York, and the earl marſhal, to tell them from him, that, conſidering their great prudence and zeal for the publick good, he did not queſtion but weighty reaſons had induced them to take up arms, and deſired them to acquaint him with the ſame. The confederates thinking him already ſhaken, ſent him word, they had no other intention, than to procure the good of the kingdom, and entreated him to come and join with them in defence of the publick. This anſwer made him judge, it would not be impoſſible to over reach perſons, who thought him capable of ſo readily taking their part. To keep them in that belief, he told them by the ſame meſſenger, he was not ſo blind but he could ſee the injuries done to the nation: however, he was afraid, they had been too haſty in their proceedings: that, before all things, care ſhould have been taken to ſecure the concurrence of all the principal lords, or at leaſt the majority: that as for himſelf, he could not communicate all his thoughts by a third perſon, but, if they would agree to an interview, he would more freely open his mind. The archbiſhop of York, no longer doubting, that the earl was privately of the ſame ſentiments with the confederates, preſſed the earl marſhal to go with him to the interview, and, notwithſtanding his unwillingneſs, prevailed with him at laſt. The place aſſigned for the conference being in an open plain, and the guards

guards advancing at an equal diſtance on both ſides, the three lords began to confer together. The earl of Weſtmoreland proteſted, he had no leſs at heart than themſelves, the welfare and proſperity of the ſtate, and approved of the articles of the manifeſto, except a few things which he wiſhed they would alter. Then he propoſed certain means to execute their deſign, which appeared very judicious, and fully convinced them of his ſincerity. When he found he had gained their confidence, he ordered ſome wine to be brought, and they all three drank together. All the while, he affected to ſhake them by the hand, and give them marks of a hearty correſpondence. In ſhort, to ſhow an entire confidence, he commanded his guards to withdraw, who immediately obeyed. This frankneſs obliged the archbiſhop and earl marſhal, to ſend away theirs likewiſe, being unwilling to appear more diſtruſtful than he. But hardly were their guards out of ſight, when the others returned upon the gallop, and, before the archbiſhop and Mowbray could be relieved, they were both taken and conducted to the royal army. The ſeizure of their leaders threw the confederates into ſuch a conſternation, that it was not poſſible for the earl of Northumberland, who ſtaid at York, to keep the troops any longer together. So, every one ſhifting for himſelf, the earl was alſo forced to retire to Berwick, of which he was governor. Some time after, the king being come to Pontfract, the earl of Weſtmoreland brought his two priſoners with him, who were both condemned to loſe their heads. The archbiſhop ſuffered death with great conſtancy, and was honoured by the people for a martyr, till the king, by his authority, put a ſtop to their ſuperſtition. From Pontfract the king went to York, and ſeverely puniſhed the inhabitants [f]. Then advancing towards the north, in order to beſiege the caſtle of Berwick, he took in his way the lords Haſtings and Falconbridge, who met with the ſame fate as the archbiſhop and earl marſhal. Upon the king's approach, the earl of Northumberland and the lord Bardolf, deſpairing of being able to defend themſelves, and dreading to fall into the hands of a juſtly incenſed prince, withdrew into Scotland at the lord Flemming's, by whom they were received. Mean while, Henry became maſter of Berwick, and ſeveral caſtles belonging to the earl of Northumberland; after which, he returned to London.

1404.

Earl of Northumberland flies to Berwick. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 400.

1405.

The two priſoners beheaded. Walſing. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 398.

Other lords executed.

Percy and Bardolf retire to Scotland. Walſing.

[f] He ſeized all their liberties and privileges. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 398.

1405. Though moſt hiſtorians aſcribe the riſe of this conſpiracy to the king's threatening the clergy and nobility, upon their refuſal of the aid he demanded, it appears however to have been formed before. For, whilſt Henry was ſtill in the north, the marſhal de Montmorency arrived in Wales, with a fleet of a hundred and forty ſail, and twelve thouſand men. As ſoon as he was landed he joined Glendour, and they marched together, and took Carmarthen, Worceſter, and ſeveral other places of the neighbourhood, where they met with a great booty [g]. Mezerai, who places this event in the laſt year, ſays, the earl of March, of the houſe of Bourbon, cauſed the undertaking to miſcarry by his too long delay. This ſhows the court of France thought their army would land in Wales, juſt at the time the archbiſhop of York's plot broke out. It may be, the preparations were begun laſt year, and that might occaſion Mezerai's miſtake. It is much more probable, he ſhould be miſtaken in the date of this event, than the Engliſh hiſtorians, who refer to this year, the taking of their towns, and the great booty gained by their enemies on that occaſion. Beſides, we find in the collection of the publick acts, an order from the king, dated at Pontfract, mentioning the deſcent of the French. It is true, in the order, their leader is called Hugevyle, and not Montmorency. But as there were not two deſcents the ſame year, and in the ſame country, it may be preſumed, that Hugevyle made the deſcent under the marſhal's direction.

The French land in Wales. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 402, 412. Walſing. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 406.

Henry had no ſooner finiſhed his affairs in the north, but he marched towards Wales, to defend the borders againſt the French. But he was ſo retarded by the weather, that they had ſufficient time to re-embark, leaving Glendour to ſhift for himſelf. However, the king could do nothing againſt the Welſh, though deprived of the aſſiſtance of their friends, as well becauſe the ſeaſon was too far advanced, as becauſe in his march, he had loſt great part of his baggage.

The king marches againſt them. Walſing.

After ſo manifeſt a breach of the truce, the French, one would have thought, deſigned openly to renew the war. But that was not their intention. As the conſpiracy in England had not ſucceeded as they wiſhed, they did not think proper to carry the rupture any farther. Mean while, to join inſult with outrage, at the very time they had ſent a powerful aid to the Welſh rebels, and their forces had taken towns, and ravaged counties in England, they aſſured Henry,

The French court's breach of faith.

[g] But the lord Berkle, and Henry Pay, took fourteen, and burnt fifteen, of their ſhips in Milford-haven, where they landed. Walſ. p. 374.

their

their intent was always to keep the truce, as if bare words were more proper than quite contrary facts, to ſhow the ſincerity of their intentions. This behaviour was entirely grounded upon the vain pretence of the duke of Orleans's private quarrel with Henry, for the murder of Richard II. wherein he believed, or pretended to believe, he might uſe the forces of France, which were at his diſpoſal, without violation of the truce between the two crowns. So all Henry's complaints were fruitleſs, ſince he could only apply for juſtice to the duke of Orleans himſelf, the principal author of all the violations. The court of France was ſo well acquainted with the temper, character, and politicks of Henry, that they were not afraid to inſult him upon all occaſions, during almoſt the whole courſe of his reign. Henry V. his ſon, was not ſo gentle, but knew how to revenge the affronts his father had received [h]. 1405.

Towards the end of this year [i], Philippa the king's daughter was ſent to the king of Denmark her huſband [k]. Walſing.

All being quiet in England after the retreat of the French, the king called a parliament, which met March 1, 1406 [l]. As his deſign was to demand money, he readily gave his aſſent to an act to ſecure the freedom of elections [m]. This act ſhows, that in the elections for the late parliament, the king had done ſomething tending to abridge the freedom of The parliament meets. Acts for freedom of elections. Cotton's Abridg. Walſing.

[h] This year the Scots invaded, or threatened to invade England, as appears from an order of king Henry, dated at Faxfiete, Sept. 8. to the ſheriff of Nottingham and Derby, for arming all perſons from ſixteen to ſixty, upon the news of that invaſion. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 414.—This year alſo, on October 3. the king made a grant to ſir John Stanley, of the iſle of Man; the poſſeſſion whereof remained in that noble family (honoured in the 1ſt of Henry VII. with the title of earl of Derby) till lately, when it fell to the duke of Athol.

[i] It was not till July or Auguſt, 1406, as it appears from Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 443, 447. Walſ. p. 375.

[k] According to Pontanus, the nuptials of Eric with Philippa, were not celebrated till the 25th of October, 1406. Rapin.

[l] At Weſtminſter. This parliament gave the merchants of England a remarkable commiſſion; namely, that they ſhould guard the ſeas from May 1, till Michaelmaſs 1406, and in conſideration thereof, have three ſhillings from every tun of wine, imported or exported; twelve pence in the pound; and the fourth part of the ſubſidy of wools, leather, and woolfells. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 438, 449.

[m] By which it was enacted, that at the next county holden after the delivery of the writ of parliament, all there preſent, as well ſuitors ſummoned for the ſame cauſe, as others, ſhall attend to the election of the knights for the parliament, and in the full county they ſhall proceed to the election, freely and indifferently, notwithſtanding any requeſt or commandment to the contrary. And after they are choſen, their names ſhall be written in an indenture, under the ſeals of all them that did chooſe them, and tacked to the writ of parliament; which indenture ſhall be holden for the ſheriffs return of the ſaid writ. See the Statutes.

1405. voting. As ſoon as the act was paſſed, Henry demanded an aid of money, but was plainly told, there was no viſible occaſion for it. He was extremely offended at the denial; but however, durſt not openly ſhow his reſentment, for fear of exaſperating them. Mean while, he deviſed an expedient which procured him what he wanted. This was, to keep the parliament aſſembled, till they ſhould, of their own accord, be brought to grant his demand. So, without any freſh application, he continued the ſeſſion till the end of Auguſt. This was very inconvenient to the members, who had buſineſs at home, and withal very expenſive to the people, who were to bear their charges. At length, the commons, impatient of returning to their homes, voted him a ſubſidy [n], not without loud murmurs at the conſtraint laid upon them.

The parliament denies the king money.

He keeps the houſes aſſembled till they grant it. Walſing.

An act excluding the women from the crown.

During the ſeſſion, the parliament paſſed an act, limiting the ſucceſſion of the crown to the king's male iſſue, excluſive of the female. As this act was repealed the ſame year, and probably razed out of the parliament rolls, one can only gueſs upon what foundation it was built. Now what might very likely ſerve the king for pretence to demand ſo extraordinary an act, may be this.

Reflection on that act.

During the whole courſe of the dominion of the Saxon kings, or at leaſt ſince the union of the ſeven kingdoms, we do not find a ſingle inſtance of the deſcendants of the daughters, being called to the ſucceſſion of the crown. From the Norman conqueſt, to the time I am ſpeaking of, we meet in the Engliſh hiſtory, with two precedents in favour of the women. The firſt is, that of king Stephen, ſon of a daughter of William the conqueror, to which may be added, at the ſame time, that of Matilda, daughter of Henry I. who diſputed the crown with Stephen. The ſecond is that of Henry II. ſon of Matilda, who was acknowledged for king without oppoſition. Theſe two precedents, ſeemed to eſtabliſh the right of the females beyond all diſpute. And yet they were not unqueſtionable. It might be alledged, that Stephen aſcended the throne purely by the cabals of ſome of the nobility, and that Henry II. received his crown only by virtue of a treaty, extorted from his predeceſſor by force of arms. It might moreover be objected, that, as there was

[n] The commons granted the king one tenth, and one fifteenth, and continued the duties on wool, &c. as in the laſt parliament. The clergy impoſed a new ſubſidy on ſtipendiary prieſts, mendicant friars, and chantry prieſts; viz. three ſhillings and four pence a head. Cotton's Abridg. p. 451. Compl. Hiſt. p. 294.

no

no expreſs law, two examples ſince the beginning of the monarchy, could not have the force of a law, chiefly by reaſon of the circumſtances they were attended with. Thus the right of the daughters and their iſſue, might at leaſt be liable to diſpute. 1405.

When Henry IV. mounted the throne, he pretended to be the next heir of Richard II. ſhowing thereby, he made no account of the earl of March's right, deſcended only from a daughter. And indeed, ſuppoſing the invalidity of the women's right, it could not be denied, that he was nearer than the earl of March, who was ſet up againſt him. But this pretended invalidity was a point that was not decided. Mean while, the people were generally of opinion, that the daughters had a right to the ſucceſſion, ſince, without its being neceſſary to alledge examples or precedents in their favour, it was ſufficient there was no law to exclude them. Upon this foundation the late rebellion was raiſed, as appeared by the manifeſto of the rebels. It is therefore very likely that, to remove this pretence from the malecontents, Henry would have decided the point by an act, which, in excluding the daughters and their iſſue, ſeemed to inſinuate, that the reigning king aſcended the throne purſuant to the cuſtom and laws of the realm. But this act, which perhaps was extorted the ſame way as the ſubſidy, laſted but till the end of the year. In the next ſeſſion of the ſame parliament, which met again in October °, ſuch ſtrong remonſtrances were made to the king, that he conſented to the repeal. This parliament, not ſatisfied with leaving the right of the daughters in its former doubtful ſtate, paſſed a new act, whereby the females, and their poſterity were eſtabliſhed in their natural rights. The ſucceſſion was ſettled upon the king's eldeſt ſon, and his heirs, without exception, then upon his brothers, and their iſſue, without excluding the women. The act was ſigned by the king, the houſe of lords, and the ſpeaker, in the name of all the commons, the 22d of December, 1406, as appears in the collection of the publick acts. The act is repealed. 1406. Another for the women. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 462—464.

The precaution taken by the king to ſecure his right by the firſt of theſe acts, was extremely prejudicial to his poſterity. He thereby gave occaſion for the ſecond, which

° It was not (as Rapin ſays by miſtake) a new parliament, but the ſame as aſſembled this year on March 1; and which met again October 15, to which they had been adjourned, and broke up Decemb. 22. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 451, 455.

1406. ſtrengthened the title of the earl of March, and conſequently of the houſe of York, which became heir to that prince.

Negotiation for delivering the earl of Northumberland to the king. Walſing.

During the firſt ſeſſion of the parliament, Henry carried on in Scotland a ſecret negotiation, to get into his hands, the earl of Northumberland, and the lord Bardolf, who had taken refuge there. He could not be eaſy on account of that earl, whoſe valour, abilities, and revengeful temper, were no leſs known to him, than his great intereſt in the north. As it was to be feared, that being ſo near thoſe parts, he would contrive ſome dangerous plot, Henry believed he ought to ſpare no pains to make himſelf eaſy, by ſecuring his perſon. To that end, he ſent an offer to certain Scotch lords, whoſe relations and friends were priſoners in England, to releaſe them without ranſom, provided they would deliver up the earl of Northumberland, and the lord Bardolf. The offer was gladly received. But as there was no concealing the deſign from the lord Flemming, who had entertained the two lords at his houſe, he acquainted them with it, and they retired into Wales, under the protection of Glendour. Some time after, the Scotch lords, vexed at their diſappointment, killed the lord Flemming, who was the cauſe that their friends ſtill remained in captivity. Afterwards, his ſon, revenging his death upon ſome of the murderers, this quarrel, joined to ſeveral other occaſions of diſcord, which reigned among the great men, under the government of a very weak prince, raiſed many commotions in Scotland.

The earl returns into Wales.

Affairs of Scotland. Buchanan. Walſing.

Robert III. of the houſe of Stuart, who ſat then on the throne of Scotland, was a prince more free from vices, than endowed with good qualities. His eaſy nature, or incapacity, had given opportunity to Robert his brother, duke of Albany, to ſeize by degrees the government of the kingdom, whilſt he left the king his brother little more than the external badges of royalty. His ambition not being ſatisfied with a borrowed authority, he formed a deſign to ſeize the crown, or at leaſt took meaſures to ſecure it to himſelf after Robert's deceaſe. To compaſs his ends, it was neceſſary to prevent the obſtacles, he would infallibly meet with in the execution of his deſigns, from the princes David and James his nephews, the king's ſons. An opportunity very ſoon offered to make away with the eldeſt. The young prince committing ſome outrage, for which he was complained of to the king, the duke of Albany procured an order from his brother, to keep David confined, till the heat of his paſſions was ſomewhat abated. He executed the order with ſuch rigour,

rigour, that cloſely confining the prince, he cauſed him to be ſtarved to death. How careful ſoever he might be to conceal the barbarous action, Robert was informed of it, but being too weak, and his brother too potent, durſt not attempt to be revenged. The only remedy he could apply to his grief, was to put James his ſecond, now become his eldeſt ſon, out of the reach of the ſnares of his treacherous brother. For that purpoſe, he reſolved to educate him at the court of France, in order to ſend him out of Scotland, where he was in ſuch imminent danger, and accordingly put him on board a veſſel to go by ſea. The young prince ſailing near the coaſt of Norfolk, and finding himſelf ſea-ſick, went on ſhore for refreſhment. But he was no ſooner landed, than ſeized by ſome mariners, and brought to the king, who was ſo cruel as to confine him in the Tower. In vain did the Scotch prince deliver him a letter from the king his father, recommending his ſon to him, in caſe any accident ſhould oblige him to land in his dominions. Henry only anſwered with a poor jeſt, telling him, there was no occaſion to go to Paris to learn French, he ſhould be taught it at London. The king of Scotland died three days after receiving the bad news, and the duke of Albany took upon him the regency, during the impriſonment of the young prince, to whom the crown was devolved.

1406.

Prince James confined in the Tower of London. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 484. Walſing.

Death of king Robert.

This year the French came upon the coaſt of Wales with thirty eight ſhips in order to aſſiſt Glendour. But a violent ſtorm deſtroying moſt of their fleet, hindered the execution of their deſign.

The French try in vain to aid the Welſh. Walſing.

1407.

Very likely, the court of France had received ſome intelligence of a conſpiracy forming in England againſt the king, and in order to countenance it, would have had an army ready in Wales. But the diſperſion of the fleet probably blaſted their ill-concerted project. There were ſome indications of it in the beginning of the year 1407, by certain perſons daring to poſt up in ſeveral places in London, that Richard was living and preparing to enter the kingdom with a powerful army. What inquiries ſoever the king made, the authors could never be diſcovered. Only a poor wretch, employed in poſting up the papers, was hanged, without being able or willing to tell who ſet him to work.

Symptoms of a new conſpiracy. Walſing.

This year a terrible plague raged at London, which ſwept away above thirty thouſand inhabitants. The king not daring to ſtay at London whilſt the plague made ſuch ravages, retired to the caſtle of Leeds in the county of Kent. After ſpending there part of the ſummer, he had a mind to remove

Plague at London. Walſing. Stow's Ann. Hall.

1407. remove to another of his ſeats in Norfolk [p]; and reſolving to go by ſea, went on board a veſſel which was followed by four more with his baggage and attendants. Whilſt he was ſailing in ſight of land, without any precaution, and believing there was no danger, he ſaw himſelf on a ſudden attacked by ſome French pirates [q], who took four of his ſhips; that, wherein he was himſelf, very narrowly eſcaping; it was not doubted that ſome treachery lurked under this accident, but it was impoſſible to be proved.

The king is like to be taken by pirates.

Death of Robert Knolles. Walſing.

The famous Robert Knolles, who had ſignalized himſelf in the wars with France in the reign of Edward III. died this year in a very advanced age. Though of mean birth, he had raiſed himſelf by his merit to the higheſt poſts, and gained a reputation equal to that of the moſt illuſtrious warriours. In the beginning of this reign, he was ſeneſchal of Guienne, but afterwards being weary of a life of too much hurry and action, retired to his eſtate in Kent. There he ended his days, after acquiring a ſtill more ſolid glory by many acts of piety, charity, munificence, ſome of which ſubſiſt to this day [r].

Deſign of the French upon Guienne and Calais. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 412, 456, 466.

Henry being ſenſible how ill-affected his ſubjects were to him, ſtood ſo in awe of them, that ever ſince his acceſſion to the crown, he had not dared to ſend any troops into Guienne for fear of weakening himſelf at home. Mean while the French, taking advantage of his negligence, became maſters from time to time of ſeveral places in that province, by bribing the governors. They herein followed the maxim introduced during the war between Edward III. and Philip de Valois, that buying and ſelling was no breach of a truce. This year the duke of Orleans endeavoured, notwithſtanding the truce, to take Bourg and Blaye, but could not ſucceed. On the other hand, the duke of Burgundy had again formed the deſign of beſieging Calais, but for want of due meaſures, durſt not purſue it. He complained, the duke of Orleans had privately obſtructed it. This occaſion of complaint, with ſeveral others, breeding in him a

Walſing.

The duke of Burgundy murders the duke of Orleans. Walſing. Mezerai.

[p] Others ſay to Pleſhy. He took ſhip at Queenborough, in the iſle of Sheppey, to croſs over to Lee in Eſſex. Hall. fol. 26.

[q] Who lay in the Thames mouth. They carried away ſir Thomas Ramſtone, the vice chamberlain, with all the king's furniture and apparel that was in thoſe four ſhips. Ibid. Stow's Ann. p. 334.

[r] He died about Auguſt 5, at his manor of Scone Throp, in Norfolk, and was buried with his lady in the body of the church of the White Friars, in London, which he had newly built. He likewiſe built the ſtately ſtone bridge at Rocheſter; and founded a college for ſecular canons at Pontfract. Dugdale, vol. II. p. 412. Walſ. p. 376.

mortal

mortal hatred to that prince, he cauſed him to be aſſaſſi- 1407.
nated this year in November. He was ſo hardy as to avow his being author of the murder, and ſo powerful as to procure a pardon, though the deceaſed was the king's own brother.

Though war was not proclaimed between England and Bretagne, the continual outrages on both ſides, could not fail at length to produce an open rupture. The duke of Bretagne was ſon of a father who had an Engliſh heart. But the young duke had imbibed at the court of France other inclinations and maxims. However, the death of the duke of Orleans and the troubles in France convincing the Bretons, they might be abandoned, in caſe of a rupture with England, they thought proper to accept of a truce offered by Henry. The truce was only to be for a year, the Bretons imagining, they ſhould ſee by that time how matters would go in France, where diſorder began to reign [s].

Truce with Bretagne. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 469, 490.

Henry was not ignorant of the Bretons deſign, but thought 1408.
it his intereſt to diſſemble. Ever ſince his coming to the crown, he had conſtantly followed this rule, that it was better to connive at ſome things in his neighbours, than be expoſed to the inſults of his ſubjects. He could not help reflecting on the irregular means he had uſed to aſcend the throne. This conſideration keeping him in continual dread, he choſe rather to hazard his reputation a little, than furniſh his domeſtick enemies, by engaging in foreign wars with an opportunity to execute their ill deſigns. It was not without reaſon that he lived in perpetual fears. He had ſtill in the earl of Northumberland an enemy, who humbled as he was, continued to be very formidable. Since that earl and the lord Bardolf were retired into Wales, they had never ceaſed contriving means with Glendour to dethrone the king. The Welſh, who were in open war with Henry, concealed not their preparations. They ſtrengthened their army with great numbers of French and Flemiſh adventurers, drawn thither by the proſpect of the booty promiſed them in England. On the other hand, the earl of Northumberland privately ſecured the aſſiſtance of the people of the north, with whom he had always great intereſt, in ſpite of his paſt diſgraces. When matters were ripe, the

A freſh attempt of the earl of Northumberland againſt the king. Act. Pub. p. 520. Walſing.

He begins with Glendour. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 588.

[s] This year a parliament was holden at Glouceſter, on October 20, and removed in November to Weſtminſter. It granted the king one tenth and a half, and the like ſubſidy for ſtaple, and other merchandiſe, for two years, as in the laſt parliament. Cotton's Abridg. p. 464, 465.

earl

1408. earl and Bardolf returned to Scotland, from whence they entered England by the northern counties, at the head of ſome Scotch troops levied by the connivance of the duke of Albany, regent of the kingdom. As ſoon as they appeared in the north, thoſe that were gained before hand, ſpeedily joined them, and their army became in a few days very conſiderable.

He appears in arms in the north.

He makes a progreſs.

As the king did not expect this inſurrection, the earl had time to retake the caſtles he had loſt in the firſt rebellion. This ſucceſs encouraged him to enter Yorkſhire. He hoped, when once he was maſter of that county, nothing would hinder him from joining the Welſh, who only waited his orders to put themſelves in motion. Upon his entering Yorkſhire, he publiſhed a manifeſto, containing the motives of his taking up arms. The manifeſto was much the ſame with thoſe publiſhed in the former rebellions.

Publiſhes a manifeſto.

The ſheriff of York raiſes troops. Ib. p. 529. Walſing.

Mean while, as the king loſt a great deal of time in preparations, ſir Thomas Rokeby, ſheriff of York, thought it his duty to levy ſome troops in a readineſs againſt the king's coming, and at the ſame time to obſtruct the progreſs of the rebels. The earl of Northumberland judging it of the laſt importance, to diſperſe the ſheriff's forces before they increaſed, marched towards him in expectation that his approach would put him to flight. But he found he had to deal with an enemy that was not ſo eaſily frightened. Rokeby, though far inferior to the earl, ſtood his ground, and fought with that bravery and good fortune, that the rebels were entirely routed [t]. The earl of Northumberland was ſlain on the ſpot, and the lord Bardolf taken priſoner, but ſo mortally wounded that he died in few days. Their heads being ſent to the king, were ordered to be ſet on a pole on London bridge. Thus died the earl of Northumberland, who from being the king's great friend, became his greateſt enemy. It was he that contributed moſt to place Henry on the throne, by his readineſs to join him at Ravenſpur, an example followed by all the reſt of the kingdom. But afterwards he made ſeveral attempts to wreſt the crown from him. So, it might be a queſtion, whether he had done more for, than againſt him, if in an affair of this nature a ſingle rebellion did not outweigh numberleſs ſervices.

The earl attacks him.

Is defeated and ſlain. Walſing.

[t] Near Horſelwood, on Feb. 19. Walſ. p. 377. For this good ſervice, king Henry granted ſir Thomas Rokeby, the manor of Spofford, with its appurtenances, for life. Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 530.

Henry

1408.

Henry being on his march, when he received the news of the defeat and death of the earl of Northumberland, proceeded to York. He made ſome ſtay in that city to try the rebels, of whom ſome were executed [u]; others redeemed their lives with large ſums of money.

The king puniſhes the rebels. Walſing.

Before the king departed from London, he had ordered a fleet to be equipped againſt the French rovers, who for ſome time had infeſted the coaſt of England, and done much damage to the merchants. Edmund Holland, earl of Kent, who commanded the fleet, was long in queſt of theſe rovers to no purpoſe. At length hearing they were retired on the coaſt of Bretagne to the little iſle of Brehac, which was expreſsly excepted in the truce with the Bretons, he went and attacked them in the town of the ſame name, where they had ſhut themſelves up. In the firſt aſſault, he received a wound, of which he died in five days. This prevented not his troops from continuing the ſiege, and taking the town, where they put all to the ſword.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 545. The earl of Kent attacks the French pirates, and is ſlain. Walſing. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 542. The pirates all put to the ſword.

The frequent ratifications of the truce not hindering the French from making continual attempts upon England, Henry was forced at laſt to be content to conclude a new ſeparate truce for Picardy and Guienne, from the 30th of September 1408 [w], to the 1ſt of May 1410 [x]. Poictou was expreſsly included, becauſe the French denied that province to be held of Guienne.

Truce for Poictou and Guienne. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 516, 521, 530, 557.

The ſchiſm, which commenced in 1378, by the double election of Urban VI. and Clement VII. ſtill continued to the great ſcandal of Chriſtendom. Urban dying in 1390, the cardinals of his party choſe in his room Boniface IX. who at firſt ſeemed inclined to put an end to the ſchiſm. Whereupon the court of France, laboured to inſpire Clement with the ſame reſolution. But as he proved inflexible, the univerſity of Paris was ordered to meet, by whom it was decided, that to end the ſchiſm, one of theſe three ways was abſolutely neceſſary. The firſt was, that the two popes ſhould reſign. The ſecond, that they ſhould agree upon umpires to decide their difference. The third, that the determination ſhould be referred to a general council. This reſolution being communicated to Clement,

A brief account of the ſchiſm. Platina. Walſing.

[u] The abbot of Hales being taken fighting on the earl's ſide, was hanged. Walſ. p. 377.

[w] There had been a truce concluded, from Jan. 15, till April 15, 1408, which was prolonged till September 30. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 507, 515, 520.

[x] From the 15th of June, till that time three years. Ibid. p. 541, 548—560.

troubled

1408. troubled him ſo, that he died quickly after in 1394. When the king of France had notice of his death, he wrote to the cardinals, deſiring them not to proceed to a new election. But as they ſuſpected the contents of his letter, they choſe, before they opened it, the cardinal of Luna, an Arragonian, who took the name of Benedict XIII. Before the election, they all took a ſolemn oath, that whoever was choſen ſhould renounce the papacy, in caſe it was deemed neceſſary for the good of Chriſtendom. But Benedict being elected pope, diſpenſed with the oath he had taken when cardinal. On the other hand, Boniface IX. dying 1404, his cardinals choſe Innocent VII. and he likewiſe dying the next year, they elected Angelo Corario, a Venetian, who aſſumed the name of Gregory XII.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 604.

It would be tedious to relate all the evaſions uſed by Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. to decline the reſignation ſworn by each. They were both willing to be thought well-affected, and yet continually ſtarted freſh obſtacles to the agreement deſired by all Chriſtendom. In ſhort, the chriſtian princes, tired with the delays of the two popes, found means to gain the cardinals of both ſides, who, in their own name, ſummoned a general council at Piſa, for the 25th of March 1409.

1409. The council being aſſembled, the two popes were cited, and as they did not think fit to appear, were declared perjured hereticks, and deprived of their dignity. At the ſame time, the cardinals were impowered to elect a new pope. They choſe Peter de Candia, who ſtyled himſelf Alexander V. Before the meeting of the council, Henry writ to Gregory to admoniſh him to comply with the method of reſignation. But his letter being fruitleſs, as ſoon as he heard of Alexander's election, he iſſued out a proclamation, enjoining all his ſubjects to acknowledge the new pope. It was believed, the ſcandalous ſchiſm, which had now laſted thirty years, was at length cloſed, but by Benedict's obſtinacy, it was continued ſome years longer.

Council of Piſa. Ib. p. 567. Walſing. Alexander V. elected.

King's proclamation in his favour. p. 640.

How ſcandalous ſoever the ſchiſm might be, it did not create in the clergy of England, ſo great uneaſineſs as Wickliff's doctrine. Though, during this reign, the Lollards were uſed with great ſeverity, their number continually increaſed. There were even at Oxford, doctors that publickly defended the novel opinions, as well in their diſputations as writings. The biſhops being extremely alarmed at it, obtained of the king an order to the univerſity to meet in convocation, and examine the books of Wickliff.

The progreſs of the Lollards alarm the clergy.

Wickliff's books condemned at Oxford.

As

As the majority were ſtill attached to the old doctrine, his books were condemned, and the univerſity publiſhed a decree, forbidding all her members upon pain of degradation to preach, or teach, the doctrine therein contained. 1409. Act. Pub. VIII.

This year the truce with Bretagne, was prolonged to the 1ſt of July 1411. Truce with Bretagne.

Henry could not be ſecure of any tranquility, but whilſt France was in trouble. From thence proceeded the riſe of all the motions, as well of his own ſubjects, as of the Welſh and Scots. The War, kindled in that kingdom between the houſes of Orleans and Burgundy, was very beneficial to England. In the firſt place, Caſtile and Scotland were more ready to conclude a truce with Henry. In the next place, the Welſh receiving no further aſſiſtance from thence, found at length, their pretended prince was very far from being able to perform what he had promiſed, and began by degrees to deſert him. Laſtly, Henry reaped moreover this private advantage, that he became more abſolute at home, ſince he had nothing to fear from his enemies abroad. Though he had cauſed Richard to be depoſed, for uſurping an arbitrary power contrary to the laws, yet he himſelf plainly ſhowed by certain proceedings, he would have been glad to govern with an abſolute authority. This chiefly appeared in the elections of the members of parliament. By the directions of the court, certain artifices were practiſed, to render the freedom of voting of no uſe, ſince the ſheriffs took the liberty to return ſuch repreſentatives as had not a majority of votes. This is a thing of ſo fatal a conſequence, that it may be affirmed, the liberty of the Engliſh will no longer ſubſiſt, than whilſt the privilege of freely electing their repreſentatives in parliament ſtands inviolated. If once the ſovereign comes to chooſe what repreſentatives he pleaſes, the bounds of the royal authority will be in the end ſo enlarged, that nothing but the meer ſhadow of liberty will remain. Of this, we have ſeen a remarkable inſtance in the reign of Richard II. But it may farther be added, that all the kings of England, who have enjoyed a more abſolute power than the reſt, acquired it by this way, I mean, by procuring their creatures to be elected. When a parliament conſiſts of ſuch members, it is no longer the king that is charged with encroachments upon the people's liberty, but it is the nation itſelf that voluntarily runs into ſlavery. And if afterwards they reſolve to throw off their chains, they can only ſucceed by violent means; and this by the way, is the ſpring of

1410. Troubles in France advantageous to Henry. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 609, 617.

Henry begins to break in upon the parliament's privileges.

1410. moſt of the civil wars, ſo often kindled in England. The parliament which met in January 1410, conſidering the conſequences of the king's proceedings to over-rule the elections, believed the redreſs of that abuſe, was the moſt preſſing affair. Accordingly, in the beginning of the ſeſſion, they preſented a bill to the king, by which the ſheriffs who ſhould be guilty of making falſe returns, were to be fined a hundred pounds ſterling for every offence. The king would have been glad to evade the act, but as he could not do it, without laying himſelf too open, and beſides intended to demand a ſubſidy, he gave it the royal aſſent.

Act againſt falſe returns. See ſtatute.

The king demands a ſubſidy.

Upon paſſing the act, the king demanded an aid of the commons, who took occaſion from thence to renew their former inſtances in regard to the clergy. Wickliff's doctrine had gained ſo much ground, that the majority of the houſe of commons leaned that way. Thus biaſſed, the commons preſented to the king two petitions, one againſt the clergy, the other in behalf of the Lollards. In the firſt, they ſet forth, "That the clergy made an ill uſe of their "riches, and conſumed their incomes in a very different "manner from the donor's intent: that their revenues were "exceſſive, and conſequently it was neceſſary to leſſen "them: that ſo many eſtates might eaſily be ſeized, as "would ſerve to provide for fifteen earls, at three thouſand "marks a year each; fifteen hundred knights, at a hun-"dred marks each; ſix thouſand two hundred eſquires, at "forty marks; and a hundred hoſpitals, at a hundred "marks: that by this means the kingdom's ſafety would "be better provided for, the poor better maintained, and "the clergy more attached to their duty [y]."

Petition of the commons againſt the clergy. Walſing.

Another in favour of the Lollards. Walſing.

In the ſecond petition the commons prayed that the ſtatute paſſed againſt the Lollards in the ſecond year of this reign, might either be repealed, or at leaſt qualified with ſome reſtrictions.

If the parliament that firſt moved the leſſening of the clergy's revenues, was ſtyled the unlearned, it may well be ſuppoſed, this met with no better treatment. The name of Lollard and Heretical was plentifully beſtowed, and the

[y] The commons affirmed in this bill, that the temporalities of the clergy amounted to 322000 marks, and that ſeveral monaſteries poſſeſſed as much as would ſuffice to find 15000 prieſts, at a ſtipend of ſeven marks a year each. With this bill a remonſtrance was brought in by ſir John Oldcaſtle, lord of Cobham, which drew upon him the hatred of the clergy, and ended at laſt in his deſtruction.

clergy conſidered the petition as tending to undermine all religion. This was induſtriouſly inſinuated to the king, with all the aggravations which parties concerned are capable of diſplaying on ſuch an occaſion. It is hard to know whether the king himſelf was of that mind; but however, he declared, he had the intereſt of the church no leſs at heart than the clergy themſelves. After the death of the earl of Northumberland, there was not a lord in the kingdom that could give him any uneaſineſs; and though the people were diſſatisfied, Henry was very ſenſible, that of themſelves, they would never be induced to rebel unleſs encouraged thereto. So it was his intereſt to pleaſe the clergy, who alone were able to ſtir up the people, if they had ſo plauſible a pretence as the loſs of their revenues. For this reaſon, he anſwered the commons very ſharply, that he neither could, nor would conſent to their petitions, and expreſly forbad them to meddle any more with the church's concerns. As for the Lollards, he replied, that far from permitting the ſtatute againſt them to be repealed, he wiſhed it more rigorous for the utter extirpation of hereſy out of the land. 1410.

The king rejects the two petitions. Walſing.

The commons not prevailing, were contented with moving, that at leaſt clerks convicted ſhould not be delivered to the biſhops priſons [z], alledging for reaſon, that daily experience ſhewed, clerks by that means always eſcaped the puniſhment they deſerved. What the commons demanded was no leſs reaſonable now than in the reign of Henry II. when that prince, and all the peers of the realm maintained that point ſo ſtrenuouſly againſt Becket, and pope Alexander III. But Henry fearing to be expoſed to the like troubles as his predeceſſor was liable to, refuſed alſo to give his aſſent to this bill. On the contrary, he affected to ſhew an extraordinary zeal for the intereſts of the church, and to take ſuch ſteps as he thought moſt agreeable to the clergy. Though it cannot be doubted, that Wickliff's doctrine was the real cauſe of the motions in the houſe of commons, the king let them ſee how far he was from giving them any countenance, by ſigning a warrant for burning one Thomas Badby. The prince of Wales had a mind to be preſent at the execution, and, as the poor wretch gave ſenſible ſigns of the

Another petition againſt the clergy rejected. Walſing.

The king orders a Lollard to be burnt. Walſing. p. 378. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 627.

[z] Rapin ſays here, by miſtake, that clerks ſhould not be tried in the eccleſiaſtical courts. —Walſingham's words are,—Ut clerici convicti de cetero non traderentur ergaſtulis epiſcoporum, ſed carceribus regis, & temporalium dominorum, p. 379.

1410. torture he endured, ordered the fire to be removed, and promiſed him a penſion for life, provided he would recant. But Badby recovering his ſpirits, refuſed to comply with the offer, and ſuffered death with heroick courage.

The commons are offended, and refuſe the king's demand. Walſing.

The commons conſidered this execution as an inſult and great aggravation of the king's late refuſal. Accordingly, when the king demanded a power to levy every year a certain ſubſidy [a], though the parliament ſhould not ſit, the demand was boldly rejected. The commons would have even refuſed a ſupply for his neceſſary occaſions, if to force them to it the ſame method, that had formerly ſucceeded, had not been employed: that is, he prolonged the ſeſſions till he obtained his deſire [b]. It plainly appeared, that the earl of Northumberland was dead, that the troubles in Wales were almoſt at an end, and that France was no longer formidable, otherwiſe he would never have ventured to treat the commons ſo haughtily.

He obtains a ſubſidy by a kind of force.

The duke of Burgundy forms a deſign to beſiege Calais. Walſing.

Notwithſtanding the ill ſituation of affairs in France, the duke of Burgundy reſumed his deſign of beſieging Calais, but with his former ſucceſs. All his preparations at St. Omer for the carrying on the ſiege being burnt to aſhes, either by accident, or by means of an incendiary ſent on purpoſe by the governor of Calais, this project, like the foregoing, vaniſhed into air. The French hiſtorians make no mention of this attempt. However, it ſeems by the king's precaution in ſending the prince of Wales to Calais at that very time, he had received ſome private intelligence thereof. Be this as it will, the truce with France for Guienne and Picardy was again prolonged for ſome months.

Act. Pub. VIII p. 627, 629, 631. Truce of France prolonged.

The Engliſh ravage Scotland. Ib. p. 639.

This year Robert de Humphreville, vice admiral of England, entered the gulf of Edinburgh, and daily landing his men, now in one place, then in another, carried away a great booty [c].

1411. The whole year 1411 was ſpent in ſeveral negotiations, which ended at length in prolonging the truce with France for five years, with Caſtile till February 1413, and with Bretagne for ten years.

Truce prolonged. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 641.

[a] A tenth on the clergy, and a fifteenth on the laity. Walſing. p. 379.

[b] Till the middle of May: and then the commons granted him a fifteenth; and continued the duties on wool, leather, and woolfells, and tonnage and poundage; but with this condition, that expreſs mention ſhould be made, it was done of their own good wills: out of theſe duties, they gave the king twenty thouſand marks, to diſpoſe of at his pleaſure. Walſing. p. 379. Cotton's Abridg. p. 474.

[c] He brought away ſo much corn, &c. that he brought down the prices of things, and thence was called Mend-market.

These negotiations require no farther explication, since we have already seen the occasion of them. But the negotiation this year with the duke of Burgundy, merits a more particular notice. To that end, it will be necessary to explain, as briefly as possible, the situation of affairs then in France, on which depends a good part of the occurrences of this and the two following reigns. 1411.

We have seen how John duke of Burgundy assassinated the duke of Orleans, brother of king Charles VI. and avowing the fact, had credit enough to procure a pardon. He afterwards went into his dominions in Flanders, with design to restore to the bishoprick of Liege his duchess's brother, expelled by his people. Whilst he was preparing for this war, the duchess of Orleans, in company with her three sons, of whom Charles the eldest was but fifteen years old, came, and casting herself at the feet of the king her brother-in-law, demanded justice for the death of her husband. Though the duke of Burgundy had obtained a pardon, his adversaries taking advantage of his absence, had interest enough to have it revoked, and to cause him to be pronounced enemy of the state. He was then marching to the relief of Maestricht, where the men of Liege held their bishop besieged. At his approach they raised the siege, but being afterwards informed the duke had only sixteen thousand men, they resolved to attack him. Though their army was three times as strong as the duke's, they were routed with the loss of thirty thousand men. The duke's victory so alarmed his enemies in France, that not thinking themselves safe at Paris, where the duke had many adherents, they retired to Tours, and took the king along with them. The victorious duke preferring his affairs in France to the war against the men of Liege, who were sufficiently humbled, put himself immediately at the head of four thousand horse, and came to Paris, where he was received in triumph. At his arrival he so managed, that the Parisians sent deputies to the king, praying him to return to their city. Charles, who was then in one of his intervals, thought it not advisable in the present juncture, to protect the enemies of the duke of Burgundy. He repaired to Paris as desired, and immediately appointed considerable persons to mediate an agreement between the duke of Burgundy and the sons of the duke of Orleans, which was accomplished, though with great difficulty. The duchess of Orleans died with grief, to see her husband's murderer triumphant; and the young duke of Orleans, then but in his sixteenth year, found himself obliged

Affairs of France. Mezerai. P. Daniel.

1411. to be reconciled to his mortal enemy. From thenceforward, the duke of Burgundy ſeized the government, the king, who frequently relapſed, being too weak to hold the reins himſelf.

Act. Pub. VIII. p. 698, 699. Walſing.

Mean while Henry, who had always an eye to a peace with France, formed a deſign to marry the prince of Wales with one of the daughters of the duke of Burgundy, whom he ſaw ſo firmly eſtabliſhed. But whilſt he was thinking how to accompliſh his project, ſuch alterations happened in France, as made him ſenſible, this alliance was not ſo certain a means, as he had imagined, to attain his ends. The dukes of Berri, Orleans, Alenſon, Bretagne, and the earls of Clermont and Armagnac, meeting at Gien in Auguſt 1410, entered into a league againſt the duke of Burgundy, and ſhortly after approached Paris. The duke, having the king in his power, oppoſed them with equal forces, which convinced them that the execution of their deſigns depended on a battle, the ſucceſs whereof could not but be doubtful. In all appearance, France itſelf would be ruined by a battle, which would have been deſtructive to the kingdom, on which ſide ſoever victory inclined, had not means been found to make an agreement between theſe princes. It was agreed, that the duke of Burgundy ſhould depart from Paris, the confederate princes ſhould not enter there, and none of the heads of the two parties come to court, unleſs ſent for by letters under the great ſeal.

The duke of Burgundy punctually obſerving the agreement, retired into the Low-countries; but the duke of Orleans, and the reſt of his party, were not ſo ſcrupulous. After diſbanding their troops, they levied others, and approached Paris, in expectation of enriching themſelves with the plunder of the metropolis, which remained firm to the Burgundian party. The duke finding himſelf thus deceived, made an alliance with the king of England, who believing it his intereſt to ſupport him, ſent him a conſiderable body of troops [d]. With this aſſiſtance, the duke marching into France, and paſſing through the enemies quarters, who were blocking up Paris, entered the city amidſt the acclamations of the people on the 30th of October 1411. From that time began the two powerful factions of Orleans and Burgundy, the firſt of which received afterwards the name of the Armagnacs, from the earl of Armagnac, who became their head.

Henry aids the duke of Burgundy. Walſing.

d Under the command of John Fitzalan, earl of Arundel; John Oldcaſtle, lord Cobham, &c. Walſing. p. 380.

Whilſt

Whilſt France was in trouble and confuſion, the parliament of England meeting about the end of this year [e], petitioned the king for a general pardon for his ſubjects. Henry readily complied with their requeſt, excepting only Glendour and his adherents [f]. This ſhews Glendour was ſtill living, though moſt hiſtorians ſay, he died in 1409. It is true, after the earl of Northumberland's death, his affairs were gone to decay. The Welſh ſeeing he was unable to perform his promiſes, had deſerted him by degrees. He was even apprehenſive, they would make ſome attempt upon his life, or deliver him up to the king. His fears inducing him to conceal himſelf, he paſſed the reſidue of his days in ſome unknown place. So, it is no wonder the time of his death is unknown. However, that he lived till the year 1417, is certain. 1411. Parliament in England. Act of indemnity. Glendour is excepted. Act. Pub. VIII. p. 711. His affairs go to decay. Act. Pub. tom. IX. p. 283, 330.

The affairs of France were embroiled more and more by the mutual hatred of the two factions, who made no ſcruple of ſacrificing the good of the publick to their animoſity. Hitherto Henry had juſtly dreaded ſome miſchief from that quarter. If the diſſenſions of the princes of the blood had not hindered thoſe that were at the helm, during the king's illneſs, from effectually ſupporting the malecontents in England, he would very probably have been greatly diſtreſſed. But when he ſaw the animoſity of the two factions carried to the higheſt degree, his fears entirely vaniſhed. He even began to think of means, to reap ſome benefit from the troubles in France, as the French had frequently attempted to take advantage of the inſurrections in England. Herein, the obſervation of the truce was no more regarded on one ſide than the other. 1412. Continuation of the troubles in France. Henry thinks of taking advantage of them.

Henry ſoon found as favourable an opportunity offered by the French themſelves, as he could deſire. The dukes of Berri, Orleans, Bourbon, Alenſon, the earl of Armagnac, and the lord d'Albret, heads of one of the factions, ſeeing themſelves unable to withſtand the duke of Burgundy, who had the king and all the royal family in his power, came to a reſolution to ſtrengthen themſelves with the aſſiſtance of the king of England. But as they were not ignorant that The faction of Orleans ſue to him for aid. Ib. p. 716, 718, 726. Walſing.

[e] On November 3. The lords and commons continued for one year longer the duties on wool, woolfells, and leather; and alſo the ſubſidy of tonnage and poundage; ſo as it was always confeſſed to proceed from their own good will, and not of duty. They alſo granted, that every perſon having twenty pounds a year in land, above all charges, ſhould pay ſix ſhillings and eight pence. Cotton's Abridg. p. 478, 479.

[f] This pardon is dated December 22, at Weſtminſter, Rymer's Fœd. tom. VIII. p. 711.

1412. the duke of Burgundy had prevented them by an alliance with Henry, they thought it neceſſary to break that union, by offering ſuch terms, as were capable of taking off Henry from his engagements with their enemy. To that end they met at Bourges, where they agreed upon the conditions to be offered him, and then ſent deputies to treat with him.

The duke of Burgundy tries to break the meaſures of his enemies. Act. Pub. VIII, p. 721, 737.

Hitherto, the duke of Burgundy had evaded Henry's propoſal of marrying the prince of Wales with one of his daughters. Probably, he had entertained other views. But, upon information of what was contriving in England, he thought proper to preſs in his turn the concluſion of the marriage. Henry pretended to hear with pleaſure the propoſition, but it was only to procure better terms from the Orleans faction, with whom he deſigned to make an alliance. And indeed, the deputies of the princes hearing of the negotiation, inſiſted no farther upon any article, but concluded the treaty as Henry deſired, on the 18th of May 1412.

Treaty between Henry and the Orleans faction, p. 738. Walſing.

By the treaty the confederate princes were bound,

I. To give up to the king of England about fifteen hundred towns, caſtles, and bayliwicks, which they held in Guienne, or in Poictou.

II. To conquer for him what remained of theſe two provinces in the hands of the French, and reſtore to him Guienne, with all its dependencies, in the ſame ſtate and extent, as enjoyed by his predeceſſors.

III. The king allowed, that the duke of Berri ſhould hold Poictou for life, on condition he did him homage, and delivered up Poictiers, Niort, and Luſignan: as for the reſt of the fortified towns in that province, he ſhould place ſuch governors in them, as would bind themſelves by oath to reſign them after his death to the king of England. The duke of Orleans was to have the duchy of Angoulême upon the ſame terms, and the earl of Armagnac certain caſtlewards in Guienne.

IV. The king was bound, on his part, to lend the princes an aid of a thouſand men at arms, and three thouſand archers, who were to go to Blois, where they ſhould be received by the princes, and paid beforehand, according to the ſtipulated pay.

Prince Thomas commands the ſuccours, p. 745.

The treaty being ratified, Henry gave the command of this aid to Thomas his ſecond ſon, created, a few days after, duke of Clarence. He ſent with him the duke of York, and Thomas Beaufort high admiral of England. Theſe troops departed

departed in July, and it appears by ſeveral pieces in the collection of the publick acts, that the king was preparing to go in perſon to Guienne, to take poſſeſſion of what had been promiſed him. 1412.

Is made duke of Clarence, p. 757, 760—767. Walſing.

But whilſt theſe forces had been raiſing in England, the face of affairs was altered in France. The duke of Burgundy improving his advantages over his enemies, cloſely beſieged them in Bourges, and had brought the king with him. Though the beſieged made a vigorous defence in hopes of the ſupplies that were coming from England, they would have found it perhaps very difficult to hold out, if the duke of Burgundy had not thought proper to offer them peace. He was afraid of the arrival of the Engliſh troops, and the confederates had reaſon to apprehend, they would not come timely enough. Theſe different fears rendering both ſides more tractable, the peace offered by the duke of Burgundy was accepted without heſitation, and at the ſame time proclaimed.

He arrives, and finds a peace concluded.

Mean time, the duke of Clarence landing in Normandy, advanced towards Blois with all poſſible diligence, without committing hoſtilities by the way. But when he was informed that the confederates had accepted a peace [g], he conſidered France as an enemy's country, and made great ravages in his march. It was the duke of Orleans's affair who had drawn him into France, to content him. But as he had no money to pay what was already due to the Engliſh [h], he was forced to give him the earl of Angoulême his brother in hoſtage. On the other hand, the duke of Clarence finding himſelf in the heart of an enemy's country, with a few troops, and not without apprehenſion that the two parties would join againſt him, did not think fit to ſtand upon terms. He only ſtipulated for leave to lead his troops into Guienne, where they ſerved to recover ſome places, by the help of the earl of Armagnac and the lord d'Albret, who were not pleaſed with the peace.

Walſing.

He retires into Guienne. Walſing.

This affair being ended, Henry enjoyed a profound tranquillity. He had nothing more to fear from France, which by inteſtine diviſions was become unable to hurt him. The Welſh ſought only to make their peace; and the regent of Scotland, content to ſee the king his nephew in the hands of the Engliſh, minded only his private concerns. In fine, the malcontents in England, being no longer ſupported by fo-

Henry enjoys a profound peace.

[g] This peace was concluded at Bourges, July 15, and from thence called the peace of Bourges.

[h] Which was three hundred and twenty thouſand crowns of gold. P. Daniel. Hiſt. Franc. tom. V. p. 505.

1412. reign princes, remained quiet. Henry made uſe of this calm to efface the ill impreſſions, his ſeverity and proceedings with reſpect to the parliament, had made in the minds of his ſubjects. He affected popularity, and endeavoured by all ſorts of means to ſhew, he thought of nothing leſs than ſtretching the prerogative royal. His endeavours were crowned with ſuch ſucceſs, that, notwithſtanding his ſeverity to his enemies, and refuſals to the houſe of commons, he was deemed a generous, mild, and moderate prince. What was before conſidered as an effect of his cruel and revengeful temper, was now readily aſcribed to pure neceſſity, and the circumſtances of his affairs. It was, doubtleſs, the latter behaviour of this prince, which led hiſtorians to give him ſuch commendations, as his former actions no way deſerve. This example ſhews, how eaſy it is for a ſovereign to efface the diſadvantageous impreſſions entertained of him by his ſubjects, provided he is ſo wiſe and fortunate as to perſuade the world, he ſincerely intends to reform his conduct.

Exceſſes of the prince of Wales. Hall.

Whilſt Henry was endeavouring to recover his reputation, which had ſuffered a little ſince his acceſſion to the throne, the prince of Wales was entirely deſtroying his own by his daily exceſſes. Though he had naturally a great and generous heart, he ſuffered himſelf to be corrupted by perſons, who, to ſerve their own ends, flattered his paſſions, and diverted him from the paths of virtue. His court was the receptacle of libertines, debauchees, buffoons, paraſites, and the like. Nothing was talked of, but the riotous and extravagant pranks of the prince, or his companions. Such a conduct in a prince, who was one day to ſit on the throne, gave uneaſineſs to the conſiderate, who could not help dreading the conſequences. However, amidſt theſe apprehenſions, a ray of hope was ſeen to ſhine in a very unexpected mark of moderation given by the prince. One of his favourites [i] being arraigned for felony before the chief juſtice [k], he reſolved to be preſent at the trial, with deſign to over-awe the judge. But his preſence not preventing the criminal's condemnation, he was ſo tranſported with paſſion, that he ſtruck the judge on the face. The chief juſtice thus affronted, conſidering the conſequences of ſuch an action, without regarding the quality of the offender, commanded him to be arreſted on the ſpot, and committed to

T. Eliot. Stow.

He gives a judge a blow in the face. Hall.

i Sir T. Eliot ſays, it was one of his ſervants. Stow's Ann. p. 342.

k William Gaſcoigne. Stow, ibid.

priſon,

priſon [l]. Then was ſeen what would never have been expected, the prince quiet as a lamb, ſubmitting without murmuring to the judge's orders, and ſuffering himſelf to be led to priſon without reſiſtance, like a private perſon. 1412.

The judge's courage, and the prince's moderation, were equally pleaſing to the king. Nevertheleſs, Henry, who was exceſſively jealous of his crown, could not help giving ear to ſome people's inſinuations, that his ſon had ill deſigns againſt him. This belief troubling him extremely, he would perhaps have proceeded to extremities, in order to prevent the imagined danger, had not the prince taken timely care to remove his ſuſpicions. As ſoon as he was informed of his father's thoughts of him, he deſired a private audience, and obtaining it, caſt himſelf at his feet, and ſaid, "Sir, I "am told you have entertained a ſuſpicion of me, injurious "to my honour, and to the reverence and veneration I have "for your perſon. It is true, I freely confeſs, I have been "guilty of ſome intemperate ſallies, which deſerve your in- "dignation. But I never had the leaſt thought of any at- "tempt upon your perſon or government. They that dare "charge me with ſo monſtrous a crime, ſeek only to diſturb "your quiet and mine. To clear myſelf of this imputa- "tion, I have taken the liberty to come and throw my- "ſelf at your feet, humbly entreating you, to cauſe all my "actions to be as rigorouſly examined, as thoſe of your "meaneſt ſubjects. I am ready to undergo this ſtrict ſcru- "tiny, knowing you will be fully convinced of my inno- "cence." The king ſeeing with what frankneſs the prince offered to vindicate himſelf, grew perfectly eaſy, and reſtored him to favour.

The king grows ſuſpicious of the prince. T. Orta-borne.

He vindicateshimſelf. T. Livius. Forojul.

In the beginning of the year 1413, Henry was ſeized with a diſtemper, which in three months laid him in his grave. Mezerai ſays, it was the leproſy. Others affirm, it was a ſort of apoplexy, which had frequent returns, and threw him into fits that took away his ſenſes. However this be, his diſtemper, which ſeized him at ſeveral times, laſted near three months, and then brought him to his end [m]. A certain perſon having formerly told him, he ſhould die at Jeruſalem, he remembered the prediction, and verily believed, God would make him his inſtrument to reſcue that city out of the hands of the infidels. Thus perſuaded, he fancied 1413.

The king is ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper. Walſing.

[l] To the king's bench. Ibid.

[m] He had called a parliament, to meet at Weſtminſter, on Feb. 2, but being ill, nothing could be done. Walſ. p. 382.

his

1413. his death was not ſo near, and thought it his duty to dedicate the remainder of his days to that glorious expedition. Accordingly he took the croſs, and calling a great council, communicated his deſign, and ordered all things to be ſpeedily prepared for his voyage. But preſently after, the returns of his diſtemper being more frequent than uſual, he found, inſtead of undertaking ſuch an expedition, he ought to employ all his thoughts in preparations for death. His continual fear of loſing his crown, by reaſon of the many attempts to wreſt it from him, increaſed with his Years. Every time he went to bed, he ordered it to be laid on his pillow, leſt it ſhould be ſeized before he was dead. One day being fallen into ſo ſtrong a fit, that he was thought to reſign his laſt breath, the prince of Wales took up the crown and carried it away. Soon after, the king recovering his ſenſes, and miſſing the crown, aſked what was become of it. Being told the prince had taken it, he ſent for him, and aſked him, whether he would rob him of his royalty even before his death? The prince replied, "He never had any ſuch "thoughts, but believing him dead, he had taken the crown "as his lawful heir, and the only perſon that had a right to "pretend to it. Nevertheleſs, he thanked God he ſaw him "again recovered, and heartily wiſhed he might long live "to wear it himſelf." At the ſame time he went for the crown and laid it in its place.

He takes the croſs to go to Jeruſalem.

He always kept his crown on his pillow. Hollingſh. Hall.

The king's laſt fit.

Henry's laſt fit ſeized him in St. Edward's chapel, as he was worſhipping at that ſaint's ſhrine. He was carried to the abbot of Weſtminſter's lodgings, which were nearer than his own. Some time after, recovering his ſpeech, and finding himſelf in a ſtrange place, he aſked where he was: he was told, at the abbot of Weſtminſter's, in a chamber called Jeruſalem. Theſe words putting him in mind of the forementioned prediction, he thought only of dying. Before he expired, he ſent for the prince his eldeſt ſon, and gave him many excellent inſtructions, among which he could not forbear ſhewing ſome doubts concerning his right to the crown. He told him alſo, he was afraid his brother, the duke of Clarence, would diſturb him in the poſſeſſion of the throne. It is not known, whether theſe fears were occaſioned by his ſecond ſon's reſtleſs temper, or by ſome engagement with him, when he conceived a ſuſpicion of his eldeſt. Be this as it will, the prince anſwered, that being his lawful heir, he would endeavour to keep the crown by the ſame methods he had himſelf preſerved it during his life. As for the duke of Clarence, if he behaved as he ought, he ſhould always find him

He is carried into the Jeruſalem chamber. Stow.

His laſt inſtructions to his ſucceſſor.

him a kind brother; but if he pretended to do otherwiſe, he knew how to make him return to his duty. The king ſaid nothing more, except that he recommended him to the protection of heaven. A few moments after, he reſigned his laſt breath, on the 20th of March 1413, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, having reigned thirteen years, five months, and one and twenty days [n]. 1413. He dies. Walſing.

Moſt of the hiſtorians have endeavoured to give, in my opinion, a very unſuitable idea of this prince. They ſpeak with praiſe of his mildneſs, clemency, generoſity, valour, and many other virtues, which appear more in their writings than in his actions. If he had ſome reputation, whilſt a private perſon, he does not ſeem to have increaſed or maintained it, after his acceſſion to the throne. His diſtinguiſhing character was an extreme jealouſy of a crown, acquired by ways not univerſally approved, and preſerved by ſhedding a torrent of noble blood. The death of Richard II. will be an indelible ſtain to his memory, though his uſurpation of the throne could be juſtified. In ſhort, he performed nothing remarkable to afford matter for panegyrick. His expeditions into Scotland and Wales, have nothing to diſtinguiſh him with honour. If he happily freed himſelf from all the conſpiracies againſt him, he was chiefly indebted to the mayor of Cirenceſter, the ſheriff of Yorkſhire, and the earl of Weſtmoreland. The battle of Shrewſbury, wherein he vanquiſhed young Percy, is the only notable action in his whole reign. His continual fear of inſurrection, cauſed him to neglect ſeveral opportunities of humbling France, and recovering the provinces loſt by his predeceſſors. He even ſuffered many inſults from the French, Scots, Welſh, and Bretons, without ſhewing much reſentment. In fine, he employed all his thoughts in preſerving his crown, and avoiding all occaſions by which it might be endangered. This prudent policy ought to be the chief, if not the ſole ſubject of his encomium, as it was the ſole motive of his actions, wherein nothing appears to render him eminent. Though he had cauſed Richard II. to be depoſed for uſurping an abſolute power, he did not ſeem, by his conduct, to have ſo great an averſion for that crime, as he pretended when it was his intereſt to expoſe it. It is true, towards the Character of Henry IV.

[n] His body was conveyed, by water, to Feverſham; and from thence, by land, to Canterbury, and there ſolemnly interred. His tomb is of alabaſter, parcel gilt, and ſeems to have been erected by queen Joan of Navarre, his ſecond wife, whoſe effigies lies upon his right hand, and is placed betwixt two pillars on the north ſide the chapel of St. Thomas Becket, oppoſite to the monument of Edward the black prince. Sandf. Geneal. p. 275.

end

1413. end of his life, he ſeemed to have formed a deſign, to follow maxims more conformable to the nation's liberties. But God was not pleaſed to allow him time to ſhew the effects of this reſolution [o].

When I conſider the exceſſive commendations beſtowed on this prince, I cannot help ſuſpecting, that the glory of being the firſt burner of hereticks, and of protecting the clergy againſt the attempts of the houſe of commons, were the main ſprings of all theſe encomiums. It is well known, the eccleſiaſticks are as zealous in praiſing their benefactors, as in blackening their oppoſers.

Perſons of note. Walſing. p. 372.

During this reign, the famous Robert Knolles, William Wickham [p], biſhop of Wincheſter, and Richard Whittington, mayor [q] of London, were eminent for works of charity and uſeful foundations.

Stow.

Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower, two famous poets that flouriſhed in this reign, are generally reckoned the firſt reformers of the Engliſh tongue [r].

Henry

o There is no mention of any works either of magnificence or charity done by this king, except a college at Battelfield, in Shropſhire, and his contributing towards the foundation of Fotheringay college in Northamptonſhire, which was begun in 1412, by Edward Plantagenet, duke of York. Stow's Ann. p. 339.

p So called from Wickham in Hampſhire, where he was born, i. 1324. His father's name was John Perrot. After he had been bred at Wincheſter and Oxford, he returned to his patron Nicholas Wedal, who had been at the charge of his education. He afterwards became known to Edward III. and having a genius for architecture, was made ſurveyor of the king's buildings. His direction for rebuilding Windſor caſtle gave great ſatisfaction, and occaſioned his promotion at court, where he paſſed through the offices of ſecretary of ſtate, privy ſeal, &c. He was preferred to the ſee of Wincheſter in 1367, and ſoon after made lord chancellor of England. It is ſaid, being repreſented to the king as a man of no learning, and not fit for a biſhoprick; he told the king, that what he wanted in learning himſelf, he would ſupply with being the founder of learning. Accordingly he began the building of New College in Oxford, and laid the firſt ſtone himſelf, March 1, 1379. It was finiſhed in ſeven years. In 1387, on the 26th of March, he likewiſe laid in perſon the firſt ſtone of his college at Wincheſter, which he deſigned as a nurſery for that at Oxford. Upon this foundation he ſettled an eſtate for a warden, ten fellows, two ſchoolmaſters, and ſeventy ſcholars. He died in the fourth year of Henry IV. aged eighty years, and lies buried in St. Swithin's church, in Wincheſter, in a ſtately monument of his own erecting in his life time.

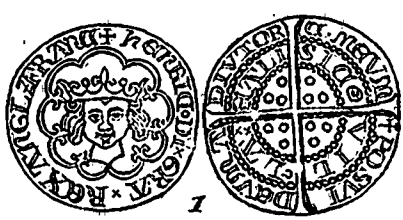
q Among other things, he built Newgate in 1420, above half of St. Bartholomew's hoſpital, in Weſt-Smithfield, and the library in Grey Friars, now called Chriſt's hoſpital. — King Henry IV. inſtituted the duchy court, in honour of the houſe of Lancaſter, to the end, the lands belonging to the duchy might, in all following times, be diſtinguiſhed from the lands of the crown.—In the year 1411, the Guild-hall in London, began to be rebuilt, as it now ſtands. Stow's Survey, b. III. p. 40.

r Geoffrey Chaucer was a man of quality, wit, and learning. He was in great favour with king Edward III. and his ſucceſſor Richard II, by whom he

Henry had by Mary Bohun[a], daughter of the earl of Hereford, four ſons and two daughters, namely, Henry his ſucceſſor, Thomas duke of Clarence, John duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, created duke of Glouceſter by Henry 1413. Henry IV's iſſue.

he was employed in ſome important negotiations, both at home and abroad. In 1374, king Edward III. allowed him a pitcher of wine a day, out of his cellars. And in 1398, Richard II. made him a grant of a hogſhead of wine every year; beſides a penſion of twenty pounds a year out of the exchequer; both which were continued by Henry IV. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. VII. p. 35. tom. VIII. p. 39, 51, 94, &c. He lived moſtly about Woodſtock, and New-Elm, in Oxfordſhire, where he had a conſiderable eſtate; and dying in 1400, was buried in Weſtminſter abbey. His ſon, was Thomas Chaucer, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons, in the ſecond year of Henry V. Alice, the daughter of this Thomas, married firſt, ſir John Philips; ſecondly, Thomas de Montacute, earl of Saliſbury; and thirdly, William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk; and by theſe two laſt matches, as well as her father's deſcent, the family of Chaucer became allied to the greateſt houſes in England. His friend and companion John Gower, who joined with him in refining the Engliſh language, was of the family of the Gowers, of Sittenham, in Yorkſhire. He lies buried in St. Mary Overy's church, in Southwark, part of which he rebuilt. Stow's Ann. p. 326. and Survey, b. IV. p. 8.

[a] Who died in 1394. She was the ſecond daughter, and one of the co-heireſſes of Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford, Eſſex, and Northampton. Walſingham, p. 350. King Henry had no children by Johanna of Navarre his ſecond wife.



1

2.

Henry IV. by the indenture of his third year, contracted, that a pound weight of gold of the old ſtandard was to make by tale forty five nobles, amounting to fifteen pounds, or a proportionable number of half or quarter nobles: and a pound weight of ſilver of the old ſterling, to make by tale ſeventy five groſſes (i. e. groats) amounting to twenty five ſhillings; or a hundred and fifty half groſſes, going for two pence a piece; or three hundred ſterlings, going for pence a piece; or ſix hundred half ſterlings, or half-pence,

1413. ry V. his brother. Blanch, the eldeſt of the daughters, was married to Lewis Barbatus, elector palatine, and Philippa his ſecond, was wife of Eric king of Denmark and Norway.

pence, called here mailes. His groats and half groats have his head crowned within a roſe, which the leſſer pieces have not. HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. Reverſe, POSUI. DEUM. ADIVTORE. MEUM. VILLA. CALISIE. (ſee fig. 1.) The halfpenny, HENRICUS. REX. ANGL. Reverſe, VILLA. CALISIE. (See fig. 2.) In the fourth year of his reign, it was enacted, that foreign money be ſent out of the kingdom, or re-coined; that a third of the bullion be coined in halfpence and farthings; and that Galley halfpence be not payable as formerly, in great deceit of the people. Of theſe farthings, the author of Num. Brit. Hiſtoria, ſays, he has one inſcribed, H. DI. G. ROSA. SIE. SPI. Reverſe, CIVITAS. LONDON.

14 HENRY V. *surnamed of* MONMOUTH.

HENRY IV. not having the happineſs to be beloved by the Engliſh, his death was not much regarded. The clergy alone lamented his loſs, becauſe in his reign they had met with great favour and protection. But the reſt of the people eaſily forgot a prince, who, after his acceſſion to the crown, had performed nothing memorable, and ſhed more of his ſubjects blood than of the enemies of the ſtate. The very peace enjoyed by the Engliſh during his whole reign, was not grateful to them. War would have been thought more beneficial, ſince a fairer opportunity to recover what was loſt in France had never offered. So, in expectation that the prince his ſon would revive the glory of the Engliſh name, which ſeemed buried in oblivion ſince the reign of Edward III. they joyfully beheld him ſucceeding a father, from whom nothing very advantageous to the kingdom could be expected, though his reign had been longer. In the preſent juncture, England wanted an active and warlike king, who knew how to take advantage of the commotions in France. On the other hand, war was become neceſſary to diſpel the ill humours ſpread over the kingdom in the late reign. Henry V. 1413. March 20.

Henry of Monmouth, ſo called from the place of his birth [a], was exactly of the temper deſired by the Engliſh. He was naturally of an elevated and enterpriſing genius. For this reaſon the king his father had always kept him at a diſtance from affairs, ſuch a genius being too apt to breed ſuſpicion in ſo miſtruſtful a prince. He had been a ſtudent in Queen's college in Oxford, under the tuition of the biſhop of Wincheſter, his uncle [b], chancellor of that univerſity. Here, in his tender years the principles of honour and virtue were ſo carefully imprinted in his mind, that they could never after be effaced. In his very childhood, he ſhewed a ſtrong inclination for war, which, increaſing with his years, the king his father thought proper to indulge. At eighteen Education of Henry V. His warlike inclinations.

a He was born there in 1388. Sandford, p. 777.

b Henry Beaufort, ſecond ſon of John of Gaunt, by Catherine Swinford, conſecrated June 23, 1406. Ibid. p. 261.

years

1413. years of age, he commanded an army againſt the Welſh, and defeated them in two battles. But his victories did him an unſpeakable prejudice. The king his father, exceſſively jealous of his authority, and dreading the conſequences of ſo noble a beginning, conſidered his ſon's reputation as likely one day to prove deſtructive of his quiet. Diſturbed at the thought, he removed him from all warlike, as he had done from all civil offices, for fear it ſhould be out of his power to check his flight, when once he ſhould take wing. Reduced to a ſtate of idleneſs, the prince, naturally active, ſought employment. Unhappily by the inſtigation of ſome about him, and perhaps by the direction of the king his father, he ran into diſhonourable courſes, and abandoned himſelf to exceſſes, unbecoming his birth, and injurious to his reputation [c]. Notwithſtanding all this, his good diſpoſition failed not to ſhew itſelf upon certain occaſions. His moderation in ſuffering himſelf to be led to priſon, by order of the judge he had affronted, was a clear evidence that the ſeeds of virtue were not entirely deſtroyed in his mind by ſenſuality. Accordingly, the king his father, who was not ignorant of his talents, was afraid of him, though a young prince, drowned as it were in pleaſures, did not ſeem likely to give him diſturbance. The Engliſh themſelves were not prejudiced againſt him. Indeed his wild ſallies might give occaſion to fear, they ſhould one day be unhappy under his government. But, upon certain occaſions, they obſerved in him tokens of generoſity, virtue, and greatneſs of ſoul, which inſpired them with hopes of a happy change in his perſon.

Henry IV's jealouſy of his ſon.

Cauſe of the prince's wild courſes.

The people retain a good opinion of him.

Henry V. proclaimed king. *Hall.*

Immediately after the death of his father, the prince was proclaimed, by the name of Henry the fifth. Inſtead of diſputing the crown, thoſe who had been moſt averſe to the advancement of the houſe of Lancaſter, were the firſt to pay him their duty. The earl of March himſelf, relying on his generoſity, came and voluntarily put himſelf into his hands, to give him a convincing proof of his ſincere intention to leave him in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne. In fine, ſuch confidence did the Engliſh place in him, that, contrary to cuſtom, they offered to take the oath of allegiance, even before he was crowned. But he declined, in a modeſt and

Stow.

T. Livius.

[c] He is ſaid, among other pranks, to diſguiſe himſelf, and lie in wait for the receivers of his father's rents, and in the perſon of a highwayman, to ſet upon and rob them. In ſuch rencounters, he ſometimes happened to be ſoundly beat, but always rewarded ſuch of his father's officers, as made the ſtouteſt reſiſtance. Stow's Ann. p. 342.

obliging manner, the receiving that teſtimony of their eſteem. 1413.
He told them, it was not reaſonable, they ſhould ſwear to be faithful to him, before he himſelf had taken a ſolemn oath to govern them with equity and according to law. This moderation, which charmed all, totally effaced the diſadvantageous impreſſions given by his former conduct, to thoſe by whom he was not well known.

The ceremony of his coronation being performed on the 9th of April [d], he granted that very day a general pardon for all crimes, except murders and rapes. His firſt proceedings plainly ſhowed the uprightneſs of his intentions, and his reſolution worthily to fill the throne to which he was raiſed. Before he applied himſelf to the affairs of the ſtate, he called before him the companions of his former riots, and, exhorting them to leave off their lewd life, diſmiſſed them with liberal preſents, but withal, ſtrictly charged them, upon pain of incurring his diſpleaſure, not to preſume to come near the court. The aſtoniſhment of theſe men, who expected quite other things, was as great as the admiration of the witneſſes to a reformation, which afforded ſo pleaſing a proſpect.

He is crowned. Act. Pub. IX. p. 3. Walſing.

He diſmiſſes his old companions. Hall.

After this firſt proof of his wiſdom, the king continued, without ceaſing, to give many others, which could admit of no doubt. In the firſt place, he choſe for his council, perſons of the greateſt gravity, abilities, and repute among his ſubjects. Then he removed ſome of the judges, and advanced ſuch in their room, as to the knowledge of the law, joined a perfect integrity. He did the ſame with regard to inferior magiſtrates, and took particular care to fill the vacant benefices, with perſons of ſound principles and known merit.

He chooſes a council. T. Livius. Hall.

Nothing remained to confirm the good opinion already conceived of him, but to diſplay his martial virtues, and give proofs of his piety. As to the firſt, he ſhewed, during the whole courſe of his reign, that he was ſecond to none of his predeceſſors, as the reader will have reaſon to be convinced hereafter. As for his piety, he ſoon became famous by two ſignal inſtances. Indeed the firſt might be very ambiguous, but it was conſidered then as the moſt certain ſign, and beſt proof of the ſincere intentions of a prince, to promote the glory of God: I mean his condeſcenſion for the clergy,

He gives proofs of his piety.

d Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, performed the office of high ſteward; and Henry Fitzhugh, that of high conſtable, upon this ſolemn occaſion. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 2.

1413. in promiſing to perſecute the Wickliffites or Lollards. The other mark of his piety, was his care to repair, as far as lay in his power, the injury done to Richard II. He ordered the body of that prince to be removed from the abbey of Langley [c], where it was indecently buried, to Weſtminſter abbey, and laid by Anne of Luxemburgh his queen. After performing this duty, he founded three religious houſes near Shene [f], where Richard's ſoul was to be prayed for night and day.

He removes Richard's body to Weſtminſter. Walſing. Dugdale's Mon. vol. I. p. 973.

The parliament that was called ſome time before, met on the 15th of May, well inclined to the new king. Several ſtatutes were enacted, tending to the preſervation of the publick peace, and of the peoples rights and privileges [g]. Henry freely gave his aſſent to all theſe ſtatutes, and particularly to an act to prevent frauds, in the election of members of parliament. The conduct of Richard II. and ſome attempts of the late king, rendered this act abſolutely neceſſary [h].

His kind parliament. Walſing. Cotton's Abridg.

Whilſt the parliament was employed in the publick affairs, the convocation of the clergy was ſitting, under the direction of Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury. This prelate, being extremely incenſed againſt the Lollards, had obtained of the late king an order to ſend commiſſioners to Oxford, to take informations concerning the doctrine of the Wickliffites. The buſineſs of theſe commiſſioners was to diſcover the chief abettors of this hereſy, and how it came to be ſpread in the kingdom, and particularly in the dioceſes of London, Hereford, and Rochester. At their return, they preſented their informations to the archbiſhop, who laid them before the convocation. After ſeveral debates, it was reſolved, there was no poſſibility of extirpating the Lollard hereſy, unleſs care was taken to inflict exemplary puniſhments on the principal favourers thereof: that among theſe, ſir John Oldcaſtle, baron of Cobham, was to be deemed the moſt conſiderable and dangerous: that therefore, as a

The clergy debate how to root out hereſy. Act. Pub. IX. p. 61—66. Walſing. Bale.

They reſolve to proſecute Oldcaſtle.

[c] From the church of the Friars Preachers, at King's Langley. Camden in Hertfordſh.

[f] One of Carthuſians, called the houſe of Jeſus of Bethlehem; another of Celeſtine monks, who obſerved the rule of St. Benedict; and the third of Bridgetin nuns. Theſe two laſt monaſteries had one church in common; the nuns above under the roof, the brothers below on the ground; both monaſteries were ſeparately incloſed. Dugdale's Monaſt. vol. I. p. 973.

[g] By one of theſe ſtatutes it was enacted, that no under ſheriff, ſheriff's clerk, receiver, or bailiff, ſhould be attorney in the king's courts during the time that he is in office with any ſuch ſheriffs. See Statutes, 1 Henry V.

[h] This parliament granted the king, for four years, the like ſubſidy of ſtaple ware, tonnage and poundage, as had been granted to king Henry IV. Cotton's Abridg. p. 535.

terror

terror to the whole ſect, their principal protector ſhould be firſt attacked, and a proceſs formed againſt him for hereſy. But as Oldcaſtle was the king's domeſtick, and in his favour, it was thought, that method might give offence, unleſs the king was acquainted with it beforehand, and his leave deſired to proſecute the heretick. The archbiſhop undertaking the affair, waited on the king with complaints againſt Oldcaſtle. He tried to perſuade him, that fire and faggot were the only means of extirpating hereſy, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary for the intereſt of religion, to proceed againſt Oldcaſtle, according to the utmoſt rigour of the law. The king having calmly heard him, replied, he could never approve of force in reclaiming hereticks, and the rather as experience had but too frequently ſhewn, that rigorous methods were as effectual againſt truth, as againſt error: that he would talk himſelf with Oldcaſtle, and try to reſtore him to the right way, and if he could not ſucceed, would then give leave for a proceſs againſt him. Mean while, to give the clergy ſome ſatisfaction, he iſſued out a proclamation, forbidding the Lollards to hold any meetings, and charging his ſubjects not to be preſent at their preachings [1]. A few days after, he was pleaſed to talk with Oldcaſtle, and finding him immoveable, no longer oppoſed the clergy's requeſt.

1413.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 61. Walſing. Bale.

They aſk the king's leave. Act. Pub. ibid.

His anſwer.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 46.

The archbiſhop having obtained the king's leave, ſent a ſummons to Oldcaſtle, who, refuſing to own the juriſdiction of the biſhops, ſlighted the citation. He would not even ſuffer it to be ſerved upon him; ſo that it was fixed upon the great gates of the cathedral in Rocheſter. Henry, provoked at ſo haughty a proceeding, ordered him to be apprehended and committed to the Tower. On the 28th of September, the priſoner was brought before the archbiſhop, aſſiſted by two other biſhops and ſeveral eccleſiaſticks. As they could get no anſwers from him, but what were directly repugnant to the eſtabliſhed opinions of thoſe days, they pronounced him heretick, and delivered him over to the ſecular power. His death would have immediately followed his condemnation, if, by the help of his friends, or careleſſneſs of his guards, he had not found means to eſcape out of priſon. He went and concealed himſelf in Wales, where his perſecutors left him not undiſturbed, as will hereafter be ſeen. Theſe are all the remarkable particulars, with regard to domeſtick affairs, that happened from the 20th of March, 1413, to the end of December, the ſame year.

The king ſuffers Oldcaſtle to be proſecuted, p. 61. Walſing.

He is committed to the Tower,

and condemned.

He eſcapes. Walſing.

[1] Under pain of impriſonment, and forfeiture of goods. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 46.

1413. I am now going to enter upon the relation of the war, renewed by Henry V. againſt France: a war which had laſted ever ſince the breach of the treaty of Bretigny, though often interrupted by truces in the late reigns. In order to give a juſt idea of this prince's motives to carry his arms into France, it will be neceſſary to repreſent the then ſtate of that kingdom: otherwiſe, it would be very difficult to underſtand the ſequel.

Neceſſity of joining here the French, with the Engliſh hiſtory.

Affairs of France.

Charles VI. afflicted with a diſtemper which rendered him, moſt part of his time, uncapable of governing, had three ſons, Lewis, John, and Charles. The eldeſt, who bore the title of dauphin and duke of Guienne, was a prince of an indifferent character. At ſixteen years of age, he had taken to a debauched life; and moreover, was ſtrongly poſſeſſed with principles, that led him to arbitrary power, and carried him into many exceſſes. His favourites indulged him in this courſe of life, and could not bear that he ſhould be told of a reformation, by which they would have been ſo great loſers. On the contrary, to prevent the execution of a certain project, formed for the better governing of the kingdom, and approved by an aſſembly of the chief men, they inſpired their young maſter with a deſire to hold the reins of the government himſelf, during his father's diſtemper. They intimated to him, that the duke of Burgundy had ſeized it without any right, and that none could claim it to the prejudice of the king's eldeſt ſon, ſince he exceeded the age fixed by the ordinance of Charles V. for the king's majority. Upon this foundation, they adviſed him to ſupplant the duke of Burgundy, by ſeizing the Baſtile, in order to hinder the Pariſians from aſſiſting him. The project was executed ſhortly after, by means of the governor of that fortreſs, whom the dauphin had gained to his intereſt. But he had not long reaſon to rejoice at the ſucceſs of his enterpriſe. Upon the firſt rumour of it in Paris, the citizens, privately encouraged by the duke of Burgundy, took up arms, to the number of ten or twelve thouſand men. One part inveſted the Baſtile, the other, under the conduct of a ſurgeon, John de Troye, came before the dauphin's palace, who, not expecting an inſurrection, found no other remedy but to appear at the window, to try to appeaſe them, but nothing was able to ſtop them. After breaking open the doors of the palace, they ruſhed into the apartments, and carried away above twenty perſons, whom they accuſed of corrupting the prince, and threw them into priſon. On the other hand, the governor of the Baſtile, being ſeized with fear, delivered up the fortreſs

Act. Pub. IX. p. 51, &c.

treſs to the duke of Burgundy, who, in ſpite of the dauphin's efforts, continued maſter of the government. It was during theſe troubles, which happened in March, 1413, that Henry IV. died in England, and Henry V. his ſon, aſcended the throne. 1413.

Whilſt the new king was employed in ſettling his affairs at home, the troubles were renewed in France. At the end of April, the ſeditious took it in their heads to wear white hoods, as a badge of diſtinction. John de Troye, at the head of an armed mob, brought one to the dauphin, who durſt not refuſe it. The king himſelf happening to be in the ſtreet, as he was going to the church of Notre Dame, was obliged by the ſeditious to take a white hood. But their inſolence did not ſtop here. Two days after, their leader came to the palace of St. Pol, where the king lodged: there, in preſence of the whole court, he undertook to juſtify the impriſonment of the dauphin's officers, and added, there were ſtill at court many more, that equally deſerved to be puniſhed. At the ſame time, without regarding the entreaties of the dauphin, or the king himſelf, he ſeized a great number of lords and ladies, and carried them to priſon. Lewis of Bavaria himſelf, the queen's brother, was not ſpared. The king not being able to withſtand the torrent, was forced to conſent, that ſome of the priſoners ſhould be proſecuted, and go to Paris in a white hood, to inroll certain edicts, demanded by the ſeditious.

The dauphin finding himſelf thus checked by the factious, or rather by the duke of Burgundy, his father-in-law, their private director, could not bear to remain in a ſituation ſo contrary to his temper, without endeavouring to free himſelf. The heads of the Orleans faction, who had been forced to ſign a treaty, which removed them from Paris and the court, were the only perſons from whom he could expect any aid. He contrived therefore a ſecret negotiation with them, and, the better to hide his deſign, went and conferred with them in perſon, under colour of procuring an agreement between the two parties, concerning ſome breaches of the peace of Bourges. After making a combination, he ſo managed that a peace was confirmed; and by the new treaty, ſigned at Pontoiſe, the Orleans party were allowed to come and pay their reſpects to the king at Paris.

Mean while, the duke of Burgundy, judging, by the dauphin's former attempt, what he was to expect from him, had reſolved to ſecure aſſiſtance, in caſe of need. To that end, in June he had ſent, as earl of Flanders, an embaſſy to England, The duke of Burgundy applies again to Henry. June.

1413. England, whereof Ralph, provoſt of St. Donas of Bruges, was chief, under pretence of renewing the treaty of commerce between the Engliſh and Flemings; but in reality, to propoſe an alliance with Henry [k]. This appears by the king's commiſſion, at the ſame time to the biſhop of St. David's, and the earl of Warwick, to conclude a perſonal alliance between him and the duke of Burgundy. It is hardly to be doubted, that the duke had then formed a deſign to make a league with the king of England. We ſhall hereafter ſee much plainer proofs of the matter. This deſign was not however ſo ſpeedily executed. Probably, the duke had no other intent, than to ſecure the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, in caſe he ſhould be preſſed as he was in the reign of Henry IV. Otherwiſe, he did not think it neceſſary to haſten the concluſion of the affair.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 27. July. Ib. p. 34.

Henry ſends an embaſſy to Paris. Act. Pub. IX. p. 34, &c. 36, 37, &c.

Whatever his deſign was, Henry thought he ſhould not neglect ſo favourable an opportunity, to foment troubles in France, of which he might make an advantage. For that purpoſe, he ſent, ſhortly after, ambaſſadors [l] to Paris. Their publick inſtructions were, to preſs the court of France to obſerve better than hitherto, the twenty eight years truce. Secondly, to confirm the ſame, or make a new truce. Laſtly, they had power to adjuſt all the differences between England and France. Very likely, one of the king's motives in ſending the embaſſy, was to be perfectly informed of the poſture of affairs in that kingdom. But his chief aim was to conclude with the duke of Burgundy the alliance propoſed by that prince. This evidently appears by a fourth commiſſion, impowering them to ſign an alliance between him and the duke, and between their reſpective dominions. It cannot therefore be doubted, that the provoſt of St. Donas laid the foundation of this negotiation in his firſt journey to London. This was tranſacted in July, 1413.

p. 34.

A new revolution in the court of France. Ib. p. 53, 54.

The next month produced alterations in the affairs of France, very advantageous to Henry. The Orleans party, at the head of which were the duke of Orleans the king's nephew, the duke of Berri his uncle, the duke of Bourbon, the duke of Alenſon, the earls of Eu and Vendome, were

[k] Thomas, duke of Clarence, general of the forces ſent into France by the late king, returned to England, this year, about Eaſter. Walſingham, p. 382.

[l] Henry Chicheley, biſhop of St. David's; Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick; William le Zouche, lieutenant governour of Calais; Henry, lord Scrope; Ralph Grenehurſt, doctor of laws; and Richard Holme. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 34. Their commiſſion and inſtructions bear date July 14. Ibid. and p. 36, &c.

come

come near Paris, purſuant to the liberty given them. At the ſame time, the dauphin, by his intrigues, had gained great numbers of the citizens, who promiſed to aſſiſt him. Whereupon he ordered his friends to take up arms, and marched about the ſtreets of Paris, at the head of thirty thouſand men. The conſternation of the oppoſite party was ſo great, that they quitted the Louvre, the town houſe, and the Baſtile, of which they were in poſſeſſion, without offering to make the leaſt reſiſtance. The duke of Burgundy perceiving it was not in his power to reſiſt the torrent, and dreading moreover the arrival of the Orleans party, who were not far off, choſe to retire into Flanders. 1413. The duke of Burgundy retires.

No ſooner was he gone, but the Orleans faction became uppermoſt at court, without the dauphin's reaping any advantage. The king being then in one of his intervals, aſſumed the government, and entertained ſo ſtrong an affection for the duke of Orleans his nephew, that he ſuffered himſelf to be wholly guided by his counſels. The young duke, improving this advantage, cauſed divers edicts to be publiſhed againſt the duke of Burgundy, and the authors of the former ſedition to be proſecuted, ſeveral of whom were put to death. Edicts againſt him.

Shortly after, the ambaſſadors of France and England, meeting at Lelingham in Picardy, to negotiate a peace, agreed, that the truce ſhould be inviolably kept till the 1ſt of June next enſuing [m]. During the negotiation, the Engliſh ambaſſadors intimated, that the king their maſter expected, France ſhould reſtore whatever was taken from England, ſince the treaty of Bretigny. This was in effect the cauſe of the war, which had ſubſiſted ever ſince the violation of that treaty, and this demand contained nothing extraordinary. However, the court of France having flattered themſelves, that after the death of Edward III. the kings of England would think no more of proſecuting their pretenſions, were extremely alarmed at this declaration. The poſture of their affairs made them juſtly fear the renewal of the war. So, without loſs of time, were diſpatched to London, the archbiſhop of Bourges, the conſtable d'Albret, and Col[illegible], one of the king's ſecretaries, under pretence of endeavouring to make peace, but in reality to diſcover Henry's intentions. The ambaſſadors arrived at London in October, and could only obtain a prolongation of the truce, for what time they pleaſed [n]. Truce between the two crowns. Septemb. Act. Pub. IX. p. 56. First demands of Henry. Embaſſy from France. p. 60, 70, 88—102.

[m] In this truce the Scots were included. Ibid.

[n] Only for one year, beginning at February 2, 1414. Ibid. p. 94.

1413. Whilſt they were in England, the court of France continued their proceedings againſt the duke of Burgundy and his adherents, many of whom ſuffered by the hand of the executioner. Lewis d'Anjou, king of Sicily, who had with him a daughter of the duke of Burgundy, affianced to his eldeſt ſon, reproachfully ſent her back to her father. Shortly after, he gave one of his daughters in marriage to Charles, earl of Ponthieu, the king's third ſon, who was not yet full thirteen years old. Nothing could prove more fatal to France than this marriage. The young prince, eſpouſing the intereſt and paſſion of the king his father-in-law, became ſworn enemy to the duke of Burgundy. At the ſame time, he incurred the hatred of the duke, who, though in exile, had ſtill a powerful party in the kingdom. This mutual animoſity, which continually increaſed, was the occaſion of many calamities to France.

The king of Sicily declares againſt the duke of Burgundy. He gives his daughter to Charles, third ſon of the king.

The duke of Burgundy offers his aſſiſtance to the Dauphin, who accepts of it.

Mean while, the dauphin reaping no advantage from the late revolution at court, could not behold without extreme concern, the duke of Orleans at the head of affairs, whilſt himſelf was without credit, and like a priſoner in the Louvre, where he was narrowly watched. This conſtraint being inſupportable to a prince of his character, he readily liſtened to the duke of Burgundy's offer of aſſiſtance, to place him in the poſt to which he was entitled by his birth. They entered therefore into a ſort of league to expel the duke of Orleans from court. The duke of Burgundy having thus ſecured the dauphin, approached Paris at the head of an army, pretending his deſign was to free the dauphin his ſon-in-law from captivity. He imagined, Paris would declare in his favour, but ſo good order was taken, that nothing ſtirred. During theſe tranſactions, the king, who for ſome time had been in one of his uſual fits, recovering his ſenſes, publiſhed againſt the duke of Burgundy a thundering edict, ſtyling him traitor and enemy of the ſtate. The edict, joined to the ſmall hopes that Paris would declare for him, cauſed the duke to return into Flanders. Let us leave for a moment the affairs of France, to which we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to return, ſince they are the chief ſubject of this reign, in order to ſee what paſſed in England at the beginning of the year 1414 [o].

He approaches Paris.

An edict againſt him.

He retires.

1414. Mention was made in the late reign of the two attempts of the commons, to ſtrip the clergy of a good part of their

o This year the greateſt part of Norwich was burnt. Walſingham, p. 386.—January 3, 1414, a truce for ten years concluded between England and Bretagne. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 80—85.

revenues.

revenues, though without ſucceſs. The clergy could not doubt that theſe attempts were the fruit of the doctrine of the Lollards. Probably, this was one of the principal cauſes of their hatred to theſe pretended hereticks. For the ſame reaſon, in the late convocation, they had reſolved to uſe the moſt violent means to extirpate a hereſy, to them ſo deteſtable. Oldcaſtle, a man of good family, and extraordinary merit [p], was deſtined to be the firſt victim for a terror to the whole ſect. But by good fortune he had eſcaped out of the hands of his enemies. It was with great concern, that the archbiſhop heard the king ſay, he did not approve of rigorous methods. He even plainly enough ſhewed it to be his real opinion, ſince after Oldcaſtle's eſcape, he took no care to have him apprehended. It was evident, ſo long as the king was in theſe moderate ſentiments, the clergy would hardly be able to have their deſire upon the hereticks. So, it was their intereſt, that the king ſhould have other ſentiments more agreeable to the barbarous zeal, wherewith eccleſiaſticks are generally animated. Nothing was more conducive to that end, than to make him believe, the Lollards had a deſign upon his perſon, and were forming conſpiracies to overturn the ſtate. Accordingly, to this the clergy applied themſelves without loſs of time. The late proclamation againſt their aſſembling, quickly furniſhed them with a fair opportunity. The Lollards continued their meetings, notwithſtanding the proclamation, though with all poſſible ſecrecy. As they durſt not aſſemble in houſes for fear of being diſcovered, they commonly choſe ſome unfrequented place in the country to worſhip God after their manner. Some of them reſolving to aſſemble, without one of the gates of London, in a place called St. Giles's fields, which was then covered with buſhes, were, as it often happens on ſuch occaſions, betrayed by falſe brethren. The diſcovery afforded their enemies the opportunity they were eagerly ſeeking. The king was then at Eltham, about ſeven miles from London, where he deſigned to keep his Chriſtmas. He little expected a conſpiracy againſt his perſon, when ſuddenly towards night he was told, that Oldcaſtle was in St. Giles's with twenty thouſand

1414.

The Lollards are accuſed of conſpiring againſt the king.

Walſing.

The king is told twenty thouſand of them were mettogether.

[p] He was made ſheriff of Herefordſhire in 8 Henry IV. and had ſummons to parliament among the barons of the realm, in 11, 12, 14, of that king's reign. He was ſent beyond ſea with the earl of Arundel, to aid the duke of Burgundy againſt the French. He married the niece and heir of Henry lord Cobham, and for that reaſon took the title of lord Cobham. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 67.

1414. thouſand Lollards. It was further ſaid, that their deſign was to kill the king, the princes his brothers, and all the lords, ſpiritual and temporal, who were not their friends. Certainly it was very unlikely, that twenty thouſand men ſhould be able to aſſemble at the very gates of London, without being obſerved. It was ſtill more improbable, that Oldcaſtle, an experienced warrior, ſhould chooſe St. Giles's fields, overgrown as they were with buſhes and ſhrubs, for the rendezvous of his troops. Nevertheleſs the news was confirmed by ſo many circumſtances, that the king could not help crediting the report. He immediately drew together as many armed men as was poſſible, and ordered the gates of London to be ſhut, leſt the populace ſhould go and aſſiſt the rebels [q].

He believes it.

He goes to attack them. Walſing. T. Livius.

As he was naturally very bold, he reſolved to attack them before they had taken all their meaſures. He arrived upon the place about mid-night, and finding about fourſcore or a hundred perſons, fell upon them. There were about twenty killed and ſixty taken. Unhappily they had brought arms with them for their defence, in caſe they were attacked by their perſecutors. It was this, probably, that helped to convince the king of their ill deſign. This alone however, would not have been capable of perſuading him, they had really conſpired againſt him, if among thoſe that were taken, there had not been ſome that gained by promiſes, or awed by threats, confeſſed whatever their enemies deſired. They ſaid, their intent was to kill the king, and the princes his brothers, with moſt of the lords ſpiritual and temporal; in hopes that the confuſion, which after ſuch a maſſacre would enſue in the kingdom, would prove favourable to their religion. Some depoſed, that after the murder of the king and princes, they intended to make Oldcaſtle regent of the kingdom, and that the conſpiracy was formed by the direction of that lord. In truth, it is hardly conceivable, how a prince ſo judicious as Henry, could ſuffer himſelf to be impoſed upon by ſo groſs a fiction. Indeed, had he found twenty thouſand men in arms in St. Giles's, as he was made to believe, it would have been very ſuſpicious. But that fourſcore or a hundred men, among whom there was not a ſingle perſon of rank, ſhould have formed ſuch a project, is extremely improbable. Beſides, he himſelf knew ſir John Oldcaſtle to be a man of

The depoſitions of ſome Lollards.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 119, 120. Walſing.

[q] Walſingham obſerves, that if the king had not made uſe of this precaution, no leſs than fifty thouſand perſons of all ſorts, would have been ready to come to the aſſiſtance of the Lollards, p. 386.

ſenſe,

ſenſe, and yet nothing was more wild than the project fathered upon him, a project which it was ſuppoſed, he was to execute with a handful of men, without being preſent himſelf, and without its being known where he was, or that there was any other leader in his room. But however, the king thought him guilty, and in that belief, ſet a thouſand marks upon his head, with a promiſe of perpetual exemption from taxes, to any town that ſhould ſecure him [r]. It is very likely however, that in time the king perceived the falſhood of the imputation, and what makes me think ſo is this: in the firſt place, how ſtrict enquiry ſoever was made over all the kingdom to diſcover the accomplices of the pretended conſpiracy, not a ſingle perſon could be found, beſides thoſe taken in St. Giles's. And yet it is manifeſt, that to execute ſuch a deſign to any purpoſe, fourſcore or a hundred perſons of no great diſtinction, were not ſufficient. In the next place, even of thoſe that were taken in St. Giles's, but very few were immediately executed [s], whilſt the prejudice againſt them was yet in its full ſtrength. The king pardoned all the reſt. Thirdly, we find in the collection of the publick acts, not only a general pardon for all the Lollards, but likewiſe ſeveral private pardons granted to ſome that were condemned, though they had conſtantly denied the fact. It would not be very ſtrange, that the king ſhould have pardoned criminals that confeſſed themſelves guilty, but it is unuſual with ſovereigns to forgive ſuch a crime in obſtinate offenders, who render themſelves unworthy of a pardon, by denying what their ſentence ſuppoſes them convicted of. I add further, that clemency was not Henry's favourite virtue, on the contrary, he leaned very much to the ſide of ſeverity, as will appear by ſeveral inſtances in his reign. Is it likely therefore, that he ſhould pardon perſons convicted of intending to murder him, with all the royal family and great men of the kingdom, at the very time they obſtinately perſiſted in denying the fact, for which they were condemned, had he really believed them guilty? Laſtly, the principles of the Lollards were very far from allowing ſuch barbarities. It is therefore more than probable, that the accuſation was forged to render the

1414.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 89. Walſing.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 129, 170, 190.

[r] And beſides, any perſon, by whoſe means or advice he could be ſeized or arreſted, was to have five hundred marks. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 90.

[s] Sir Roger Acton, with twenty eight more, were hanged, and burnt in St. Giles's fields. Fox Mart. Hall, fol. 35. Sir John Oldcaſtle eſcaped out of the Tower, as is related above, and fled into Wales, where he lived above four years. Bale, fol. 48.

Lollards

1414. Lollards odious to the king, in order to obtain his licenſe for their perſecution, and that the king himſelf was convinced of its falſhood, after his firſt prejudice was removed. It muſt however be confeſſed, that in all theſe pardons, he always ſuppoſed the crime to be proved. But in order to a pardon, it was neceſſary to take the crime for granted.

Death of archbiſhop Arundel. Chicheley ſucceeds. Walſing.

In February 1414, Thomas Arundel, archbiſhop of Canterbury, went to give an account to God for all the innocent blood he had cauſed to be ſhed [t]. He was ſucceeded by Henry Chicheley biſhop of St. David's. But the Lollards got nothing by the change, he being no leſs their enemy than his predeceſſor.

Henry demands the re-eſtabliſhment of the treaty of Bretigny. Act. Pub. IX. p. 102, 103, 149.

I left the archbiſhop of Bourges and the conſtable d'Albret at London, where they quickly diſcovered the king's intentions. The commiſſioners who treated with them, demanded in Henry's name, whatever had been taken from England ſince the treaty of Bretigny. The French replied, they had no inſtructions upon that head. They propoſed however as of themſelves a proper means in their opinion to procure a peace between the two kings. This was a marriage between the king of England, and Catherine the youngeſt of Charles IV.'s daughters. This princeſs had four ſiſters, of whom one was a nun, and the other three married. So it was ſhe alone that could be offered to Henry. The propoſal was not wholly rejected. Though Henry ſhould inſiſt upon the reſtitution he demanded, as being the ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual way to a laſting peace, what the French ambaſſadors offered not being inconſiſtent with the reſtitution, he thought he might accept it, without any prejudice to himſelf. But as the ambaſſadors had not ſufficient powers to treat upon the affair, it was only agreed that the truce ſhould be prolonged to the ſecond of February 1415.

Offer of one of Charles's daughters to Henry.

Henry conſents to it. Ib. p. 91, 140, 150.

Truce prolonged. January.

Henry ſends ambaſſadors to France, p. 103.

Preſently after the departure of the French ambaſſadors, Henry ſent five into France [u], to continue the negotiation begun at London, concerning the reſtitution and marriage [x]. The ambaſſadors were impowered to promiſe, in the king's name, that he would not engage in any other marriage

[t] He was the third ſon of Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel. He died February 20, and lies buried in Canterbury cathedral. Walſingham, p. 386.

[u] Thomas, biſhop of Durham, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, Henry, lord Scrope, Hugh Mortimer, eſq; and Henry Ware, profeſſor of the civil and canon law. Ryther's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 102, 103.

[x] And about this ſame time, viz. January 28, one year's truce, beginning at February 2, 1414, was concluded between England and Caſtile. Ibid. p. 105—110.

treaty

treaty till the 15th of May. Nay, they might prolong that term if it was thought proper. 1414.

The court of France not thinking the powers of the ambaſſadors ſufficient, Charles wrote to Henry, that if he would ſend ambaſſadors with fuller powers, he would readily hear them. Upon this letter, Henry diſpatched five more, all eminent for their birth and high poſts; namely, the biſhop of Norwich, the earls of Dorſet, Warwick, Saliſbury, and the lord Grey [y]. Another embaſſy. Ib. p. 132.

The ambaſſadors entered immediately into conference with king Charles's commiſſioners, the chief of whom was the duke of Berri his uncle. They demanded at firſt the whole kingdom of France for their maſter, by virtue of his right, as heir of Edward III. But after a ſhort pauſe, they added, that being very ſenſible their demand might cauſe ſome diſguſt, they would make another, with a proteſtation however that it ſhould not be prejudicial to the rights of their ſovereign. Then they limited their demands to the following articles: Henry's demands. p. 203—208. Elmham. Walſing.

I. Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, in full ſovereignty.

II. The right of ſovereignty over the earldom of Flanders, and duchy of Bretagne.

III. Whatever France held in Guienne.

IV. All in general that was given up to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigny.

V. The whole country poſſeſſed by France between the Somme and Gravelin.

VI. Laſtly, that all thoſe countries ſhould be reſigned to the king of England in full ſovereignty, to hold them as neighbour and not as vaſſal of the crown of France.

Before an anſwer was returned to theſe demands, the duke of Berri earneſtly preſſed the ambaſſadors to begin with the negotiation of the marriage, affirming it to be the proper means to ſettle a ſolid and laſting peace between the two kingdoms. He even offered a very conſiderable dowry for the princeſs Catherine, but the Engliſh would conſider the marriage only as a conſequence, and not as the foundation of the peace. For this reaſon, they inſiſted upon ſettling firſt the terms of a peace, before any men-

[y] Richard Courtney, Thomas Beaufort, Richard Beauchamp, Richard Nevil, Richard, lord Grey, and ſir John Pelham, and Robert Waterton. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 132.

tion

1414. tion of the marriage. In fine, after many diſputes on both ſides, the Engliſh ambaſſadors confined themſelves to the three following articles, to which they required a poſitive anſwer, before any other affairs ſhould be taken in hand.

I. They demanded whatever was given up to England by the great peace, that is, by the treaty of Bretigny.

II. One half of Provence, with the earldoms of Beaufort and Nogent.

III. The ſix hundred thouſand crowns, which remained unpaid of king John's ranſom.

As for the marriage, they ſaid plainly, the king their maſter would never eſpouſe the princeſs Catherine, unleſs he was ſecure of a firm and laſting peace with king Charles. That beſides, as the offers hitherto made were very inconſiderable, they had no power to treat upon that affair. That therefore it would not only be fruitleſs to talk of the marriage, but moreover they durſt not meddle with that article, before the reſt were ſettled. They added however, that in hopes more reaſonable offers would be made, they were willing to ſpeak their thoughts, that no leſs could be offered with the princeſs, than two millions of gold crowns.

Some days after, the duke of Berri delivered them a writing, containing the offers of France, in order to a peace, with the anſwers to their demands; namely,

I. That the king of France offered Agenois, Baſadois, Auch in part, Perigord, Eſcarre, Oleron, Bigorre, Saintonge beyond the Charente, Quercy, (Montauban excepted, with all the country between the Tarn and the Aveiron,) Angoumois and Rovergne.

II. That the king could not diſpoſe of Provence, ſince he was not the poſſeſſor, nor had contributed to the putting it in the hands of the preſent poſſeſſors.

III. That, ſince for the ſake of peace, he was willing to reſign ſo many fine and rich provinces, which he lawfully poſſeſſed, the king of England ought to deſiſt from any farther demands.

IV. As for the marriage, though the dowry of a daughter of France was fixed to much leſs than was already offered, he would for the ſake of peace give ſix hundred thouſand crowns.

The

These demands and answers were the subject of several conferences, which lasted many days, but of which it would be tedious to relate the particulars. It will suffice to observe that the ambassadors of England reduced at length all their demands to the treaty of Bretigny, and a million of crowns for the princess's portion [z]. But as the French still thought this sum exorbitant, the English intimated, it might be lessened on the condition, that if two sons should come of the marriage, the youngest should have Montrevil and Ponthieu in full sovereignty. But the French returned no answer to this, and the conferences ended March 13th, 1414. 1414.

Whilst this affair was negotiating at Paris, the duke of Burgundy's enemies continued to excite king Charles against him, so that considering him as an enemy to his person and government, he resolved to make war upon him. To that end, being determined to command his army in person, he took the Oriflamme at St. Dennis [a], after which he became master of Soissons and Campiegne, seized by the duke. Burgundy was then unable to withstand him, because the Flemmings refused to serve him against France, which gave the duke of Bourbon opportunity of taking Bapaume also. It was not intended to stop there, but happily for him, the king was seized with a fresh fit of lunacy. This accident gave the duke time to put a strong garrison into Arras. The duke of Burgundy is driven to great straits. Mezerai. Charles wars against him, and falls into one of his fits.

King Charles being unable to act, the dauphin his son took possession of the regency, as having an indisputable right. Whether the prince had some reason to be displeased with the duke of Burgundy, or did not regard him since he had no farther need of him, he carried the king his father before Arras, which he meant to besiege, but it was too late. The place had been so well provided, that it was not easy to take it. The difficulties of the siege, the solicitations of the countess of Hainault the duke of Bur- The dauphin is regent. He grants the duke a peace.

[z] Each of these crowns was to amount to half an English noble; about nine shillings of our present money. The French offered eight hundred thousand. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 212.

[a] A standard so called from being made of a silk stuff, of a gold and flame colour. It was kept in the abbey of St. Denys, and was used to be put by the abbot into the hands of the defender of that monastery. The earls of Pontoise or Vexin had the honour of carrying it, as protectors of this monastery. Lewis VI. was the first, who, as earl of Vexin, caused the Oriflamme to be carried in his armies, which was continued by his successors, till the English made themselves masters of Paris under Charles VII. who after freeing himself of them, brought in the use of the white coronet, which since that time has been the chief banner of France. Du Cange.

1414. gundy's ſiſter, and perhaps the dauphin's private intereſts, cauſed a peace to be granted to the duke about the end of September, though upon hard terms. By the peace the king granted the duke a pardon, but excepted five hundred of his adherents. It was alſo agreed, that all his friends ſhould remove from court, and himſelf not come there unleſs ſent for, with the conſent of the council, and by letters under the great ſeal. Finally, that the king's banners ſhould be placed on the walls of Arras.

Several negotiations of the duke of Burgundy with Henry. Act. Pub. IX. p. 136, 138.

During the preparations in France for the war I am going to ſpeak of, the duke of Burgundy being greatly embarraſſed, by reaſon of the obſtinacy of the Flemmings, ſent into England the provoſt of St. Donas to renew the treaty begun with Henry. This envoy had power not only to conclude an alliance between the king and the duke, but alſo to treat about the king's marriage with the princeſs Catherine. In all appearance, the duke deſired the king's aſſiſtance to put him in poſſeſſion of the government of France, and then undertook to accompliſh the projected marriage to his benefactor's ſatisfaction. This diſcovers what were then that prince's deſigns. Wherefore Mezerai juſtly ſaid, the arms of the Engliſh were drawn into France by the betrayers of their country. The peace of Arras put a ſtop for ſome time to the negotiation.

Henry tries to take advantage of the troubles in France.

Mean while, Henry ſtill continued his reſolution to improve the advantages, promiſed by the ſituation of the affairs of France. He perceived he ſhould at moſt have to deal but with half the forces of the kingdom, and the other half would even make a diverſion in his favour. Beſides, he ſaw a near proſpect of concluding very ſhortly with the duke of Burgundy an advantageous alliance. And therefore, without further delay, he had called a parliament at Leiceſter for the 30th of April, to have their approbation of his deſign, and obtain the neceſſary aids to accompliſh ſo great an undertaking. It muſt be obſerved, that the writs were iſſued in March, whilſt the provoſt of St. Donas was at London.

He calls a parliament at Leiceſter. Cotton's Abridg. Walſing. Elmham.

Statutes againſt the Lollards. Raſtal. Stat.

The parliament being met, the clergy, ever incenſed againſt the Lollards, moved by their emiſſaries to revive and even encreaſe, the ſtatutes againſt hereticks. But for once their animoſity had like to have enſnared them. The project formed by the commons in the late reign againſt the eccleſiaſticks, had twice miſcarried by the exceſſive deſire of Wickliff's followers to promote that affair. The clergy taking advantage of this animoſity, intimated to the late king, that ſuch a motion could not but proceed from here-

1414.

ticks, with whom the houſe of commons abounded, and that it was with the downfal of the clergy, that the deſtruction of the catholick religion was to begin. For this reaſon, Henry IV. ſtrongly oppoſed it, and with that haughtineſs as gave great offence to the commons. Wherefore, though the members that were no friends to Wickliff's doctrine, joined in the project, yet they could not hinder the too great zeal of the Lollards from invincibly obſtructing the execution. But notwithſtanding its former ill ſucceſs, the projectors had not entirely given it over. They had only reſolved to take another courſe, to avoid the inconvenience, which had twice rendered it unſucceſsful. To that end, when a motion was made in the houſe of commons, for new ſtatutes againſt the Lollards, thoſe who before oppoſed it, readily gave their conſent [b]. The clergy appeared extremely well pleaſed. The pulpits every where reſounded the praiſes of the preſent parliament. It was not a lack learning parliament, like that of 1404, but it was the wiſeſt, and moſt zealous for religion, that was ever aſſembled, ſince the beginning of the monarchy. The truth is, nothing could be more conformable to the clergy's deſires, than the act paſſed on this occaſion. It was enacted, that all the magiſtrates of the kingdom, from the lord chancellor, down to the meaneſt officer, ſhould take an oath to employ their power to extirpate hereticks, and aſſiſt the biſhops in the execution of ſo good a deſign [c]. The act was no ſooner paſſed, but a violent perſecution was raiſed againſt the Lollards. Several were burnt alive. Some left the kingdom, and others abjured their religion, to eſcape the torments prepared for them.

The commonsperition the king to ſeize the church lands.

But ſhortly after, the ſcene was changed, with reſpect to the clergy. They did not dream that the very perſons, who lately appeared ſo zealous for religion, ſhould think of deſtroying it: for that was the idea they gave of the project of depriving the eccleſiaſticks of the riches they enjoyed. And yet, the ſame commons, who in ſo authentick a way had ſecured themſelves from all ſuſpicion of hereſy, willing to

[b] And by, among other things, it was enacted, that whoever read the ſcriptures in Engliſh, ſhould forfeit land, chattels, goods, and life, and be condemned as hereticks to God, enemies to the crown, and traitors to the kingdom; that they ſhould not have the benefit of any ſanctuary; and that if they continued obſtinate, or relapſed after pardon, they ſhould firſt be hanged for treaſon againſt the king, and then burned for hereſy againſt God. Bale, fol. 46. T. Elmham, p. 33.

[c] And that all perſons convicted of hereſy, and left to the ſecular power, ſhould forfeit all their lands and goods to the king.

1414. comply with the king's demand of a ſubſidy, preſented to him an addreſs, praying him to ſeize the clergy's revenues. The addreſs was founded upon the ſame conſiderations, as that preſented to the late king for the ſame purpoſe. It was maintained, that the revenues of the church would be much better employed in providing for ſuch a number of nobles, colleges, and hoſpitals [d]. This was a ſtunning blow to the clergy, and the more, becauſe after the late act now in actual execution, there was not the leaſt colour to repreſent the commons as heretical or favourers of hereſy.

The king ſeems to approve of the petition.

The king himſelf, who was going to begin a great war, believed, or feigned to believe, there was a neceſſity to do what the commons deſired. As his revenues would of courſe be greatly increaſed, that conſideration did not a little induce him to hearken to ſo advantageous a motion.

The clergy ſeek to divert the blow.

The clergy perceiving their ruin inevitable, unleſs ſome remedy was found againſt the gathering ſtorm, met to conſult about means to avert, or at leaſt to weaken it as much as poſſible. After divers debates upon ſo important a matter, they came to theſe two reſolutions. The firſt was, to reſign part of their riches to the king, in order to ſave the reſt. The ſecond, to divert the king's thoughts from domeſtick affairs, by engaging him in a foreign war, which might wholly engroſs him. The frequent embaſſies from Paris to London, and from London to Paris, making them conclude, the king was meditating ſome enterpriſe againſt France, they reſolved to excite him to the utmoſt of their power to carry war into that kingdom. Purſuant to theſe projects, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who undertook to be ſpokeſman, told him, "That the motion of the houſe of "commons, which ſeemed advantageous to the crown, was "not ſo in reality: that, in caſe their project was executed, "the church's revenues would be put to uſes, unprofitable "to the king in particular, and which in time might be "extremely prejudicial to the ſovereign: that by augment-"ing the number and riches of the nobility, as was intended, "at the ſame time would be increaſed a power which, ever "ſince the foundation of the monarchy, had all along op-

They come to two reſolutions.

[d] They remonſtrated, that the temporalities of the religious and ſpiritual perſons in England, amounted to three hundred and twenty two thouſand marks yearly, and would ſuffice to maintain fifteen earls, fifteen hundred knights, ſix thouſand two hundred eſquires, and a hundred hoſpitals, and twenty thouſand pounds be brought yearly into the king's treaſure; and that, beſides the foreſaid ſum, divers religious houſes poſſeſſed as many temporalities as would maintain fifteen thouſand prieſts, and clerks, allowing to each ſeven marks a year. Hall's Chron. fol. 35. Goodwin's Hen. V. p. 42.

poſed

"posed the sovereigns, and even brought some to destruc- 1414.
"tion: that the founding of hospitals would serve only to
"encourage people in idleness, when they should see so
"many houses ready to receive them, without being obliged
"to work: but that the clergy, more sincerely attached to
"the king than the commons, were very willing to give
"him, upon this occasion, a sensible proof of their zeal
"and attachment for his person, by delivering up the alien They offer the king the lands of the alien priories. Hall.
"priories, which being in number one hundred and ten,
"were possessed of lands that would considerably increase
"the revenue of the crown: that the estates of these
"houses would be all his own, whereas, if the project of
"the commons took effect, he would reap no advantage."
Whether the king suffered himself to be persuaded by these arguments, or thought it always advisable to take what the clergy voluntarily offered, he accepted of the proposal. Whereupon the lands of these priories were given him by act of parliament, without the clergy's opposing it [e]. He accepts of the offer. Act. Pub. IX. p. 283.

Mean while, the clergy fearing that sooner or later, the king would have what the commons offered him, seriously thought of executing the other part of their project. For that purpose, the archbishop took upon him to persuade the king to make war upon France. The king's character, his late motions with regard to the affairs of France, and the universal desire of the whole kingdom, made him hope his design would be crowned with success. Having therefore prepared a proper speech, he took occasion to speak it in parliament, before the king himself.

He began with insinuating encomiums of the king's vir- Hall.
tues, saying, he was worthy to wear not the crown of England only, but that of the whole world. Then addressing himself to the king, he represented to him, "That it was
"not for his glory, to leave the king of France in the
"peaceable enjoyment of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine,
"Maine, and part of Guienne, all these provinces having
"been wrested from the kings of England by pure violence,

[e] Though this act is not in the statute book, it is mentioned among the patent rolls, that the commons considered that the head abbeys beyond sea, possessing the lands and revenues of these alien priories, great sums of money were carried out of the nation; and they foresaw, that when the war was begun with France, all the subjects of England holding lands in that kingdom would be dispossessed, they therefore made this act to dissize these foreign monasteries of the priories alien, and vest them in the king. One of Panfield, in Essex, and another of Wells, in Norfolk, belonging to St. Stephen's in Normandy, were given to John Wodehouse, esq; to hold by the present of a rose to the king, on Midsummer day. Rot. Parl. 3 Hen V.

1414. " and on frivolous pretences. That it was not only to
" theſe countries that he had an indiſputable right, but he
" might alſo very juſtly lay claim to the whole kingdom of
" France, as heir and ſucceſſor of Edward III. Then he
" largely urged the reaſons which have been related in the
" reign of Edward. He talked of the Salic law as a chi-
" mera, which was built upon no good foundation, and
" which, being repugnant to the law of nature, could not
" be admitted, though it was as real as imaginary. He
" aſſerted, that Pepin the ſhort, who diſpoſſeſſed the family
" of Meroveus, claimed the crown, as heir to Blithilda,
" daughter of Clothaire I. and that Hugh Capet, founded
" his title upon his being deſcended from a daughter of
" Lewis le Debonnaire. He added, that theſe claims,
" which would have been ridiculous, if the Salic law had
" been in force ever ſince Pharamond, were clear evidences
Numb.xxvii. " of its being then unknown. That beſides, ſuch a law
" would be contrary to the law of God himſelf, who diſpoſed
" in a very different manner of the inheritance of Zelophe-
" had, in favour of his daughters. That the famous French
" civilians had confeſſed, that the Salic law was a contra-
" diction, both to the law of God and nature [f]. In fine,
" that the glorious ſucceſs with which God had crowned
" the arms of Edward III. plainly ſhewed, that God ap-
" proved not that pretended law. That if afterwards he
" permitted that monarch, and the prince of Wales his
" ſon, to end their days before they could repair their loſſes
" in France, nothing can be inferred from thence againſt
" the juſtice of their rights. That by his judgments, God
" was pleaſed to puniſh the ſins of the Engliſh nation, but
" never intended to deprive the heirs and ſucceſſors of Ed-
" ward, of their juſt rights to the crown of France. That
" the interruption of the perſecution of theſe rights, occaſi-
" oned by the indolence of Richard II. and the troubles of
" the late reign, could not be conſidered as an entire deſiſt-
" ing. That England enjoying at preſent a happy tran-
" quillity, under the government of a prince endowed with
" ſo many excellent qualities, the relinquiſhing of theſe juſt
" pretenſions, would be renouncing all the rules of pru-
" dence and politicks. That moreover, the poſture of af-
" fairs in France preſented an opportunity, which would in
" vain be ſought hereafter. Finally, he exhorted the king

[f] The archbiſhop, or he that made this ſpeech, was ignorant, doubtleſs, that without the Salic law, Edward III. could have no manner of claim to the crown of France. Upon which, ſee the reign of Edward III. Rapin.

" to

"to exercise the talents heaven had blessed him with, and "not remain in an ignoble repose, but prepare, without "dreading the difficulties, for so just and glorious a conquest, "which would render him the most powerful prince in Eu-"rope. He closed his speech with saying, that if the king "would be pleased to take in hand so noble an enterprise, "the clergy would give him a larger subsidy than was ever "granted to any of his ancestors, and he did not question "but the laity would be of the same mind." 1414.

Most historians pretend, this speech made such a sudden and wonderful impression, that Henry immediately resolved to prosecute his title to the crown of France. But the forementioned negotiations upon this subject, plainly shew, the resolution was already taken, and that the business at present was, only to obtain the parliament's approbation. To this the archbishop's speech perhaps greatly conduced. At least, it is certain, the commons, before they broke up, approved the design, and granted the king a subsidy of three hundred thousand marks [g] to begin the execution thereof. Nay, it is likely, the archbishop, on this occasion, acted in concert with the king, either to sound the inclination of the commons, or to excite them to a war. Be this as it will, the resolution perfectly corresponding with the clergy's project, it is no wonder, the archbishop so strongly urged the necessity of a war. And indeed, the affair was no sooner resolved in parliament, but the bill intended against the clergy fell of itself, people's minds being otherwise employed [h].

The war against France resolved, and a subsidy granted the king.

All the rest of the year was spent in continual embassies to London or Paris. The French would have had Henry's marriage with the princess Catherine, to be an equivalent for the greatest part of the demands of England. This was the project they had formed, imagining, Henry might be decoyed by the hopes of the marriage. Henry on his part, did

Continuation of the negotiations between France and England. Act. Pub. IX. p. 150, 182, 183, 184, 186.

[g] The commons, with assent of the bishops and lords, granted the king two whole tenths, and two fifteenths, to be levied on the laity. Rot. Parl. 2 Hen. V. M. 11.

[h] In this parliament, Henry Percy, grandson of the late earl of Northumberland, who had been left by his grandfather as an hostage in Scotland, being now of age, petitioned the parliament, that he might be restored to the honour and estates of his father and grandfather; which was granted accordingly. Rot. Parl. 2 Hen. V. M. 17. Dugdale's Baron. vol. I. p. 280. —At the same time, the king confirmed to his brother John, duke of Bedford, the earldom and honour of Richmond. Ibid. M. 14. and created his brother Humphrey, earl of Gloucester. T. Livius, p. 7. Elmham. p. 33.

1414. not reject the propoſal, provided the marriage was conſidered only as a conſequence of the peace, or at leaſt, ſuch conditions were annexed to it, as ſhould procure him the reſtitution of the provinces loſt ſince the treaty of Bretigny. He feigned to ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed to a certain degree. He ſent power upon power to his ambaſſadors, to prolong the time of his engagement. But when the match was propoſed, the ſame ambaſſadors refuſed to treat, till the terms of the peace were agreed upon. This was the ſubject of all the negotiations. Mean while, it is certain, both ſides had no other view than to gain time. Henry was too wiſe, not to perceive that France would never comply with his demands, before ſhe had received ſome conſiderable loſs. On the other hand, as there had not been a good while, any great alteration in England, beſides the acceſſion of a new king to the crown, the court of France could not believe, the Engliſh were able to ſupport the threatened war. So their ſole view was to amuſe Henry, till time ſhould cauſe ſome revolution in the affairs of either kingdom. Henry proceeded gradually, without being diverted, as there was nothing in his kingdom capable of giving him any diſturbance. France, on the contrary, was full of diſſenſions. Thoſe at the helm were more careful to ſupport themſelves againſt the oppoſite party, than to prevent the king of England's deſigns. Nay, it was almoſt impoſſible for them to take juſt meaſures at ſuch a juncture. The dauphin, who had the management of affairs, was a prince, more hot than able. But though his capacity had been greater, what could he have done, engaged as he was between two factions, which divided the kingdom, and whereof neither was really attached to his intereſt? beſides, neither the dauphin, nor the Orleans faction, could imagine, that after an intermiſſion for two whole reigns, the king of England would ſeriouſly think of aſſerting his right to the crown of France. We find in the Engliſh hiſtory that after Henry had ſent the firſt time to demand the crown of France, the dauphin, in deriſion of his youth, ſent him for a preſent a tun of tennis balls, intimating no doubt, that he thought him fitter for play than for war [1]; but he was ſoon of another opinion. Such was the diſpoſition of the court of France, whilſt Henry was wholly employed in preparations to accompliſh his deſigns.

The diſadvantages France lay under.

The dauphin's ſcornful preſent to Henry. Caxton.

[1] Henry ſent him back word, he would repay him with balls of greater force, which ſtrokes the ſtrongeſt gates of Paris ſhould not be rackets ſufficient to rebound. Caxton Chron.

The

The reſolution taken by the parliament of Leiceſter, opened the eyes of thoſe who governed France. They were ſenſible at length, that Henry was in earneſt, and perceived, not without confuſion, that he had, to over-reach them, uſed the ſame means practiſed by themſelves to amuſe him. The negotiations concerning the marriage, and the frequent prolongation of his voluntary engagement, were only a decoy, to hinder France from preparing for her defence. This plainly enough appeared in the parliament's reſolution. Then it was that Charles's, or the dauphin's council, thought it time to think ſeriouſly of giving Henry ſome ſatisfaction. To that end, ſecretary Col was diſpatched with freſh offers, but which were very ſhort of his pretenſions. Before the parliament of Leiceſter, Henry had, as one may ſay, demanded the whole kingdom of France, but ſlightly, and to ſerve as foundation to his other demands. But when he found himſelf ſupported by his parliament, he talked at a much higher rate, and ſeemed unwilling to be ſatisfied with what he had demanded at firſt. However, to amuſe France, he ſtill pretended to deſire the affair might be determined by a negotiation. To that end, he readily conſented, the marriage ſhould be treated of, and the term of his engagement prolonged to the 15th of Auguſt, impowering his ambaſſadors to extend it as much farther as they ſhould judge proper. But all this made him not delay or interrupt his warlike preparations.

1414.

France begins to take other meaſures.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 139.

Ibid. 140, 141.

Mean while, the negotiation with the duke of Burgundy ſtill continued, whilſt that prince was moſt preſſed by his enemies. In the month of June, Henry ſent to him Philip Morgan, a perſon of great abilities, whom he always employed in the moſt important negotiations. Morgan's publick inſtructions were only to renew the truce with the Flemings. But the choice of that ambaſſador, and the miſſion of Copin de la Vieuville into England, from the duke, with the circumſtances of the time, are plain evidences that all thoſe goings and comings, were not to prolong only a truce of commerce, wherein there was no great difficulty. Beſides, the diſcovery hereafter, will ſhow, what the duke of Burgundy was then meditating. The gaining of that prince to his intereſt was very material to Henry. A fairer opportunity could not offer, ſince it was at a time when the court of France ſhewed no regard for him. But he demurred, it ſeems, upon making ſo extraordinary a ſtep, and was unwilling to have recourſe to Henry, without an abſolute neceſſity. In all theſe negotiations were ſpent the year, 1414.

Henry continues his negotiations with the duke of Burgundy. p. 179.

1415.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 183, 187, 196.

In the beginning of the next year, Henry consented to a prolongation of the truce to the first of May. Mean while, the cou[illegible] of France, alarmed at the great preparations in England, [illegible] again the archbishop of Bourges with eleven more ambass[illegible]. Probably the archbishop made some new offer to Henry, [illegible] which was not considerable enough to content him. All [illegible] ould obtain was a farther prolongation of the truce to the 8th o[illegible] J[illegible]e.

The truce prolonged again, p. 225.

Henry tells the lords he is resolved to go into France, p. 221.

Whilst these ambassadors were at London, the king assembled [k] the lords spiritual and temporal, at least as many as were within distance. When they were met, he acquainted them, by the bishop of Winchester, his uncle, and lord chancellor, with his resolution of going in person, and carrying war into France, in order to recover the inheritance of his ancestors. This declaration seemed needless, since the great men had been sufficiently informed of his design. But probably, his intent was to oblige the French ambassadors to discover at once what they had to propose, he imagining they still kept back part of their instructions. The situation of affairs in France made him hope, they would offer to put things upon the foot of the treaty of Bretigny. If so, he would doubtless have been satisfied with so considerable an advantage, though he had for some time claimed the whole kingdom of France. The archbishop of Bourges, no longer questioning the king's designs, told him, he wanted to go to France for fresh instructions, upon which, Henry consented the truce should be again prolonged to the 15th of July. The same prelate being returned to England a few days before the expiration of the truce, added something more to the former offers; but it was to no purpose. Nothing was capable of satisfying Henry but the treaty of Bretigny. The archbishop demanded his answer in writing, and the king ordered it to be given him immediately. Some add, that the archbishop seeing all ceremony was at an end, upbraided the king, that not content with a crown unjustly wrested from Richard II. by his father, he would invade that of France too, but he should find it more difficult than he imagined.

The truce prolonged again, p. 262, 282. Ibid.

The archbishop of Bourges's bold words to the king. Monstrelet. Des Ursins. Walsing.

Henry embarks his troops, and continues his negotiation with the duke of Burgundy.

Every thing being ready for the departure, Henry ordered all his troops to repair immediately to Southampton, where they were to embark, and went thither himself to give orders as the troops and transports arrived. Whilst he was thus employed, he gave fresh powers to Philip Morgan to conclude a treaty of alliance with the duke of Burgundy. This

k On April 16. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 222.

[illegible]

ſhews, that the duke, who was ſtill at the court of France, held a private intelligence with Henry, and had probably conduced very much to engage him in this undertaking. Their treaty however was not concluded till two years after. 1415. Act. Pub. IX. p. 304. Walſing.

Henry was preparing to depart about the end of July, or beginning of Auguſt [l]. Moſt part of his troops were now embarked, when he had notice of a conſpiracy againſt his perſon, formed by thoſe whom he thought to have had leaſt reaſon to ſuſpect. If we believe the Engliſh hiſtorians, the court of France, dreading the ſucceſs of the war, had employed a vaſt ſum of money to bribe men to kill the king. They mount this ſum to a million of livres, which is no wonder, conſidering the quality of the perſons concerned in the plot, namely, Richard, earl of Cambridge, brother of the duke of York, Henry Scrope, lord treaſurer, who commonly lay in the ſame room with the king, and Thomas Grey, a knight of Northumberland, and privy counſellor [m]. It is not very certain, however, that they had a deſign upon the king's life, at leaſt the earl of Cambridge's confeſſion, extant in the collection of the publick acts, contains nothing like it. It only appears, that they had conſpired to ſet the earl of March at their head, and conduct him where they hoped to raiſe an army, by making uſe of the name of Richard II. as if he were ſtill alive. That, if they could not deceive the people by a means ſo frequently practiſed, their intent was to publiſh a manifeſto in the name of the earl of March, inviting the people to reſtore that prince to his rights, uſurped by the houſe of Lancaſter. As they could not uſe the earl of March's name, without having him in their power, or at leaſt in their party, they could not help informing him of the plot. The earl was greatly em-

A plot againſt the king diſcovered. Act. Pub. IX. p. 300. T. Livius. Walſing. Elmham.

Walſing. Act. Pub. IX. p. 300.

p. 300.

[l] Beſides the ſhips which he built in his own ports, he hired of the Hollanders and Zealanders many tranſport veſſels. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 215. And, on May 28, he iſſued out orders to the biſhops, to put all the clergy within their dioceſes, in a condition of array, ſuitable to their eſtates and incomes. Ibid. p. 253. John, duke of Bedford, was left regent, and lord lieutenant of England. Ibid. p. 223, 305.

[m] Though Thomas Grey is called here, and by ſome of our hiſtorians, earl of Northumberland, yet he could not be ſo, being Henry Percy, ſon of Hotſpur, was reſtored to that honour in the 2d of Henry V. as appears by the parliament rolls, 2 Hen. V. M. 17. See above, p. 213. n. h. Dugdale ſays, this Grey, was of the family of the lord Grey of Werk, in Northumberland, vol. II. p. 449. Goodwin calls him ſir Thomas Grey, a knight of Northumberland, p. 64; and Walſingham ſtyles him a northern knight, p. 389. He was one of thoſe that attended the king in his expedition into France, with twenty four men at arms, and forty eight archers. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 259. He is called there only Thomas Grey, chevalier.

barreſſed,

1415. barraſſed, when the ſecret was told him. A crown, which he believed to be his lawful right, was worth the pains of running ſome riſk to obtain it. But on the other hand, he was ſatisfied, the conſpirators acted not from a motive of juſtice or affection for his perſon. Beſides, the uncertainty of the event could not but diſcourage him. Mean while, he was preſſed very earneſtly to enter into the conſpiracy. In ſhort, not being able to reſolve immediately, he deſired time to conſider of ſo important an affair, and it was with great difficulty, that he obtained the reſt of that day. During that interval, he made ſuch reflections, as induced him to acquaint the king with the whole. Henry, ſurpriſed at the news, immediately ordered the conſpirators to be ſeized, who, confeſſing their guilt, were condemned and executed.

The authors punished, p. 300. Walſing.

The earl of Cambridge and ſir Thomas Grey were beheaded; but the lord Scrope ſuffered the uſual puniſhment of traitors. This was as it were the firſt ſpark of that flame, which conſumed, in proceſs of time, the two houſes of Lancaſter and York. As the earl of Cambridge had married a ſiſter of the earl of March, very likely he had engaged in the plot with a view to procure the crown for Richard his ſon, preſumptive heir of that earl, who had no children.

Henry ſets ſail. Walſing. Monſtrelet.

This affair detaining Henry at Southampton longer than he imagined, he could not ſail till the 18th or 19th of Auguſt. His fleet conſiſted of fifteen hundred tranſports, on which were embarked ſix thouſand men at arms, and twenty thouſand archers [n], making in all, an army of about fifty thouſand men. He was attended by the earls of Dorſet, Kent, Cornwall, Saliſbury, Huntingdon, with many other nobles. On the 21ſt of Auguſt, he landed his troops [o] at Havre de Grace in Normandy, and without loſs of time, marched to Harfleur, about nine miles diſtant. That place was ſtrong and well ſtored. A little before, four hundred men at arms were ſent thither, beſides a great number of the neighbouring nobles, who voluntarily came there. The garriſon made a vigorous defence, but however, in a ſhort time were forced to capitulate, and promiſe to ſurrender the place, unleſs relieved within three days. The term being expired, and no relief come, Henry took poſſeſſion of the town [p], and expelling the inhabitants, planted an Engliſh

Lands at Havre de Grace. T. Livius. Elmham.

Takes Harfleur, and peoples it with Engliſh.

[n] Twenty four thouſand, ſays Monſtrelet, c. 142.

[o] According to Walſingham, he landed in Normandy, Auguſt 14, p. 390. But according to T. Livius, he embarked Auguſt 11, p. 8. The 13th, ſays Elmham, p. 36.

[p] The ſiege laſted five weeks. Walſ. p. 320.

colony in their room, as Edward III. had formerly done at Calais [q]. 1415.

This place being of the utmoſt importance, Henry would not depart, till it was entirely repaired, and put in a good ſtate of defence. In the mean while, he ſent a written challenge to the dauphin, offering to decide all their differences by a ſingle combat between their two perſons. Theſe differences, according to the king's notion, concerned no leſs than the whole kingdom of France. If he directed himſelf to the dauphin, it was becauſe of his father's diſtemper, which rendered him uncapable of accepting a challenge. But as it was not in the dauphin's power to hazard, in a ſingle combat, the crown of France, which did not belong to him, Henry offered, in caſe he was conqueror, to let king Charles enjoy it during his life. Moreover, he proteſted, the propoſal came wholly from himſelf, without any ſuggeſtion from his council or family, and therefore he pretended, it could not be prejudicial to his rights, or thoſe of his ſucceſſors. The challenge was dated at his town of Harfleur, September 16, 1415. It does not appear that the dauphin ſent any anſwer. The truth is, the offer was too diſadvantageous to him, ſince he would have ventured a crown, of which his father was in actual poſſeſſion, and which he was of courſe to inherit, whereas Henry would have hazarded only bare pretenſions. Act. Pub. IX. p. 313.

The conqueſt of Harfleur might have rendered Henry ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of his firſt campaign, begun a little too late, if, on the other hand, the ill ſtate of his army had not made him extremely uneaſy. The flux amongſt his troops had made, and ſtill did make, ſuch ravage, that not above the fourth part of his forces were able to bear arms. The diſtemper had not ſeized the common ſoldiers only, but even the moſt conſiderable perſons were not free from it. The biſhop of Norwich and the earl of Suffolk [r] were already dead of it. The duke of Clarence, the king's brother, the earl of Arundel [s], and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction, were ſo dangerouſly ill, that they were obliged to return to England, in hopes of a cure. Ill ſtate of the Engliſh army. Walſing. T. Livius. Elmham.

[q] He put forth a proclamation throughout England, that all perſons who would come over and ſettle at Harfleur, ſhould have houſes ſecured to them and their heirs, upon which great numbers tranſplanted themſelves and families thither. The king made his uncle, Thomas Beaufort earl of Dorſet, governor, with whom he joined ſir John Faſtolff. Hall, fol. 45.

[r] Michael de la Pole.

[s] John Fitzalan; and alſo Edmund Mortimer earl of March, John Mowbray, earl-marſhal, &c. Walſ. p. 391.

At

1415. At the ſame time, Henry learned from all parts that the French were aſſembling their forces with great diligence to give him battle. Till the taking of Harfleur, the court of France ſeem not to have believed the king of England ſeriouſly intended a war, ſince they had made no preparations for their defence. But after the loſs of ſo important a place, king Charles's council eaſily perceived, it was neceſſary to aſſemble all the forces of the kingdom, to ſtop the progreſs of an enemy, who began to be very formidable. The great armament France was preparing, the ill ſtate of the English army, and the approach of winter, obliged Henry to think of retreating. He might, it ſeems, have re[illegible]marked at Harfleur, but, whether he thought it wou[illegible] to much like a flight, or foreſaw not all th[illegible] he afterwards encountered, or for ſome other un[illegible]wn reaſon, he reſolved to retire by land to Calais.

The French draw together an army. T. Livius.

Henry reſolves to retire to Calais. T. Livius. Walſing. Elmham.

The march he undertook was difficult, at a ſeaſon when the rains began to ſpoil the roads. But it became much more ſo by unexpected accidents. The French having foreſeen or heard of his deſign, ſpeedily broke down the bridges and cauſeways in his rout, and deſtroyed or removed into the fortified towns, the proviſions and forage that he might have found in the country. On the other hand, the conſtable d'Albret, with a body of troops drawn together, whilſt the reſt were preparing, continually haraſſed the Engliſh, and conſtrained them to march very cloſe, and to be always upon their guard. All theſe difficulties hindered their advancing ſo ſpeedily as was neceſſary, to free themſelves from their ill ſituation.

Difficulties of the march. Walſing. T. Livius. Hall.

Amidſt all theſe obſtacles to his march, Henry proceeded along the Somme, in expectation of paſſing that river at the ford of Blanchetaque, as Edward III. had done the day before the battle of Creſſy. But when he came there, he found that paſs rendered impracticable by ſharp ſtakes fixed in the river, and defended moreover by a body of troops [t], poſted on the oppoſite bank. He was extremely concerned to find his deſign could not be executed. It was neceſſary however, either to paſs the Somme, or reſolve to return to Harfleur through the ſame difficulties, he had already been expoſed to, and even without knowing when he came there, how to ſubſiſt his army. In this extremity, he determined to march higher up the river, even to its ſource, though it was much out of his way. As he advanced, he every where

He is not able to paſs the Somme. T. Livius.

He reſolves to go to the fountain-head. Elmham.

[t] Six thouſand French.

And

found the bridges broken down, and the fords guarded by troops intrenched on the other side. 1415.

As in so ill a situation, there was no other remedy but patience, Henry took all possible care to instil it into his troops, by taking his share of the wants and hardships they laboured under. It is easy to perceive, these hardships were not proper to stop the course of their distemper, and that, on the contrary, great numbers fell sick in their march. At last, to complete his misfortune, Henry heard, that the king of France was come to Roan, and had sent to the constable fourteen thousand men at arms, with all the princes and great lords of the kingdom, except the dukes of Berri and Burgundy. The dauphin was desirous of commanding the army, but the king would not give him leave. The constable, who had also drawn together many other troops, receiving so strong a reinforcement, called a council of war, where it was unanimously resolved to give the English battle. But as the French generals thought themselves sure of victory, considering the superiority of their forces, they judged it proper, instead of continuing to guard the Somme, to let the English army pass, and to post themselves on the road to Calais: This resolution being taken, they went and expected their enemies in the earldom of St. Pol, in order to draw them over the Somme, in a place where they should not be able to turn back.

The army suffers much in the march. T. Livius.

French army reinforced. Hall.

They go and expect the English in the road to Calais.

It is certain, that by passing the river, Henry ran into manifest danger, since there was no mean between conquering and perishing. It is true, he might have returned to Harfleur, but I cannot tell whether that was less hazardous, considering the difficulties he must have encountered, and which he had not without infinite trouble surmounted. Wherefore it is a question, in my opinion, hard to be decided, whether a battle was more dangerous than a retreat. Be that as it will, it is to be presumed, he chose what to him seemed least disadvantageous, in continuing his march along the Somme [u], with a resolution to face the danger that waited on the other side. As the passages were no longer defended, he found one between St. Quintin and Peronne,

Henry continues his march.

He passes the Somme. T. Livius. Elmham. Hall.

[u] As they were marching by a town called Corbie, and were engaged in a narrow pass, the country people, and some soldiers, fiercely attacked them. A battalion, commanded by Hugh Stafford, lord Bourchier, endeavouring to disperse them, was put to very great streights, many being killed, and the standard lost; but it was recovered by a Staffordshire gentleman, surnamed Bromley. Hollingshead, vol. III. p. 551.

where

1415. where he caused his army to pass [x]. But though this obstacle, which had hitherto seemed the greatest, was removed, the English army found themselves in no better condition. That of their enemies, six times more numerous, expected them upon their passage; whom there was a necessity of vanquishing, in order to open a way to Calais. The French historians affirm, that Henry seeing himself in this sad situation, offered to restore Harfleur, and repair all the damages, he had caused in France since his landing, if he might be suffered to proceed unmolested, but that his offer was rejected. On the contrary, the constable and princes that were in the French army, sent three heralds to offer him battle, leaving him to choose the time and place. Henry replied, "As he had long been upon his march to Calais, they "might have fought him when they pleased; and if they "intended it, there was no occasion to appoint the time or "place; for he was resolved to pursue his march, and they "should always find him ready to receive them."

Offers to restore Harfleur. P. Daniel.

His offer rejected. Des Ursins.

The French challenge him.

His answer. Elmham.

The French army being posted on his rout, it was not possible to pass without fighting. He resolved therefore to prepare for a battle. On the 22d of October, the French generals sent him word by a herald, that on the Friday following [y], they would give him battle. Henry, who had already taken his resolution, accepted the challenge, and presented the herald with a robe worth two hundred crowns [z]. During the three days before the battle, Henry never ceased to inspire his troops with courage, by the promise of rewards and honours, and by all other means most conducive to that end. He represented to them the glory of their ancestors, who obtained the famous victories of Cressy and Poictiers, and demonstrated to them the necessity of conquering, in order to free themselves from their present, and avoid still greater calamities. His exhortations wrought so wonderful an effect, that the officers and soldiers, far from dreading the great number of their enemies, were extremely eager to engage. The day before the battle, Henry having sent David Gam a Welch captain to view the strength of the enemy, that brave officer gallantly reported, "There are enough to "be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run "away." This assurance pleased the king, as being a sign, that his troops were firmly resolved to do their duty. Mean

He meets the enemy, who offers him battle,

which he accepts. T. Livius. Walsing.

Firmness of the king and his troops. Powel Hist. Wal.

x On the 19th of October. Monstrelet, c. 146.

y October 25. Rapin.

z A rich robe, and two hundred crowns, Des Ursins, p. 364. T. Livius says, one hundred, p. [illegible].

while,

while, the French preſuming on their numbers, and confident of victory, were making rejoicings in their camp. 1415.

Great diſproportion between the two armies.

Mezerai owns, that they were four times ſuperior to the Engliſh [a]. Monſtrelet ſays, ſix times [b]. This diverſity may partly proceed from Mezerai's reckoning all the ſoldiers, ſick and well, of the Engliſh army, and from Monſtrelet's meaning only ſuch as were able to fight. The Engliſh hiſtorians make the difference between the two armies much greater, affirming, the French amounted to one hundred and fifty thouſand, and the Engliſh but to nine thouſand. Be this as it will, it is certain the ſuperiority of the French was very great. But what inequality ſoever there was between the two armies as to number, there was another, which was no leſs conſiderable, with regard to the different ſtate they were in. The Engliſh, for the moſt part ſick of a flux, with which they had been troubled ever ſince their departure from Harfleur, were moreover haraſſed with a tedious march of a month, in very bad weather, and through an enemy's country. They had all along been in want of proviſions, and would doubtleſs have been all ſtarved, if the exact diſcipline the king cauſed to be obſerved, had not engaged the country people to ſupply them with victuals for the ſake of ſelling them at an extravagant rate. The French, on the contrary, were freſh and healthy, abounding with proviſions, and labouring under no inconveniency. If we may believe the Engliſh hiſtorians, ſo confident of ſucceſs were the French leaders, that they ſent to the king to know what he would give for his ranſom. Henry, deſpiſing the bravado, replied, according to the ſame authors, that a few hours would ſhew whoſe care it would be to provide a ranſom.

Harding. Walſing.

Confidence of the French. T. Livius.

On the 25th of October, the day appointed for the battle, the two armies were drawn up as ſoon as it was light. The conſtable d'Albret committed an unpardonable fault, in chooſing for the field of battle a narrow ground, flanked on one ſide by a rivulet, and on the other by a large wood.

The two armies are drawn up in order of battle.

Blunder of the conſtable.

[a] P. Daniel ſays, they were three times ſtronger. Tom. V. p. 541.

[b] He and Paradin make the number of the horſe in the French army to be a hundred and fifty thouſand. Walſingham ſays, their whole army conſiſted of one hundred and forty thouſand men, p. 391. And, according to Meierus, of a hundred and fifty thouſand; the third part whereof was horſe, and ten thouſand of them nobles and gentlemen. See Godwin's Henry V. p. 82. In a letter from ſir W. Bardolf, deputy-governor of Calais, to John duke of Bedford, it is ſaid, that the duke of Lorrain had gathered about fifty thouſand men together, and that all the French forces, put together, would amount to above a hundred thouſand men. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 315.

1415. He thereby loſt all the advantage, which the ſuperiority of number and eſpecially in horſe could give him. It is moſt certain, that general ought to have poſted himſelf in a large and open place, where he might have had it in his power to ſurround the Engliſh, who were but a handful of men in compariſon of his army. But by drawing up on ſo narrow a ground, he was forced to make a front no larger than that of the enemies, and thereby deprived himſelf of a very manifeſt advantage. Neither can it be ſaid, that the choice of the field of battle was not entirely in his breaſt. As the Engliſh were marching for Calais, it was his buſineſs to expect them on a ſpacious plain, capable of containing his whole army, and where they might have all fought at once. His blindneſs therefore is aſtoniſhing, and can be aſcribed only to his preſumption. He ſeems to have intended to ſtop up that narrow paſſage, that the Engliſh might not proceed, without conſidering ſuch a precaution can be only advantageous to the weakeſt. I have dwelt a little upon this error, as it was probably the principal cauſe of the unfortunate ſucceſs of the French in the action. The conſtable, blinded by the number of his troops, drew them up, as I ſaid, on a narrow ground, but ſo cloſe, that it was eaſy to foreſee, confuſion would enſue during the battle. He divided his army into three bodies, the firſt of which he commanded himſelf, with the dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the earls of Eu, Vendôme, Richemont, the famous marſhal Boucicaut, grand maſter of the croſs-bowmen, the lord Dampier, admiral of France, the dauphin of Auvergne, and ſeveral other officers of the greateſt diſtinction. All theſe princes and lords thought themſelves happy in being in the firſt line, perſuaded as they were, that the other two would have nothing to do. The duke of Alenſon commanded the ſecond body, with the duke of Bar, the earls of Vaudemont, Nevers, Salines, Rouſſi, and Grand-Pré. At the head of the third line, were the earls of Marle, Dampmartin, Fauquenbergh, and the lord de Lauroi.

J. le Fevre. Walſing. Elmham. T. Livius. Elmham. Hall.

Precaution taken by the king before the battle. Des Urſins. Walſing.

Whilſt the French were drawing up, Henry detached a body of four hundred lances, to go and poſt themſelves out of ſight of the enemy, behind the wood, on the left of the field of battle. He lodged moreover two hundred archers in a low meadow, fenced with buſhes on the right. In drawing up his army, he could make but two lines, by reaſon of the ſmall number of his troops. Edward, duke of York, commanded the firſt, aſſiſted by the lords Beaumont, Willoughby,

loughby, and Fanhope [c]. The king put himſelf at the head of the ſecond [d], with a gold crown [e] on his helmet for a creſt, and near him was the ſtandard of England [f]. In this poſture he expected the French would advance to attack him [g]. Mean time, riding along the front of his battalions, he exorted the troops not to fear a multitude of raw and undiſciplined ſoldiers. He repreſented to them, that victories depended not on numbers but on bravery, and above all on the aſſiſtance of God in whom he admoniſhed them to place their whole truſt. In fine, perceiving the French did not move, he ſent for ſome of his principal officers, and ſaid to them with a chearful countenance, "Since our enemies have intercepted our way, let us proceed and break through them in the name of the holy Trinity." Upon theſe words he gave the ſignal of battle [h]. Immediately the ſoldiers of the foremoſt ranks, removing the ſtakes which had been fixed in the front, to reſiſt the fury of the cavalry [i], the whole army, with a mighty ſhout, moved forward. After advancing a little, they made a halt, ex- 1415.

T. Livius. Elmham. Hall.

T. Livius. Walſing.

The Engliſh begin the charge.

J. le Fevre. Elmham. Hall.

[c] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays Stanhope; as does likewiſe Goodwin, in his life of Henry V. p. 84. There was no ſuch title then. The Perſon here meant was, ſir John Cornwall, knight, who married Elizabeth, ſiſter of king Henry IV. and widow of John Holland duke of Exeter: and in the 11th of Henry VI. July 17, was created a baron, by the title of lord Fanhope. See Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 212.

[d] Attended by his brother Humphrey, duke of Glouceſter; John lord Mowbray, earl-marſhal; Richard de Vere, earl of Oxford; and Michael de la Pole, the young earl of Suffolk. The rear conſiſting of archers, and ſuch as were armed with ſpears, halberds, and bills, was led by Thomas Beaufort earl of Dorſet, created the next year duke of Exeter. Goodwin's Henry V. p. 84.

[e] Framed after the imperial faſhion. Le Fevre, p. 89.

[f] He had four ſtandards; one of the Trinity, another of St. George, the third of St. Edward, and in the fourth were diſplayed the arms of England. Ibid.

[g] P. Daniel ſays, that, before the battle began, king Henry ſent to the French generals a ſecond offer of an accommodation. The terms they inſiſted upon, were, that Henry ſhould renounce all pretenſions to the crown of France, and reſtore Harfleur. Henry replied, he would do it, provided Guienne, with its appurtenances, and the earldom of Ponthieu, were reſtored to him; and the princeſs Catharine was given him in marriage, with a portion of eight hundred thouſand crowns. Tom. V. p. 542.

[h] He ordered ſir Thomas Erpingham to give the ſignal, which he did by throwing up his truncheon into the air. Le Fevre, p. 92.

[i] The king conſidering the enemy was more powerful in horſe, and that his foot, the ſtrength of his army, would be expoſed to the danger of being broken by the fury of the firſt charge, commanded the archers, (a battalion of whom was placed in the van, commanded by the duke of York) to fix into the ground piles or ſtakes, pointed at both ends, and ſix or ſeven feet long; with theſe ſet in the front, and on the flanks, there being intervals left between the horſe and foot, theſe laſt were ſecured by them as within a little fortification. A company of pioneers was appointed for removing the piles, as the ſoldiers advanced or retreated. Le Fevre, p. 92. Elmham, p. 65. Hall, fol. 48.

1415. pecting their enemies, but finding they did not ſtir, continued their march in good order. When they came within bow-ſhot, the foremoſt ranks fixed the ſtakes, interweaving and bending them a little towards their enemy.

Walſing. At the ſame time, a body of choſen archers advancing ſome paces, began to let fly upon the enemy a ſhower of arrows a yard long, which being ſhot by men of dexterity and ſtrength, did the greater execution among the French, as they ſtood extremely cloſe and had ſcarce room to move. The French cavalry advancing at length to repulſe the archers, theſe laſt nimbly retreated behind the ſtakes with a wonderful diſcipline, in which the king had exerciſed them himſelf for ſome days. Mean while, the two hundred bowmen, concealed in the meadow, riſing upon a ſudden, plied the horſe with their arrows, who were put in the greater diſorder, as the horſes ſunk up to their knees in the ground

Monſtrelet. ſoftened with the rains. The Engliſh ſeeing this confuſion, threw away their bows, and fell upon their enemies ſword in hand. The Engliſh, it is ſaid, were, for the moſt part, forced to fight naked from the waſte downwards, by reaſon of their diſtemper. However, as the firſt line of the French conſiſted of all the beſt troops in their army, the charge, though very vigorous, was repulſed with ſome loſs on the ſide of the Engliſh. But that was not capable of diſheartening men, determined to conquer or die. After breathing a while, they charged again with ſuch reſolution, that it

The firſt line of the French routed. Le Fevre. T. Livius. was not poſſible for their enemies to ſtand the ſhock. The ſecond charge was the more difficult to be repulſed, as at the ſame time the French felt themſelves flanked by the Engliſh horſe, ambuſhed behind the wood. Then it was, that the utmoſt diſorder enſued among the troops, ſo vigorouſly preſſed by their enemies, who ſlew without mercy all that came in their way. The firſt line of the French at length taking to flight, (after ſeeing the conſtable ſlain, with a great number of other officers, and moſt of the princes and generals made priſoners,) the Engliſh found themſelves ſtopped by the ſecond line, which came to repair the diſorder.

Mean while, Henry advancing with his ſecond line, as the firſt gained ground, ſtood ready to ſupport his men, who would have been in danger of being routed, if he had been farther off. Whilſt the firſt body, after ſo gallant a fight, were retiring to the right and left, to make way for the king,

Walſing. and to rally in his rear, Henry, alighting from his horſe, preſented himſelf to the enemy with an undaunted countenance.

The

The duke of Alenſon, prince of the blood-royal of France, advanced at the head of his body with a great intrepidity, hoping by his conduct and valour to repair the diſgrace received by his countrymen. He had detached eighteen ſtout gentlemen, with orders to keep cloſe to the king of England, and not leave him till ſlain or taken priſoner. Henry, for his part, marching with a fierceneſs heightened by the ſucceſs of his firſt troops, charged the ſecond line, with a valour equal to that of the moſt renowned heroes in hiſtory. He fought on foot at the head of his men, ruſhing among the thickeſt of the enemies, as forgetting that upon his fate depended that of his army. 1415.

Henry fights on foot at the head of his troops. Le Fevre. T. Livius.

Mean time the eighteen cavaliers, who had undertaken to kill him, charged up ſo cloſe to him, that one of them ſtruck him with a battle-ax on the head, ſo that he was ſtunned for a while, though the goodneſs of his helmet reſiſted the violence of the blow. At the ſame time, the reſt were ſtriving to approach him. Probably he would hardly have eſcaped theſe deſperate men, had not the valiant David Gam, the Welſh captain, with two other officers of the ſame nation, ſaved him at the expence of their lives. The king, who was a little recovered, ſeeing them extended at his feet and ſtill breathing, knighted them all three, being unable in their preſent condition, to reward their loyalty any other way. At the ſame time the eighteen Frenchmen, who ſtill made prodigious efforts to execute their deſign, were all killed upon the ſpot.

He is expoſed to great danger. Elmham. Powel's Hiſt. Wal.

The heat of the battle increaſing, Henry, ſtill more animated by his paſt danger, gave ſignal proofs of his valour, and drew upon him the braveſt of the enemies. The duke of Glouceſter his brother who fought by his ſide, being knocked down, he long covered him with his own body, to prevent his being killed. By this bold action he was ſo expoſed, that at length he received ſo great a blow on the head, that he fell on his knees. But his guard immediately advancing, repulſed the enemy, and gave him time to riſe. The king's danger, and the wonders he performed, inſpired his troops with a ſort of fury. On a ſudden, as it were by conſent, the Engliſh ſoldiers encouraging one another, ruſhed upon their enemies, and by that violent and unexpected attack, put them in ſuch diſorder, that their leaders could never repair it. Henry, improving the advantage, preſſed them vigorouſly, knowing this was the moment which was to decide the victory. Their diſorder increaſing by reaſon of their great numbers, and want of room, they began to re-

Henry's great courage! Paradin. T. Livius. Elmham.

He is knocked down on his knees.

The French are put in diſorder. Elmham.

1415. treat as they fought in a manner that ſhewed they would quickly take to flight.

Monſtrelet. Paradin. The duke of Alenſon, enraged to ſee the battle loſt by the defeat of the ſecond line, and deſpairing that the third would be able to reſtore the fight, generouſly reſolved to die honorably, rather than ſurvive his country's diſgrace. So, regardleſs of a life he was determined to loſe, with a ſmall number of brave and reſolute perſons, he furiouſly ruſhed through the Engliſh troops, in ſearch of the king of England, hoping to revenge by one ſingle blow the loſs France had that day ſuſtained. It was not difficult to find Henry, who thought of nothing leſs than concealing himſelf. The moment the duke ſaw him, he ran at him, and crying out that he was the duke of Alenſon, diſcharged ſo violent a blow on his head, that he cleaved off one half of the gold crown on his helmet. Henry, not being able to parry the blow, was not ſlow to revenge. In return, he ſtruck the duke to the ground, and with repeated blows ſlew two of his brave attendants. In an inſtant, the duke was ſurrounded by a crowd of enemies, who put an end to his life, notwithſtanding the king's endeavours to ſave him. The death of the duke of Alenſon, entirely diſcouraging his troops, they openly took to flight.

Alenſon gives the king a furious blow:

who knocks him down.

The third line of the French retreats without fighting. Monſtrelet. The third line of the French, being ſtill freſh and in good order, might have renewed the battle. But their hearts failing at the ſight of the preſent and paſt ſlaughter [k], it was not in the power of the leaders to make them advance. So, finding themſelves reduced to a neceſſity of retreating, they left the flying troops of the ſecond line, expoſed to the fury of their enemies, who cloſely purſued them. Then it was that the Engliſh, having nothing to do but to kill and take priſoners, exerciſed pity or cruelty, according as each was inclined. As it was impoſſible for the French in their diſorder to rally, and as their numbers were an obſtacle to their flight, they voluntarily offered themſelves to death or captivity, as their victorious enemies pleaſed. Mean while, the troops, that retired without fighting, ſtill appeared at ſome diſtance, and ſeemed reſolved to ſtand againſt enemies haraſſed with ſo long a battle. But the king perceiving they were ſtill more numerous than his army, commanded them by a herald to leave the field, or he would give them no quarter. This menace ſucceeded according to expectation. Whether theſe troops were not fully reſolved of

Walſing. T. Livius. Elmham.

k Or rather, when they obſerved that the Engliſh horſe, by king Henry's order, wheeled off to charge them in the rear. Polyd. Virg.

their

their courſe, or were apprehenſive of falling into the hands of an implacable enemy, in caſe they ſhould prove unſucceſsful, they retired and left Henry maſter of the field of battle. 1415.

Finding himſelf thus ſecure of the victory, Henry thought, he had nothing more to do, when ſuddenly word was brought him, that the enemies were in his rear, and had already plundered his camp. Surpriſed at the unexpected accident, he haſtily ran to the top of a hillock between the army and the camp, to review theſe new enemies. He really ſaw a great diſorder among his baggage, and the troops left to guard the camp diſperſed about the field, and endeavouring to ſave themſelves by flight. Imagining from hence, that the enemies had rallied to renew the fight, he proclaimed that the priſoners ſhould be ſlain, except the moſt eminent. The order being immediately executed, he ſpeedily rallied his troops, and marched directly to the enemies, who took care not to ſtay for him. They were only a company of run-aways, headed by Robert de Bournonville, who retiring betimes out of the battle, and knowing the Engliſh camp was but weakly guarded, pillaged it, whilſt the two armies were engaged. The duke of Burgundy afterwards would have ſeverely puniſhed the captain of theſe plunderers, who was his ſubject, for being the occaſion of ſo great a diſaſter, but the earl of Charolis his ſon found means to ſave his life. It is ſaid, the earl was preſented with a ſword, ſet with diamonds, found among the king's baggage. It is pity ſo glorious a victory was ſullied by this haſty maſſacre. It may however be excuſed by the impoſſibility of the Engliſh being able to guard their priſoners [l], and by the king's juſt fears, that the priſoners would turn againſt him, during the fight, which he ſaw himſelf upon the point of renewing.

The occaſion of the king's killing all the priſoners. Des Urſins, p. 312. T. Livius. Walſing. Paradin. P. de Fenin.

Nothing more oppoſing the king's victorious arms [m], his firſt care was to return God thanks for ſo ſignal and unexpected a victory, and publickly to acknowledge, it was entirely owing to him. After the diſcharge of this juſt duty,

Henry returns God thanks for his victory. Le Fevre. Monſtrelet.

[l] According to J. des Urſins, they amounted to fourteen thouſand; and conſequently did equal, or rather exceed in number all king Henry's forces, p. 312.

[m] The marſhal de Louvigny, at the head of ſix hundred men at arms; and the duke of Bretagne, with forces almoſt equal to thoſe of the Engliſh, were come very near the field of battle, when they received the news of the French defeat. If the latter had led on his freſh troops againſt the wearied and wounded Engliſh, he might probably have recovered the victory; but he retired immediately into Bretagne, where he remained neuter ever ſince. Monſtrelet, p. 231.

1415. he ſent for a French herald, who was in the army [n], and required him to declare to whom the victory was to be aſcribed. The herald anſwered, the victory was undoubtedly his. Then the king aſked him the name of a caſtle near the field of battle, and being told it was called Azincourt, he ſaid, let this battle be hereafter called the battle of Azincourt. As the fight began not till ten in the morning, and had laſted till almoſt five in the afternoon, Henry not thinking proper to continue his march, for fear of fatiguing his army too much, returned to Maſconcelles, where he had encamped the foregoing night.

Calls it the battle of Azincourt.

Elmham.

In this memorable battle, ſo fatal to France, the French loſt the conſtable d'Albret, the duke of Alenſon prince of the blood, the duke of Brabant, and the earl of Nevers, brothers of the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bar, the earls of Vaudemont, Marle, Rouſſi, Fauquenbergh, and many more officers of note, beſides ten thouſand private ſoldiers [o]. An Engliſh hiſtorian ſays, that among the ſlain were one archbiſhop [p], three dukes, ſix earls, ninety barons, fifteen hundred knights, and ſeven thouſand eſquires or gentlemen. Among the priſoners, who would have been very numerous, without the maſſacre after the battle, the moſt eminent were, the dukes of Orleans [q] and Bourbon, the earls of Eu, Vendome, Richemont, Etouteville, and marſhal Boucicaut [r]. On the ſide of the Engliſh, there were ſlain only the duke of York, the young earl of Suffolk, and, if we believe certain Engliſh hiſtorians, not above four knights, one 'ſquire, and twenty eight common ſoldiers [s]. Some however with more probability affirm, the Engliſh loſt four hundred men [t]. Mezeray mounts the number to ſixteen hundred, and lowers the loſs of the

The loſs of the French; J. le Fevre. Hall. Walſing.

Elmham. Goodwin.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 317, 327. and of the Engliſh. T. Livius. Walſing. De Fenin.

[n] Montjoy, the French king's herald, who, with four more, was ſent to aſk leave to bury the dead. Monſtrelet.

[o] The curious reader may ſee an account of all the remarkable perſons, ſlain, or taken priſoners in this battle, in Jean le Fevre; who, as he ſays himſelf, was in the Engliſh army, c. 64. p. 97, 98; and, out of him, in Goodwin's life of Henry V. p. 91. 92. Le Fevre ſays, there were ten thouſand men in all killed, of whom ſeven or eight thouſand were noble; and above a hundred of them princes, who had banners carried before them into the field. Ibid.

[p] Montaign, archbiſhop of Sens, who behaved with extraordinary courage. Monſtrelet.

[q] He was found under a heap of dead bodies, by the archers, who came to riffle the field; they perceiving ſome ſigns of life in him, carried him to the king, who took care of him, and treated him like a noble enemy. P. Baud. Hiſt. de Bret. ap. 451. Le Fevre, p. 95.

[r] Sixteen hundred of the priſoners were men of quality. Levre, ibid.

[s] P. de Fenin ſays, they loſt but four, or five hundred men, p. 461. But Monſtrelet affirms, there were ſeventeen hundred killed, c. 147.

French

French to ſix thouſand. It is very common, on theſe occaſions, to ſee the like diverſity in the hiſtorians of the two oppoſite ſides. 1415.

On the morrow, the king purſued his march towards Calais. In paſſing over the field of battle he took occaſion to commend the valour of his troops, but withal exhorted thoſe near him, not to be vainly proud of a victory, gained purely by the miraculous aſſiſtance of the Lord of hoſts. During his march, he was extremely civil to the French princes his priſoners, he told them, "he had not obtained "the victory by the ſuperiority of his merit, but becauſe "God was pleaſed to make him his inſtrument to puniſh the "ſins of the French nation: that the advantages he might "expect from his victory, were ſo far from making him "averſe to a peace, that he was even more inclined to it "than the day before the battle." Henry continues his march to Calais. Monſtrelet. T. Livius. Elmham. Le Fevre. Des Urſins. Act. Pub. IX. p. 287.

Some days after, the duke of Burgundy ſent him a cartel of defiance, and told him by a herald, that he intended to revenge the death of his brothers. Probably, the duke of Brabant, and the earl of Nevers were killed in the maſſacre of the priſoners. Henry, willing to keep fair with that prince, whom he ſtill hoped to gain to his intereſt, anſwered with great moderation. He told the herald, in delivering the gantlet received from his hand, that the French themſelves could witneſs he was not guilty of the death of the duke's brothers, but his own ſubjects were anſwerable for their blood [t]. This he ſaid, becauſe Bournonville, who occaſioned the ſlaughter of the priſoners, was a Burgundian. The duke of Burgundy challenges the king. The king refuſes to accept it.

About the middle of November, Henry embarked for England, taking with him the principal priſoners. He met in his paſſage with a violent ſtorm, which put him in extreme danger, and even ſunk ſome of his ſhips. At laſt, after a great fatigue, he arrived on the 16th of November. He was received in England with the uſual acclamations on ſuch occaſions. The people were never tired with praiſing a prince, that had rendered the Engliſh name ſo formidable and glorious [u]. His firſt care was to appoint a day of publick thankſgiving for the happy ſucceſs of his arms. Then he cauſed the bodies of the duke of York, and the earl of Suf- Henry returns to England. Walſing. Elmham. Act. Pub. IX. p. 327. T. Livius. Hall. Walſing. Act. Pub. IX. p. 334.

[t] His words were, "that the French "alone were guilty of their blood." viz. of the duke of Brabant, and earl of Nevers. See Goodwin, p. 95.

[u] He made his entry into London, November 23. Walſing. The mayor and aldermen, and two hundred of the citizens, waited on him the next day, with a preſent of a thouſand pounds in gold, in two gold baſons, worth five hundred pounds. Stow's Ann. p. 351. Goodwin, p. 96.

1415. folk, who loſt their lives in the battle, to be honourably interred [w]. The duke of York, leaving no iſſue, Richard his nephew, ſon of the earl of Cambridge, beheaded at Southampton, was his heir.

The troubles are renewed in France.

The wound France had received, was not ſo great, on account of the advantages reaped by the king of England, from his victory, which gained him not a ſingle foot of land, as for being the occaſion of the renewal of the civil wars with more fury than ever. The duke of Burgundy reſolving to improve the preſent juncture, claimed the adminiſtration of affairs, from which he had been long excluded, and particularly, by the peace of Arras. He alledged, that when the kingdom was threatened with utter ruin, a prince of the blood, firſt peer, and doubly peer of the realm, was indiſpenſably bound to aid the king with his counſels, and could not be debarred the court, without injuſtice and danger. But as he well knew his reaſons would be ineffectual, unleſs ſupported by force, he approached Paris with an army, and ſeized ſome poſts about the city. The dauphin, not being able to think of admitting to court the duke of Burgundy, though his father-in-law, ſent for the earl of Armagnac, and gave him the conſtable's ſword. The earl, ſworn enemy of the duke of Burgundy, did not ſpare the duke's adherents, commonly called the Burgundians. He ordered ſome to be hanged, and great numbers to be impriſoned, and thereby ſo heightened the animoſity of the two factions, that from thenceforward nothing was capable of uniting them againſt the common enemy. The dauphin ſeconded the conſtable's revenge, and never thought of reſtoring the ruinous affairs of the kingdom, the government whereof was in his hands. Shortly after, namely, on the 24th of December, that prince was poiſoned.

The earl of Armagnac made conſtable.

He perſecutes the Burgundians.

The dauphin poiſoned.

By the death of Lewis, the new conſtable remained ſole maſter of the king's perſon, and of the government, till the return of John, duke of Tourain, to whom the title of dauphin was devolved, and who was then in Hainault with the earl his father-in-law. The young prince reſolving to eſpouſe neither ſide, ſent orders to both factions to lay down their arms. The duke of Burgundy, who was loſing his time before Lagny, obeyed out of deference, as he pretended, to the dauphin's orders, and retired into his dominions. But

John his brother becomes dauphin.

[w] Edward, duke of York, ſon of Edmund de Langley, fifth ſon of Edward III. was buried in his collegiate church at Fotheringhay, in Northamptonſhire. And Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, ſon of him that died of the flux before Harfleur, was interred at Ewelme, in Oxfordſhire.

the

the conſtable was not ſo tractable. As he had the king's perſon in his power, he did not think the dauphin had any right to command him, till actually poſſeſſed of the regency, which he was bent to oppoſe, unleſs he would declare againſt the Burgundians. It was this that hindered the dauphin's return to court. 1415. Is oppoſed by the conſtable.

All the while, it was next to impoſſible for France, to take juſt meaſures for her defence againſt the attacks threatened from England. The duke of Burgundy was privately treating with Henry. The earl of Hainault was likewiſe treating that monarch, to put the dauphin, his ſon-in-law, in poſſeſſion of the regency. On the other hand, Lewis of Anjou, king of Sicily, then head of the Orleans faction, was projecting to deprive the dauphin of his birth right, by procuring the crown for Charles, earl of Ponthieu, his ſon-in-law. To compaſs his ends, he thought he could take no ſurer method, than to ſecure the aſſiſtance of England. Thus all France, as it were with one conſent, though with different views, earneſtly ſought the alliance of the Engliſh, againſt whom the whole nation ſhould have firmly united, if private intereſt had not prevailed above the good of the publick. In this manner paſſed the year 1415, which the battle of Azincourt has rendered memorable for ever. Henry is applied to by both parties. Act. Pub. IX. p. 328, 331, 332, 352, 354. Ib. p. 337, 384, 387, &c.

The conſternation of France, and the diſcord between the duke of Burgundy and the conſtable, ſeemed to promiſe Henry freſh laurels, if he had continued the war. Nevertheleſs, that prince, whoſe wiſdom equalled his valour, very prudently took a quite different courſe. He judged, that by fomenting the troubles of France, and inſpiring the two factions with jealouſy, he ſhould procure more certain and laſting advantages, than by means of his arms. The truth is, by puſhing the French too vigorouſly, he ran the riſk of uniting them all againſt him. In which caſe, his advantages, probably, would have been inconſiderable. But by granting them ſome reſpite, he gave them opportunity to deſtroy one another. Wherefore, contrary to every one's expectation, he laid aſide his military affairs for near eighteen months, and betook himſelf entirely to negotiation, which afforded him the proſpect of leſs doubtful advantages. He continued not however in a ſtate of inaction. The particulars of what paſſed in 1416, and part of the year following, will ſhew, how attentive he was to the execution of his projects. 1416. Henry purpoſes to gain the duke of Burgundy.

Henry's chief aim was to gain the duke of Burgundy, who had now ſhown an inclination to make an alliance with him.

The

1416. The ſucceeding in that deſign, he perceived, would be more advantageous, than another Azincourt victory. To this therefore all his endeavours tended, as to his principal affair. To attain his ends, it was neceſſary, that the affairs of France ſhould remain in their preſent ſituation. It was requiſite, the conſtable, and the other heads of that faction, ſhould ſtill have it in their power to perſecute the duke of Burgundy. This alone was capable of throwing that prince into a deſperate reſolution, which he beheld not without dread, and which the ſole deſire of revenge could induce him to take. If, by the continuance of the war, France had loſt towns and battles, the conſtable who held the reins of the government, would, doubtleſs, have forfeited all his credit. By that means, the duke of Burgundy would have infallibly obtained the regency again, and no longer ſtood in need of the Engliſh. This is the true reaſon of Henry's conſenting to all the propoſals for concluding a truce, or for renewing the negotiations of peace. Mean while, his, and the duke of Burgundy's envoys, paſſed from London to Flanders, and from Flanders to London, ever under colour of a treaty of commerce, in which freſh difficulties were continually ſtarted, the better to hide the principal deſign [x].

Act. Pub. IX. p. 328, 331, 332, 354.

Why this negotiation was kept ſecret.

It was not without reaſon, that the negotiation was kept ſecret by both ſides. The duke, whom nothing but neceſſity would have forced to an alliance with the king, was afraid, the diſcovery of the project would alienate the affections of the French, and eſpecially of the Pariſians. Henry had cauſe to fear, that if the court of France came to know of the negotiation, they would find means to break his meaſures. However, his deſiſting entirely from war ſince the battle of Azincourt, might well cauſe his deſigns to be ſuſpected. But the arrival of the emperor Sigiſmund freed him from that trouble, as it gave him occaſion to pretend, he diſcontinued the war, at the inſtance of that prince.

Sigiſmund arrives in France. Mezerai.

In the beginning of the year, Sigiſmund came to Paris [y]. He gave out himſelf, that the ſole end of his journey was, to mediate a peace between the two crowns of France and

[x] In the mean time a parliament met at Weſtminſter, on March 16, which ordered the two tenths, and the two fifteenths, granted in the laſt parliament, to be ſooner paid than the time appointed. In this parliament, the clipping, waſhing, and filing of the current money of the land was made treaſon. Rot. Parl. 3 Hen. V. n. 1, 10. c. 7.—There was a parliament ſummoned the laſt year, to meet about the 20th of October, and afterwards prorogued to the beginning of November. Cotton's Abridg. p. 542, 543.

[y] Attended with a thouſand horſe. T. Livius, p. 23.

England.

England [z]. This design was noble and charitable, and worthy a christian monarch, supposing it to have been entirely disinterested. But several circumstances gave occasion to believe, he undertook the voyage to favour Henry rather than France, and in hopes of some advantage for himself. At his arrival in France, he proposed a four years truce between the two kings, but the court rejected the proposal. The French historians charge the constable with refusing the truce, for his own private interest, but without shewing wherein the war could be for his advantage. I suppose, he was then projecting the siege of Harfleur, which he began the next June. Perhaps, he perceived, the emperor was not an impartial mediator. However this be, Sigismund finding he could not prevail at Paris, came into England [a] in March [b]. The English historians take notice, that being about to land, he was met by the duke of Gloucester, and some other lords, who stepping into the water with their drawn swords, stopped the boat. Surprised at this reception, he asked the reason: the duke told him, if he was come to challenge any authority in England, they had orders to forbid his landing; but if he came only as a mediator of peace, he should meet with all the respect due to the imperial dignity. This was to warn him not to take the liberty of exercising authority in England, as he had done in France during his stay [c].

1416. T. Livius. Elmham. He proposes a truce, which is rejected. He goes into England. Act. Pub. IX. p. 339, &c. T. Livius. Walsing. Goodwin.

The arrival of Sigismund at London, was preceded by that of William of Bavaria, earl of Holland and Zealand, who was come upon the same errand. These two princes quickly saw, they should find it difficult to procure a peace. Henry added to his former demands, the town of Harfleur, with part of the adjacent territory, for the maintenance of the garrison. On the other hand, France, persisting in her first offers, would not hear of peace, unless Henry restored Harfleur. So the two mediators, perceiving a peace almost

The earl of Holland and he get the two kings to consent to a truce. Walsing. T. Livius. Elmham. Act. Pub. IX. p. 787.

[z] That the christian princes might unite against the Turk, the common enemy. Monstrelet. Hall. fol. 53.

[a] At Calais, his imperial majesty was treated by Richard de Beauchamp, governor of the town, with so much civility and gallantry, that he was charmed with it: and afterwards told king Henry, that no christian prince had a knight equal to him for wisdom, good breeding, and courage; and that if all courtesy were lost, it might be found in the earl of Warwick; who, from thence, was afterwards called, the father of courtesy. Dugdale's Warwicks, p. 327.

[b] April 29, says Goodwin, p. 103.

[c] Commissioners also from Theodoric, archbishop of Cologne, came to London, about the end of January, to renew the alliances concluded between the archbishops his predecessors, and king Henry's ancestors. Accordingly a treaty was signed by the ambassadors of those two princes on May 15. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 343, 346.

impossible,

1416. impoſſible, were ſatisfied with obtaining the two kings conſent to a truce for three years, during which Harfleur ſhould remain in truſt in their hands, for certain ſecurities, promiſed by the French priſoners in England. But juſt as the treaty was going to be ſigned, the priſoners fell from their word. The conſtable, who was reſolved to beſiege Harfleur, had agreed to the negotiation only to amuſe Henry, and hinder him from diſcovering his deſign.

France falls off. Walſing.

Conflict between the earl of Dorſet, and the conſtable of France. Des Urſins. Walſing. Elmham. Hall.

Shortly after, under ſome pretence, he carried king Charles to Roan. His aim was, to be ready againſt the arrival of ſome Genoeſe ſhips, which were to join the French fleet, in order to inveſt Harfleur by ſea. He managed matters ſo privately, that Henry, not having the leaſt ſuſpicion of his deſign, neglected to reinforce the garriſon. During the French court's ſtay at Roan, the earl of Dorſet, governor of Harfleur, made an incurſion even to the gates of that city, and carried away a great booty. In his return, he was purſued and overtaken by the conſtable, who gained ſome advantage over him. On the morrow, the conſtable ſtill preſſing the Engliſh, who were haſtily retreating, forced them to halt, and ſtand upon their defence. In this ſecond ſkirmiſh, the earl of Dorſet, though inferior in number of troops [d], had his revenge, and compelled his enemy to retire with precipitation to Roan.

The conſtable beſieges Harfleur. T. Livius. Act. Pub. IX. p. 350.

This ill ſucceſs prevented not the conſtable from continuing his preparations for the ſiege of Harfleur. Immediately after the arrival of the Genoeſe ſhips, he ordered his troops, whom he had purpoſely diſperſed, to rejoin at a certain place, where he came and headed them in perſon [e]. Then he marched directly to Harfleur, where he was not expected, ſo unable were the French thought by the Engliſh to make any attempt. Whilſt the conſtable beſieged the town by land, the viſcount of Narbonne blocked it up by ſea, ſo that nothing could go in or out. Henry was extremely mortified to be thus overreached by the conſtable. He was ſenſible then, that the negotiation was intended only to amuſe him, and therefore was the more provoked to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to break his enemies meaſures. He had a mind, in his turn, to uſe ſtratagem, and circumvent the conſtable. To that end, he feigned a ſtrong inclination to peace, and deſired an interview

Henry tries in vain to amuſe France. Act. Pub. IX. p. 365, 366.

[d] There were but fifteen hundred Engliſh, to fifteen thouſand of the French. Walſing. p. 394.

[e] Some of the French ſhips came and blocked up the Engliſh fleet at Portſmouth and Southampton, and made an attempt on the iſle of Wight, but were repulſed. Goodwin, p. 106, 107.

with

with his couſin, for ſo he then called the king of France, whereas before he ſtyled him his adverſary. He was in hopes, that if an interview was granted, a truce would enſue, which would give him time to relieve Harfleur, but his propoſal was rejected. After that, he commiſſioned Morgan directly to demand a truce. But the court of France took care not to give him ſuch an advantage in the preſent juncture. In fine, perceiving the conſtable was not to be amuſed, he commanded a fleet [f] to be equipped, reſolving to go himſelf and relieve the place. He depended upon the valour and experience of the earl of Dorſet, the governor, knowing he would do his utmoſt to give him time to prepare for his relief. In this he was not miſtaken, for though the ſiege was begun about the middle of June, it was not much advanced at the end of July. So, Henry having had leiſure to prepare his fleet, was ready to embark. But the emperor diſſuaded him from venturing his perſon in an expedition of that nature, wherein notwithſtanding all his prudence, he might receive ſome diſgrace, by the accidents of the ſea. The king yielding to the emperor's inſtances, gave the command to the duke of Bedford, his brother, who ſailed about the end of July. It ſoon met with the enemy's fleet lying before Harfleur. The viſcount de Narbonne preparing for his defence, withſtood for ſome time the efforts of the Engliſh, but at length was forced to yield the victory, after ſeeing five Genoeſe carracks taken, and ſeveral of his own ſhips ſunk. Nothing more preventing the duke of Bedford from throwing the ſuccours into the town, the conſtable raiſed the ſiege and retired.

1416.

He reſolves to go and relieve Harfleur. T. Livius. Elmham. Act. Pub. IX. p. 362, 370.

He is diſſuaded from it by the emperor. Sends the duke of Bedford; Ib. p. 355, 371. who beats the French fleet. Monſtrelet. L. Livius. Walſing.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed, the duke of Burgundy continued, under divers pretences, his ſecret negotiations with Henry. One while, it was to renew the truce between England and Flanders, another while, for affairs concerning the church, depending before the council of Conſtance. In May, the truce I juſt mentioned, which was to expire the 15th of June, was renewed for a year, and yet the duke of Burgundy ſent four ambaſſadors more to England. In the beginning of Auguſt, the king appointed commiſſioners to treat with them concerning ſome eccleſiaſtical affairs. This publick commiſſion ſerved for pretence to the private conferences. But by another of the ſame date, the commiſ-

Negotiation between the king and duke of Burgundy continues. Act. Pub. IX. p. 332, 352, 354, 357, 364, 374.

Aug. 5.

[f] Of four hundred ſail, having on board the earl marſhal, the earls of Oxford, Huntingdon, Warwick, Arundel, Saliſbury, and Devonſhire, with twenty thouſand men. Harding. Goodwin.

ſioners

1416. ſioners were impowered to agree with the ambaſſadors upon an interview between the king and the duke of Burgundy. The negotiation muſt have been now very forward, ſince, two days after, the king diſpatched orders to ſeveral officers, to be ready to attend him beyond ſea, where he was to have an interview with ſome of his enemies. This plainly ſhews the duke's frequent embaſſies were not wholly deſigned for treating about commerce or church affairs. That prince had now long demurred upon concluding his treaty with Henry. As he was of the blood royal of France, and firſt peer of the realm, he was ſenſible, an alliance of that nature was directly contrary to his honour and duty. Beſides, ſuch a ſtep could not but be prejudicial to him in France, among his own party. For theſe reaſons, he had hitherto been ſatisfied with keeping the negotiation on foot, in order to conclude it, only in caſe of neceſſity. The earl of Armagnac's revenge at length threw the duke upon this action, which, doubtleſs, he would have longer delayed, or, it may be, never done, had he not been as it were forced to it by the perſecutions of his enemies.

Aug. 7. p. 375.

They agree upon an interview at Calais.

The dauphin and duke of Burgundy concert meaſures.

I have already ſaid, that the conſtable d'Armagnac had, under divers pretences, prevented John the dauphin, then in Hainault, from returning to court. The young prince, impatient of being thus controlled by that proud miniſter, longed to be at the head of affairs, and to obſerve a neutrality between the two factions, which would gain him the eſteem and regard of both parties. But this was not poſſible, ſince he had no forces at his diſpoſal, but the earl of Hainault's his father-in-law, which were not ſufficient to enable him to execute ſuch a project againſt the conſtable's will. Mean time, the duke of Burgundy, perceiving there was no likelihood of his acquiring the government, ſo long as the conſtable had the king's perſon in his power, thought it adviſable to ſtrengthen himſelf with the new dauphin's aſſiſtance. For that purpoſe, he had conferred, in the beginning of the year, at Valenciennes, with him and the earl of Hainault; and it was agreed, that the dauphin ſhould once more try by fair means to be admitted to court, in order to take the place due to his birth: that in caſe he ſucceeded, he ſhould carry the duke with him: but if he could not prevail, they ſhould take other meaſures to diſpoſſeſs the conſtable, and free the king. Purſuant to this reſolution, the dauphin and the earl of Hainault repaired to Compiegne, from whence the earl proceeded alone to Paris to mediate the return of his ſon-in-law. Upon the firſt mention of recalling

calling the duke of Burgundy, the conſtable interrupting him ſaid plainly, the dauphin ſhould never be admitted to the king his father's court, unleſs he openly declared himſelf an enemy of the Burgundian faction. The earl of Hainault ſeeing this obſtinacy, could not forbear uttering ſome threats, which diſcovered to the conſtable and his party, that the dauphin intended to rely on the aſſiſtance of the duke. This was the reaſon, that in order to prevent the miſchief that union might do them, they reſolved to diſpatch him out of the way. A few days after, the dauphin was poiſoned at Compiegne the 16th of April 1416, and not in 1417, as we find it in the abridgement of Mezerai. The king of Sicily was ſuſpected of the deed, to make way for prince Charles his ſon-in-law. If he was guilty, his death, which happened preſently after, hindered him from reaping any advantage. 1416.

The dauphin is poiſoned.

By the death of John the dauphin, Charles his brother, earl of Ponthieu, became dauphin, and heir apparent to the crown. The young prince immediately eſpouſed the party of the Armagnacs, for ſo the Orleans faction was now called. By that means, the duke of Burgundy was more out of hopes than ever, and the earl of Armagnac maintained himſelf in the government, where nothing was done without his orders. His hatred to the duke of Burgundy cauſed him to loſe no opportunity of perſecuting the Burgundians, who were very numerous at Paris. His ſevere and tyrannical behaviour, joined to an extreme greedineſs, induced at length the Pariſians of the Burgundian party to lay a plot for the admiſſion of their head into the city. The conſpiracy being diſcovered, the conſtable exerciſed his rage in ſuch a manner upon the whole party, that the duke of Burgundy did not think himſelf any longer obliged to keep any meaſures with the court. To let the world ſee his reſentment, he concluded with the king of England, a truce for all their reſpective dominions, not excepting his poſſeſſions in France. But his revenge did not ſtop there. His ambaſſadors, as I ſaid before, agreed that the king and he ſhould meet at Calais, and the duke acknowledge Henry for the true king of France, and do him liege homage. The interview was fixed to the beginning of October.

Charles his brother ſucceeds him.

The Burgundians perſecuted.

The duke of Burgundy does homage to Henry. Act. Pub. IX. p. 383.

Mean while, the emperor Sigiſmund, having no farther buſineſs in England, departed about the middle of Auguſt. In his way to Canterbury, he ſigned a treaty of perpetual alliance with Henry, and, at the ſame time, a league againſt France. He promiſed to aſſiſt the king in the recovery of

Treaty between Sigiſmund and Henry. Ib. p. 377. Walſing.

1416. the kingdom of France, and Henry engaged to aid him in conſtraining king Charles, and ſome other princes, to do him homage for certain territories not ſpecified in the treaty. Probably, this concerned the kingdom of Arles and the Dauphiné, to which the emperors had ſome ſtale pretenſions. By the way, this treaty diſcovers one of the motives of Sigiſmund's journey to France and England. Very likely, by procuring a peace between the two kings, he hoped to obtain for himſelf ſome one of thoſe countries, to which he laid claim. Be that as it will, it may be conjectured, that he expected ſome private advantage from the peace. Great princes are ſeldom ſeen to ſpend whole years out of their dominions, with the ſole view to mediate a peace, in which they are not concerned. Sigiſmund was, of all others, the fartheſt from this character. I do not know, whether before his journey to England he had contracted a friendſhip with Henry, but after his departure, it appears by ſeveral records, that there was between them a ſtrict correſpondence and mutual confidence, very uncommon among princes [g].

T. Livius. Elmham.

Henry goes to Calais. France ſends the archbiſhop of Rheims. Act. Pub. t. IX. p. 342, 384, 386. Elmham. Walſing. T. Livius.

The emperor being arrived at Calais, ſtaid there for Henry, who could not come till September. Mean while, the court of France, alarmed at the report of the duke of Burgundy's interview with Henry at Calais, and wanting to know what ſhould paſs at the conference, ſent thither the archbiſhop of Rheims, with ſome other ambaſſadors. The pretence was, to treat of a peace with the king, but in all appearance, the chief aim of the embaſſy was to diſcover what ſhould paſs at the interview. Henry was not ſorry the ambaſſadors of France would be witneſſes of the duke of Burgundy's arrival at Calais, and therefore readily diſpatched their ſafe-conducts, and preſently after their coming [h], appointed commiſſioners to treat with them. But he took ſuch precautions, that the French could never diſcover the real motive of his journey to Calais, at leaſt with any certainty. It did not appear, he had any other deſign than to confirm the late truce between the king and the duke, which was already publiſhed at London. It is true, that afterwards the duke's proceedings made him ſuſpected of being in friendſhip

[g] He was, whilſt in England, ſolemnly inſtalled knight of the garter, together with the earl of Holland, and Zealand. The ſaid emperor eſteemed his being knight of the garter ſo great an honour, that he always wore the collar, when he ſat in any aſſembly. Walſing. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 335.

[h] On October 1. The king's commiſſioners were, Henry Chichely, archbiſhop of Canterbury, Henry Ware, keeper of the privy ſeal, ſir Ralph Rochfort, and Philip Morgan. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 387, 389.

with

with the Engliſh, but that was only a bare ſuſpicion. The French hiſtorians ſpeak of it very doubtfully; and there was properly nothing certain, till the publick records printed in England diſcovered the ſecret. The following account is there to be found. 1416.

The 1ſt of October, the king diſpatched a ſafe-conduct for the duke of Burgundy and eight hundred attendants, and ſent him the duke of Glouceſter, his brother, in hoſtage. Next day, he appointed commiſſioners to receive, in his name, the oaths of John duke of Burgundy, and of Philip earl of Charolois his ſon, purſuant to the articles agreed upon, which were in form of preliminaries. The articles ran, word for word, thus: The duke of Burgundy comes to Calais. Act. Pub. IX. p. 390. T. Livius. Elmham.

" The king having acquainted the duke of Burgundy with " his juſt claim to the crown of France, and his adverſary's " refuſal to give him ſatisfaction, told him, that by the " help of God and St. George, he was reſolved to obtain it " by force of arms. Upon this declaration, the duke per- " ceiving the juſtice of the king's title, and conſidering the " great victories heaven had bleſſed him with, promiſes to " ſend him his letters patent, containing what follows: Articles of agreement, between the king and duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub. IX. p. 394.

" That though, heretofore, for want of information, he " had eſpouſed the contrary party, believing it juſt; now " that he is better informed, he promiſes firmly to adhere to " the king of England, and his heirs and ſucceſſors, as to " thoſe who are, and ever will be the true and lawful kings " of France, as much as if they were in actual poſſeſſion of " the crown.

" Though for the preſent the king has not deſired the " duke's homage, yet, as the duke owns it to be due, he " promiſes, that as ſoon as the king of England ſhall be " poſſeſſed of a conſiderable part of the realm of France, to " pay him liege-homage, and ſwear fealty to him, as every " vaſſal of the crown of France ought to do to the king of " France his ſovereign.

" Item, The duke of Burgundy promiſes to endeavour, " by all known and unknown ways, to place the king of " England on the throne of France.

" Item, Whilſt the king ſhall be employed in purſuing " his rights, the duke of Burgundy will make war with all " his forces upon the king's enemies in France, namely, " A. B. C. D. and upon all their dominions and adherents, " refuſing obedience to the king of England.

1416. "Item, In all the alliances and letters patent made or to "be made, between the king and the duke, wherein the duke "ſhould except, or have excepted the king's adverſary, or "the ſon of his adverſary, it is not his intention to do any "thing contrary to what he promiſes by theſe preſents, "which he is to give the king, but will punctually per-"form it.

"That if, through diſſimulation, the duke excepted the "king's adverſary, or the dauphin his ſon, for a greater "good, and for the better accompliſhing the intended pro-"ject, his will and meaning is, that all ſuch exceptions are "void, and of no effect.

"And that all may know, this proceeds from his own "free conſent, he will promiſe and ſwear by his faith and "honour, to obſerve it without fraud or deceit. He will "write all the articles with his own hand, ſign them, and "ſet his uſual ſeal to them."

Ib. p. 395. All theſe articles were drawn up in form of letters patent, written and ſubſcribed by the duke of Burgundy's own hand, and ſealed with his privy ſeal.

Mezerai, in his abridgement of the hiſtory of France, ſays, "That the deſire of rule ſo tranſported the duke of "Burgundy, that he went and conferred with the king of "England at Calais, and renewed the truces for his domi-"nions only, whereby he tied himſelf in ſome meaſure from "aſſiſting the king of France." What would that hiſto-rian have ſaid, had he known all? It is further to be re-marked, that the earl of Charolois, afterwards duke of Burgundy, entered into the ſame engagemants as the duke his father. After this, there is no queſtioning the ill deſigns of theſe two princes againſt France their *native* country. They choſe rather to ſee it under a foreign dominion, than governed by their enemies.

Truce with France, p. 397, &c. Cotton's Abridg. Walſing. Act. Pub. IX. p. 405, 416.

Before Henry left Calais, he concluded a truce with France, till the 2d of February; and then he returned into England about the middle of October, *in order to hold* a parliament, called for the 19th of the ſame month. During the ſeſſion, the parliament granted a ſubſidy [1] for carrying on the war. But that aid was ſo little proportioned to his wants and projects, that he was forced to pawn his crown to

[1] The commons granted him two whole tenths, and two fifteenths, to be levied on the laity; and the clergy gave two tenths to be raiſed from their own body. Cotton's Abridg. p. 550. Walſ. p 395.

the

the biſhop of Wincheſter his uncle, for a hundred thouſand marks, and part of his jewels to the city of London, for ten thouſand pounds ſterling. This is a clear evidence, how many difficulties he would have found in the conqueſt of France with his own forces, if the inteſtine troubles of that kingdom had not paved the way for him. Mean while, notwithſtanding his preſent neceſſities, he aſſigned the earl of Dorſet, who defended Harfleur, a penſion of a thouſand pounds, upon creating him duke of Exeter [k]. 1416.

Henry having bound the duke of Burgundy by their late private treaty, thought it time to renew the war. He knew not only that one half of France would not oppoſe him, but moreover that the Burgundian party would make a diverſion in his favour, which could not but procure him great advantages. In this reſolution, he made all the neceſſary preparations to accompliſh his enterpriſe. Mean while, as the ſupply granted him by parliament was not ſufficient for his purpoſe, and as the money came ſlowly into the exchequer, he was quickly in great want. To remedy this inconvenience, he made uſe of the following means. After he had ſettled the pay of each ſoldier, horſe and foot, and of each officer according to his rank and character, he made private contracts with ſeveral lords and gentlemen, whereby they were obliged to find him a certain number of horſemen or footmen, for ſuch a yearly ſum to be paid quarterly. The firſt quarteridge was advanced, but when the ſecond came to be paid, the king had no money. To ſupply the preſent occaſion, he pawned to them the reſt of the jewels, with letters under the great ſeal, empowering them to ſell them, if the money was not paid within ſuch a time. The term allowed was twelve or eighteen months, according as the creditors were more or leſs tractable. By this means he gained time for the payment of his troops, which was a great conveniency, as he could reimburſe his creditors according as the money came into the treaſury, without being obliged to pay all at once. People were ſo well ſatisfied of his ſincerity, that they made no ſcruple to ſerve him, or lend him money, upon ſuch ſecurities as would have been little worth under a prince of leſs probity.

Henry reſolves to renew the war.

His way of raiſing the army. Des Urſins. Act. Pub. IX. p. 433, 459, 460, 461.

The preparations in England very juſtly alarmed the court of France, who were little able to make the like. The duke of Burgundy's late truce, publickly made with Henry,

The ſtate of the court of France.

[k] For life only. Thomas Beaufort, earl of Dorſet, was created duke of Exeter in this parliament. Cotton's Abridg. p. 550.

1416 was a demonſtration there was no aſſiſtance to be expected, either from the duke or his adherents. Nay, the court was apprehenſive, the duke had gone farther at the conference he had with the enemy of the kingdom: at leaſt, he was very much ſuſpected of having ill deſigns. So, the conſtable who ſat at the helm was not a little embarraſſed. He enjoyed a great authority; but it was not without uneaſineſs. Beſides, ſince the death of John the dauphin, he was forced to keep meaſures with the new dauphin, leaſt the young prince ſhould think of governing without his aſſiſtance. To all theſe difficulties was added the war, the Engliſh were preparing to carry into France. As the kingdom was in an ill ſituation, and the enemy like to make a great progreſs, he conſidered, he ſhould be anſwerable for all the ill ſucceſſes. In this ſtate of perplexity, he thought he ſhould try to put a ſtop to the king of England's arms by an extraordinary negotiation, which ſhould give that prince room to believe, the court of France would be forced to make peace, though never ſo unwilling. He was aware, that if he ſhould himſelf treat of a peace, it would be loſt labour, becauſe it was generally believed to be for his intereſt, that affairs ſhould remain embroiled, in order to preſerve his authority. It was therefore unlikely, that the king of England ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be amuſed by any propoſal from him. For this reaſon, he thought proper to make uſe of the priſoners in England, and particularly of the duke of Bourbon. There are in the collection of the publick acts ſeveral ſafe-conducts dated about this time, for the duke of Bourbon's domeſticks going to, and coming from France, under divers pretences. It may therefore be preſumed, that the ſcheme was then formed, and that the duke of Bourbon did nothing in the affair of which I am going to relate the particulars, but in concert with the court of France.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 423, 425.

Ib. p. 427. The project was ſo artfully framed, that if the king had not been in a continual miſtruſt, he would doubtleſs have been deceived. But his firm reſolution, not to interrupt the execution of his deſigns for any offers that ſhould be ſhort of his demands, cauſed him to eſcape the ſnare. The dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, the earls of Eu and Vendôme, and ſome other priſoners, feigning to deſpair of the affairs of France, intimated to Henry, that they were willing to treat with him for themſelves in particular. This was told him not poſitively, but as what they might poſſibly be brought to. But the king fearing that under that pretence, they deſigned to

to retard his voyage, gave no great attention to the overture. 1416.

Some time after, theſe ſame princes, who had hitherto endeavoured to cauſe the propoſal to come from the king, finding they could not ſucceed, demanded an audience; and expreſſing their deſire to treat, prayed him to ſay what were his pretenſions, adding, they did not queſtion but they ſhould return him a ſatisfactory anſwer, without any prejudice to their honour. The king, who would not be amuſed, roundly told them, he had no other propoſal to make, except only that they ſhould acknowledge him for king of France, and their lawful ſovereign. The duke of Orleans exclaimed againſt the propoſal, and plainly told him, they had no anſwer to return to ſuch a demand. Matters went no farther for that time. Negotiation between Henry and the French priſoners, Act. Pub. IX. p. 427, &c.

But a few weeks after, the duke of Bourbon reſumed the affair. He told the king, that ſince they had talked with him, ſeveral of the priſoners had ſent to France, to make inquiry concerning his pretenſions on that kingdom, and had received better information than they had before. He added, for his part, he was fully convinced of the juſtice of his rights. Then he ſaid, he was told, that, notwithſtanding his juſt claim to the whole kingdom, he had offered to reſign it, if certain provinces were delivered to him; and, in his opinion, that offer ought not to be refuſed: that the other priſoners were of his mind, and had reſolved to do all that lay in their power to procure him what he deſired. That therefore, he begged leave to go into France, and declare to king Charles in the name of all the priſoners, that as faithful ſubjects they could not but adviſe him to accept ſo reaſonable an offer. In ſhort, the duke added, that if the court of France conſented to the propoſal, Henry might this very year take poſſeſſion of the provinces, which ſhould be reſigned. But if, on the contrary, it was rejected, the princes would account themſelves free from the oath they had taken to their king. The duke engaged, for his own part, to put all his forfeited towns in the hands of ſuch perſons, as would be ſure to deliver them up when he pleaſed. He promiſed to return into England, by the time which ſhould be appointed him, and own Henry for king of France, and pay him homage as his lawful ſovereign. Moreover, he added, that he would ſo evidently demonſtrate the juſtice of Henry's right to the crown of France, that all the world ſhould be ſatisfied, he could not diſpenſe with doing him homage, without acting contrary to his honour. In fine, he entreated the king to particularly the duke of Bourbon. Ibid. P. 429. Particular engagement of the duke of Bourbon. Ib. p. 429.

1416. be ſilent till his return, by reaſon of the danger he ſhould be expoſed to, if the ſecret was divulged, during his ſtay in France.

Henry could not tell what to think of ſuch a propoſal. He knew France was not governed either by the duke of Orleans, or the duke of Bourbon; and that it was not the earl of Armagnac's intereſt to make a peace upon theſe terms. But, at the ſame time, the hopes of recovering the provinces of France, loſt ſince the treaty of Bretigny, without being obliged to renew the war, were very agreeable. On the other hand, the alternative propoſed by the duke, could not but be advantageous to him. All he had to do, was to be upon his guard, and not be perſuaded, on this pretence, to interrupt the execution of his projects. Wherefore, reſolving not to ſuſpend his expedition one ſingle day, upon any account whatſoever, he believed there was no danger in granting the duke of Bourbon, the leave he deſired. But firſt he had one of the duke's ſons given him in hoſtage, with ſecurity for the ſum of two hundred thouſand crowns. Theſe particulars are in the collection of the publick acts. We find there a letter, under the king's own hand, to ſir John Tiptoft, his ambaſſador to the emperor, ordering him to acquaint Sigiſmund with the ſecret, aſk his opinion upon it, and aſſure him that the negotiation ſhall not retard his expedition into France. At the ſame time, he enjoins him not to make the leaſt diſcovery to any other perſon, on pain of his diſpleaſure. Probably, his firm reſolution not to be amuſed by any propoſal, was the reaſon, this ſtratagem was carried no farther. The duke of Bourbon returned into England, but performed not his other engagements. It was, doubtleſs, Henry's indignation againſt the priſoners for endeavouring to deceive him, that cauſed him to order them to be confined in Pontefract caſtle; whereas before, they were upon their parole. Though there are no poſitive proofs, that this project was contrived by the conſtable, it is viſible however, by ſeveral conjectures, which all together amount to a ſort of demonſtration. It would be too long to give the particulars here. But if the French priſoners are ſuppoſed to have acted ſincerely, without the direction of the conſtable, it muſt be inferred, that France was then in a very deplorable ſtate. King Charles, frequently ſeized with a frenzy, was incapable of taking care of his affairs. The duke of Burgundy, firſt peer of the realm, and head of a powerful party, had made a ſecret alliance with the enemy of the ſtate. The princes of the blood were about to acknowledge Henry for king of France. In fine,

He has leave to go to France. Ib. p. 429.

Tom. IX. P. 427, 430.

The project comes to nothing.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 466.

1417.

Wretched condition of France. Monſtrel. P. Daniel.

fine, the kingdom was governed by a young prince of fourteen years, and the earl of Armagnac, a violent man, who ſought only to be revenged of his enemies, and openly ſacrificed the publick good to his ambition. 1417. Act. Pub. IX. p. 451, 454, 469.

Though the conſtable had already been the cauſe of much miſchief to France, by perſecuting the duke of Burgundy, and forcing him, as it were, to throw himſelf into the arms of the king of England, he did not think that ſufficient to ſecure his quiet. Iſabella of Bavaria, wife of Charles VI. appeared ſo diſpleaſed to be ruled by a ſubject, that he could not help fearing, ſhe would in the end find means to deprive him of his authority. This was not impoſſible. The king being of an eaſy temper, it would not have been difficult to gain him, in one of his intervals. Neither was it impracticable, to perſuade the dauphin to rid himſelf of a troubleſome governor, in order to rule as he pleaſed, without fear of being controuled. Thus the conſtable's deſtiny hanging by ſo weak a thread, whilſt he had ſuch an enemy at court, he believed, that, to ſecure himſelf, it was abſolutely neceſſary to remove her. The queen gave him an opportunity by her behaviour, which was not altogether conformable to the rules of decency. The conſtable taking this advantage, inſpired the king and the dauphin, with ſuch ſtrong ſuſpicions of her, that ſhe was ſent away to Tours, where ſhe remained as a priſoner, not knowing on whom to rely, to free herſelf out of captivity. This fatal policy of the conſtable was a freſh ſource of calamities to France. The offended mother could never forgive her ſon the affront ſhe had received, and, unfortunately for the kingdom, it was but too much in her power to glut her revenge.

The conſtable causes the queen to be ſent away to Tours.

The queen hates the dauphin mortally.

The conſtable's violent conduct, the death of the two dauphins laid to his charge, the queen's baniſhment, with numberleſs other occaſions, furniſhed the duke of Burgundy with a pretence to make a diverſion, in favour of the king of England. He publiſhed a manifeſto againſt the conſtable, aggravating his faults and oppreſſions, with all the reſentment of an injured enemy. Then he wrote to the king, that, as firſt peer of France, it was incumbent upon him, to endeavour to ſave the kingdom, which was infallibly going to deſtruction, unleſs timely relieved. By the ſame reaſons, he tried to ſtir up the cities of the kingdom, and win them to his intereſt. In fine, perceiving that ſome of the towns had already declared for him, he approached Paris, at the head of an army, when the king of England was ready to ſail for France. His aim was, to lay the dauphin and the conſtable

The duke of Burgundy takes up arms.

He approaches Paris.

1417. ſtable under a neceſſity, either of quitting Paris, in order to oppoſe the king of England, or of ſuffering the Engliſh to act without oppoſition, if they intended to ſave Paris. They thought fit to ſtay in that city, chooſing rather, that part of the kingdom ſhould fall into the hands of the Engliſh, than to ſee themſelves diſpoſſeſſed of the government, by their private enemies.

Henry lands at Tonque. T. Livius. Elmham.

Henry, willing to improve ſo favourable a juncture, ſailed about the end of July [l], and landed at Tonque in Normandy. His army conſiſted but of twenty five thouſand five hundred effective men, too inconſiderable a number for the conqueſt of France, had he not been aſſured of meeting little oppoſition.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 479, —490. Walſing. Des Urſins. T. Livius.

Upon his arrival, he beſieged the caſtle of Tonque, and became maſter of it the 9th of Auguſt. Then, after the conqueſt of ſome other ſmall places [m], he laid ſiege to Caen, which ſurrendered the 9th of September.

Perplexity of the court of France.

The court of France was then in great perplexity. The duke of Burgundy, at the gates of Paris, hindered their regulating the affairs of the kingdom. They ſhould have had two armies in the field, one to oppoſe the Burgundians, and another to defend Normandy againſt the Engliſh. But they had ſcarce troops enough to defend Paris, where the king, dauphin, and conſtable, were ſhut up. Their only refuge was to renew the negotiations with Henry. To that end they demanded a conference between ambaſſadors of the two crowns, to conſult about means to conclude a peace. Henry agreed to the propoſal, but without diſcontinuing the war, being unwilling to loſe ſo precious an opportunity. The court of France chooſing the archbiſhop of Rheims for firſt plenipotentiary, he appointed on his part the earl of Warwick, and ſome others [n], who were to meet the French, at Bernonville, in Normandy. The congreſs, for what reaſon I know not, was deferred to the end of November.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 494. Henry conſents to a conference. p. 496.

He continues his conqueſts.

[l] He ſailed from Portſmouth, July 27, or 28, and landed at Beville, in Normandy, Auguſt 1. Goodwin, p. 155. During his journey to Southampton, which was appointed to be the rendezvous, he iſſued out a proclamation, that no perſon ſhould be ſuffered to wear coats of arms, who had not a right to them. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 457.—Before he embarked, he ſent John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, to ſcour the ſeas: who meeting with nine Genoeſe ſhips in the French ſervice, ſunk three of them, and took three, in one of which there was as much money as was to have paid the French fleet for half a year. Holliſhead, vol. III. p. 358.

[m] Particularly Dauvilliers, which king Henry gave, on September 26, to Thomas de Montacute, earl of Saliſbury, with other caſtles and lands. Rymer's Fœd. t. IX. p. 495.

[n] Edward Courtenay, ſir Walter Hungerford, Thomas Chaucer, John Waterton, and John Kempe. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 497.

Mean

Mean while, Henry became maſter of Bayeaux, Argentan, Chateau de l'Aigle, Alenſon, and ſome other places. 1417.

Whilſt the king was continuing his conqueſts, the duke of Burgundy did him great ſervice, not only by the diverſion he made about Paris, but chiefly by increaſing the troubles in France, ſo as never more to be appeaſed. Queen Iſabella, baniſhed to Tours, had been hitherto an enemy to the duke of Burgundy, but the deſire of being revenged on the dauphin and conſtable, made her overlook all the cauſes of diſguſt at the duke. She diſpatched truſty meſſengers to tell him, ſhe was ready to join with him againſt their common enemies. The duke immediately accepted the offer, and privately concerted meaſures with her, to free her from confinement. Then, he ſuddenly departed from Corbeil, where he was encamped, with only a ſmall body of choſen horſemen. He made ſuch ſpeed, that before his deſign could be known, he was at the abbey of Marmoutier, near Tours, where he found the queen, who was come thither under colour of devotion. As he was not ſuſpected of attempting to eſcape, he eaſily carried her away, and conducted her to Troye in Champagne. When ſhe ſaw herſelf in ſafety, ſhe aſſumed the title of regent, pretending, the king her huſband was captive in the hands of the dauphin and earl of Armagnac.

P. 501, 502. T. Livius. Elmham.

Iſabella joins with the duke of Burgundy,

who carries her off to Troye.

She ſtyles herſelf regent.

In the mean time, Henry made ſeveral conqueſts in Normandy, without any oppoſition. The conſtable choſe rather to ſee the ſtate periſh, than to reſign his authority, and the duke of Burgundy favoured Henry to the utmoſt of his power.

Henry takes ſeveral places.

The conference between the plenipotentiaries of the two crowns, was held at Bernonville, on the 28th of November. As Henry ſuſpected the court of France ſought only to make him loſe time, he reſolved to deprive them of that hope. Immediately, upon the opening of the conference, his ambaſſadors ſet forth his pretenſions, aſſuring withal, there would be no abatement. The ſubſtance of his offers was, that he would marry the princeſs Catherine: that king Charles ſhould enjoy the crown for his life, but after his death, it ſhould come to the king of England: that during Charles's life, Henry ſhould be regent of France, by reaſon of the king's infirmity. Moreover he demanded ſuch ſecurities, as ſhould render the performance of the articles unqueſtionable. But as the French ambaſſadors were not ſufficiently impowered to treat upon theſe articles, and it was not Henry's intereſt vainly to prolong the negotiation, the congreſs

Congreſs of Bernonville. Act. Pub. IX. p. 517.

Henry's demands.

The conference breaks up.

1417. greſs immediately broke up. He juſtly ſeared the court of France would have made uſe of this occaſion, to raiſe a jealouſy in his allies, and particularly in the duke of Burgundy. Mean while Henry, intent upon the ſiege of Falaiſe, took the town on the 20th of December, but the caſtle held out till February.

Walſing. Falaiſe taken. Act. Pub. IX. p. 532, 541.

Some time before the congreſs of Bernonville, the duke of Bretagne, came and made a truce with Henry for a year [o], and another in the name of the queen of Sicily, as guardian of Lewis her ſon, for Anjou and Maine. Thus by degrees, Henry greatly weakened France, by depriving her of the aſſiſtance ſhe might have received from her vaſſals.

Truce with Bretagne, &c. Ib. p. 446, 503, 506, 511, 512, 613. T. Livius. Elmham. Bale. Fox. Cotton's Abridg. Walſing.

Whilſt the king was employed in France, Oldcaſtle, of whom I have ſpoken elſewhere, was ſeized [p] and brought to London, to the great ſatisfaction of the clergy, who were extremely incenſed againſt him. They were determined to ſacrifice him, for a terror to all the reſt of the Lollards. Notwithſtanding his birth and merit, he was ſentenced to be hung up by the middle with a chain, and burnt alive. By the way, his being burnt is a clear evidence, that he was condemned for hereſy, rather than for conſpiring againſt the king. Be that as it will, his ſentence was executed amidſt the curſes and imprecations of the prieſts and monks, who even laboured to prevent the people from praying for him. Thus died ſir John Oldcaſtle, baron of Cobham, with a wonderful conſtancy, perfectly anſwerable to the firmneſs, wherewith he had all along maintained the doctrine of Wickliff, which he profeſſed. He was the firſt nobleman, that ſuffered on the account of religion [q]. After the execution, the parliament enacted freſh ſtatutes, in order to the utter extirpation of the Lollards, the clergy never ceaſing to require their blood, with all the eagerneſs imaginable.

Oldcaſtle burnt alive.

In ſome hiſtories, it is ſaid, this year, queen Joanna of Navarre, widow of Henry IV. and mother-in-law of the reigning king, was accuſed of conſpiring, with her confeſſor, againſt the king. Some add, ſhe was condemned to a ten years impriſonment, and that her confeſſor was killed by the chaplain of the Tower, in a diſpute upon that occaſion.

The queen dowager is accuſed of conſpiracies againſt the king. Walſing. Speed. Stow.

[o] From November 16, till that time twelvemonth. Rymer's Fœd. t. IX. p. 511.

[p] In Powis Land, in North Wales, by John Grey, lord Powis.

[q] And as this was the firſt noble blood that was ſhed in England by popiſh cruelty, ſo perhaps never any ſuffered a more cruel martyrdom.

This

This is all that can be ſaid concerning that accuſation, of which hiſtorians ſpeak very confuſedly. 1417.

As for the Scotch invaſion, placed by ſome in this year, and, as they ſay, repulſed by the duke of Bedford, with a hundred thouſand men, I dare venture to affirm, it is all a miſtake [r], ſince it is not mentioned, either in the publick records, or in the hiſtories of Scotland. All we find, with relation to the Scots, is, that they threatened to invade England in the year 1415, about the time of the king's firſt expedition into France [s]. Cotton's Abridg. p. 557. Pretended invaſion of the Scots refuted. Speed. Walſing. T. Livius. Elmham.

The ſituation of affairs in France was extremely advantageous to Henry. Accordingly, he did not fail to improve it. The campaign, begun in Auguſt, laſted all the winter, without any interruption, ſo that his troops had no time to reſt. The caſtle of Falaiſe, ſurrendering on the 16th of February, Henry divided his army into ſeveral bodies, of which he gave the command to the dukes of Clarence and Glouceſter, his brothers, to the duke of Exeter, and the earl of Saliſbury, with orders to attack ſeveral places at once, being reſolved not to loſe ſo favourable an opportunity. In the months of March and April, he became maſter of St. Lo, Carentan, St. Sauveur le Vicomte, and many other places in Normandy, ſo that of all the ſtrong towns, he only wanted Cherbourg and Roan, to complete the conqueſt of that province. Evreux ſurrendered in May, and preſently after, he laid ſiege to Cherbourg, which coſt him three months. 1418. Henry takes ſeveral places in Normandy. Act. Pub. IX. p. 541, —618. Walſing. Elmham. T. Livius. Cherbourg holds out three months.

During the ſiege, the court of France ſuffered a new revolution, which was not favourable to Henry, though at firſt it ſeemed to procure him great advantages. The council of Conſtance, which had been opened ever ſince the year 1414, Martin V. tries to unite the two factions in France.

[r] And yet, that it is far from being improbable, appears by one of king Henry's letters, wherein he ſays—"I "am ſecretly informed, by a man of "right notable eſtate in this lond, that "there hath been a man of the duke "of Orleance in Scotland, and accorded with the duke of Albany, "that this next ſummer he ſhall bring "in the mamuet of Scotland to ſtir up "what he may, and alſo that there "ſhould be founden wayes to the having away ſpecially of the duke of "Orleance; and alſo of the kg. as "well as of the remanant of my forefaid priſoners." Whereupon he orders that duke, then a priſoner in Pontefract caſtle, to be more cloſely confined. Sylloge Epiſt. at the end of T. Livius. Forojul. p. 99; and in Speed, p. 637. See alſo Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 568. Walſ. p. 399.

[s] This year, on November 16, a parliament met at Weſtminſter, which granted the king one tenth, and a fifteenth. Rot. Parl. 5 Hen. V. n. 1, 9. Cotton's Abridg. p. 553. Walſ. p. 399. The clergy granted two tenths. Duck.—Alſo this year, on April 14, king Henry ordained Holbourne to be paved, it not being ſo before. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 447.

having

1418. having depoſed the three popes [t], who contended for the papacy, had elected, on the 10th of November, 1417, Cardinal Colonna, who aſſumed the name of Martin V. The new pope, upon his mounting the papal throne, ſent two legates into France, to try to appeaſe the troubles, and unite the two factions. The ſolicitations of the legates were ſo powerful, that the two parties ſent their deputies to Monte-reau-Faut-Yonne, where it was agreed that the dauphin and duke of Burgundy, ſhould jointly govern the kingdom, during the king's infirmity. If the agreement had taken place, and the two parties been ſincerely reconciled, probably, Henry's affairs would have received a notable prejudice. But the conſtable, and the chancellor his creature, could not bear to ſee the duke of Burgundy in the adminiſtration again. So, preferring their own private intereſt to the good of the publick, they ſo manag'd, that the agreement remained ineffectual.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 523, 534.

May 17. Ib. p. 558, 576, 578.

Agreement between the two parties,

rendered of no effect by the conſtable.

The Burgundians become maſters of Paris, T. Livius.

This proceeding drew the publick hatred on the conſtable, and ſtrengthened the Burgundian faction in Paris, which, from thenceforth, became much more powerful. At length, May the 18th at night, they found means to introduce into Paris, Liſle-Adam, governor of Pontoiſe, and a zealous adherent of the duke of Burgundy. He entered only with eight hundred horſe, but at his arrival, the Burgundians being under arms, made a terrible ſlaughter of the Armagnacs.

and murder the Armagnacs. Walſing.

The dauphin is ſaved,

Tanneguy du Châtel, governor of the Baſtile, not being able to remedy the diſorder, ran to the Louvre, and carried away the dauphin in his ſhift, in order to ſecure him in his fortreſs. Next morning, the dauphin fled to Melun, not thinking himſelf ſafe in the Baſtile, but the king remained in the power of the Burgundians. The ſame day the conſtable, being hid in a maſon's houſe, was diſcovered, and thrown into priſon.

and the conſtable taken.

Freſh maſſacre at Paris.

But this was only a prelude to a much greater commotion, in the ſame city, ſome days after. Upon news of what had paſſed, the exiles being returned to Paris, from all quarters, the maſſacre was renewed June the 12th. The conſtable was taken out of priſon, murdered, and ſhamefully dragged through the ſtreets. The chancellor, ſeveral biſhops, and other perſons, to the number of two thouſand, underwent the ſame barbarous treatment. The maſſacre being ended,

[t] John XXIII. at Rome; Gregory XII. at Rimini; and Benedict XIII at Avignon. See the hiſtory of this council at large, in the ſtate of the church of the XVth century.

the

the queen and the duke of Burgundy came to Paris, and entered the city in triumph, on the 14th of July. The plague, which afterwards broke out at Paris, and which, in three months, ſwept away above forty thouſand perſons, added freſh calamities to thoſe I have mentioned. Mean while, the queen and duke having the king in their power, iſſued, in his name, what orders they judged moſt conducive to their own intereſts. On the other hand, the dauphin, aſſuming the title of regent, threatened all that ſhould obey the duke of Burgundy. Thus which ever ſide the French eſpouſed, they could not avoid being called rebels by one or other of the factions. Neutrality itſelf was accounted a crime. 1418. The queen and duke of Burgundy enter Paris, and govern in the king's name. The dauphin ſtyles himſelf regent.

Mean while, notwithſtanding the animoſity of the two parties, the troubles ſeemed for ſome time to be going to ceaſe. As there was not yet any cauſe of perſonal enmity between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bretagne, had ſo managed, that each of theſe princes had conſented to an agreement. Every thing was ſettled, but ſome perſons about the dauphin perſuaded him not to ſign. This was attended with fatal conſequences. Thus the diſſenſion which prevailed between the two factions, cauſed each to have two enemies to oppoſe, the contrary party on one hand, and the Engliſh on the other. But Henry was far from looking upon both parties with the ſame eye. He was ſworn enemy of the Armagnacs, whilſt he was only a feigned enemy of the Burgundians. Agreement between the two factions, broke off by the dauphin.

Henry had now begun to reap ſome advantage from the late revolution in the court of France. The new earl of Armagnac, the lord d'Albret, and the other Gaſcon lords of the ſame party, who were waging in Guienne fierce war with the Engliſh, thought proper to conclude a truce with him, which freed him from a troubleſome diverſion. Theſe lords conſidering, that ſince the death of the conſtable, the government of France was in the duke of Burgundy's hands, believed it repugnant to their intereſt, to continue a war, of which their enemy would reap all the benefit. By the truce, inſtead of being obliged to ſend ſuccours into Guienne, Henry drew from thence ſome troops, with which he reinforced his army in Normandy. Truce in Guienne between Henry and the Gaſcon rebels. July 27. Act. Pub. IX. p. 602.

Cherbourg having at length capitulated after a three months ſiege, France had nothing left in Normandy but Roan, the loſe whereof would deſtroy all hopes of recovering that province. And therefore, without delay, Henry laid ſiege to that city about the latter end of Auguſt, or the beginning The taking of Cherbourg. p. 618. Siege of Roan. p. 614, 619.

1418. beginning of September. Mezerai ſays, the ſiege began in June, which is a miſtake. However that be, it was very remarkable for the vigorous defence of the beſieged [u], who held out five months, and endured the greateſt miſeries before they capitulated. They applied to the duke of Burgundy for ſuccours, but it was to no purpoſe [w]. France in changing governor had not acquired new ſtrength. Beſides, the duke of Burgundy, following the earl of Armagnac's maxims, was more careful to diſappoint the practices of his enemies, than oppoſe the progreſs of the king of England. He put however the pope's legates upon trying, whether, by a negotiation, he could interrupt the ſiege of Roan. This method not ſucceeding, he aſſembled all the forces in his power, and feigned a deſign to give the Engliſh battle. He even carried the king as far as Beauvais, but all this ended in nothing. Perhaps, he did not much care to obſtruct the king of England's progreſs. It is uncertain, whether, after his being at the head of the government, he preſerved the ſame ſentiments for that monarch, as when baniſhed from court. It may at leaſt be affirmed, he had not the ſame intereſt to promote his affairs. He could not however but ſhow ſome regard for a prince, who had in his poſſeſſion a writing capable of ruining him, with all the French, of what party ſoever. For this reaſon, ſince the revolution at the court of France, his conduct had been very ambiguous. He had reſolved, it ſeems, to do neither good nor hurt to the king of England, till he ſhould be determined by the events.

Several attempts to ſave that place. T. Livius. Elmham.

The dauphin offers to make an alliance with Henry. Des Urſins. Monſtrelet. T. Livius.

The duke of Burgundy not relieving the beſieged, they applied to the dauphin, who was no little able to raiſe the ſiege by force. The way of negotiation ſeemed to him more proper to produce that effect. It is hard to know for certain, whether he really intended to make an alliance with Henry, as he expreſſed a deſire, or deſigned only to amuſe him. Be that as it will, he ſent him word, that he deſired to treat with him upon three articles. Firſt, concerning the means of reſtoring a peace to France. Secondly, about the marriage already projected. Laſtly, about an alliance between them two againſt the duke of Burgundy. Henry re-

Act. Pub. IX. p. 626, 628.

[u] Their number was very conſiderable; for of the inhabitants alone, there were no leſs than fifteen, or ſeventeen thouſand perſons well armed, beſides four thouſand well diſciplined ſoldiers put in by the duke of Burgundy. Their captain-general was Guy de Boutillier. Monſtrelet. Le Fevre.

[w] During the ſiege, viz. Aug. 3. he renewed the truce with king Henry. Goodwin.

jected not the propoſals. Perhaps he did not much rely on the duke of Burgundy, or elſe he had a mind to raiſe the jealouſy of the court of France, in order to procure more advantageous offers than had yet been propoſed. He appointed for his ambaſſadors, at the congreſs deſired by the dauphin, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the earls of Warwick and Saliſbury, Philip Morgan, and ſome others. Their inſtructions dated at the camp before Roan, October the 26th, were in ſubſtance as follow: 1418.

The king's inſtructions to his ambaſſadors.

I. That they ſhould uſe their utmoſt endeavours to induce the dauphin's ambaſſadors to declare all their propoſals, and abſolutely reject all offers of the countries he was already poſſeſſed of.

II. If the French ſhould offer at length to put all things upon the foot of the treaty of Bretigny, they were to demand, how the king ſhould be aſſured of the performance, ſince the dauphin was not authorized for that purpoſe.

III. He judged, they would for that reaſon inſiſt only on a truce, in which caſe he ordered his ambaſſadors to require, what dominions ſhould be given him for making the ſame.

IV. He expreſsly forbid them to treat of an alliance with the dauphin till the peace or truce was ſettled. He did not leave them however at liberty to conclude either, but ordered notice to be ſent him when matters ſhould be upon the point of concluſion, in caſe they proceeded ſo far.

V. As to the alliance with the dauphin, he ſaid, that prince's aim was probably to obtain his aſſiſtance againſt the duke of Burgundy. If ſo, he forbid them to agree upon an inconſiderable aid, but commanded them to offer forces ſufficient to reſtore the kingdom of France to a ſtate of tranquillity.

VI. But withal, he expected in conſideration of theſe forces, that the earldoms of Artois, Boulogne, and Flanders, ſhould be given him. But if this was refuſed, the ambaſſadors were to lower their demands to the earldom of Flanders only, provided the dauphin would aſſiſt in conquering it. He offered, on his part, to give up to the dauphin whatever ſhould be conquered elſewhere upon the duke of Burgundy.

The king's view in treating with the dauphin.

It is eaſy to ſee by theſe inſtructions, that the king did not believe the congreſs would end in a peace; nor even intended to conclude with the dauphin, who had not power to reſign to the king what had been taken from his predeceſſors ſince

1418. since the treaty of Bretigny. It may therefore be presumed, his sole aim to raise the jealousy of the duke of Burgundy, who being master of the king's person, was alone able to make a solid peace. This appears moreover by the king's writing, the very day he signed these instructions to the duke of Burgundy, that if the negotiation for a peace was renewed, he would do his utmost to render it successful. Upon this letter, Charles sent him word, he had nominated the bishops of Arras and Beauvais, the first president of Morvilliers, and some others, for his plenipotentiaries. Thus Henry was in hopes, by treating with the two parties at once, he should raise such a jealousy in both, that from thence would result a happy conclusion to his affairs.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 631.

Congress of Alenson. p. 632. T. Livius. Elmham.

The congress between the king's and the dauphin's ambassadors was held at Alenson the 10th of November. The English, pursuant to their instructions, absolutely refused to treat about the alliance, before the terms of the peace were agreed upon. At length, after evading all the captious proposals made by the French, they obliged them to come to their last offers; namely, the towns and provinces contained in the treaty of Bretigny, on condition of homage to the crown of France. But the English rejected these offers, unless the sovereignty of the province was added, according to the tenour of the treaty of Bretigny. They demanded, moreover, Normandy, raised difficulties about the dauphin's inability to perform the conditions, and required, in what manner he intended to accomplish them, supposing their master should be satisfied therewith. The French answered, it was needless to talk of the manner of performance, since the offers themselves did not please. Whereupon they broke up the conference.

Another between the ambassadors of the two kings of no effect. Act. Pub. IX. p. 648, 654, 655. —659.

Hardly was the congress ended, before another was held at Pont de l'Arche, between the plenipotentiaries of the two kings, or rather the ambassadors of the two crowns met to confer together, in presence of the pope's legates. But in the first meeting, king Charles's ambassadors insisted, that the conference should be managed in French, to which the English refused to agree. In short, at the instance of the legates, who were very urgent, Henry was willing there should be two protocols, one in French, and another in Latin, of which the last only should be accounted authentick. But the French rejecting this expedient, the conference about the peace was not so much as opened. Probably, the duke of Burgundy did not seriously intend to enter into negotiation. He was still unresolved of his course, or rather

was

was then framing a deſign, which we ſhall ſee come to light the next year. 1419.

This conference however alarmed the dauphin, who doubtleſs was ignorant of what paſſed. He was afraid of being prevented by the duke of Burgundy, well knowing, if a peace was made between the two kings, it muſt tend to his prejudice. In this belief, he ſent to Henry, intreating him to appoint the place where the negotiation, begun at Alenſon, might be renewed. Henry readily conſented to his requeſt, as he could deſire nothing more advantageous than the mutual jealouſy of the two factions. It was agreed therefore that the ambaſſadors ſhould meet again at Louviers, the beginning of February. The dauphin wants to renew the treaty. Ib. p. 661, 672.

During all theſe negotiations, Henry had not diſcontinued one moment the ſiege of Roan, though his army ſuffered much by the ſharpneſs of the ſeaſon. But the beſieged were in no better condition. Reduced to eat horſe-fleſh, and all kinds of animals, and even this ſort of food failing them, they could hold out no longer. Wherefore, ſeeing no remedy, they capitulated on the 13th of January, to ſurrender on the 19th, in caſe they were not relieved by that time. Henry continued to them all their privileges, for the ſum of three hundred thouſand crowns. By the ſurrender of Roan, all Normandy, a few caſtles excepted, fell again under the dominion of the kings of England, two hundred and fifteen years after it was taken from them by Philip Auguſtus, in the reign of John Lack-land. After the ſurrender of Roan, Henry ſent part of his army into Picardy, under the command of the duke of Exeter, who became maſter of Dieppe and Montrevil [x]. The taking of Roan. Ib. p. 664. T. Livius. Elmham. February. Act. Pub. IX. p. 674, —682. T. Livius. Elmham.

Affairs were then at a criſis, which could not fail of producing ſome great change. As the duke of Burgundy had ſought the king of England's alliance, only to diſpoſſeſs the dauphin and earl of Armagnac, he no longer ſtood in need of his protection, ſince he was maſter of Paris, and the king's perſon. On the contrary, his ſtation ſhould have in- The duke of Burgundy takes new meaſures.

[x] The moſt eminent perſons in the Engliſh army that died during this ſiege, were, Henry Beaufort, earl of Somerſet, Edmund Beaufort, earl de Moitayne, ſir Gilbert Talbot, ſir John Blount, the prior of Kylmanand in Ireland, and the lord de Caſtyloygne of Gaſcony. Goodwin, p. 208.—After the reduction of this city, king Henry eſtabliſhed there his exchequer, coinage, and chamber of accounts of the revenues of Normandy. He alſo built a tower behind the caſtle, and began a palace on the river Seine. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 745. Stow's Ann. p. 357. T. Livius, p. 69.—About the beginning of this year, viz. Jan. 13. the clergy granted the king half a tenth. Rot. Fin. 7 Hen. V. M. 6. Goodwin, p. 215.

1419. duced him to wiſh, that Henry might not grow too powerful in France, and conſequently it was his intereſt to oppoſe the progreſs of the Engliſh arms. But on the other hand, he had in the dauphin a ſworn enemy, againſt whom it was chiefly neceſſary to be ſecured. Beſides that prince's natural right to govern the kingdom during his father's infirmity, he was moreover at the head of a powerful party. Beſides, it was not impoſſible that either by the king's death, or ſome other way, he might recover the advantage he had loſt. In that caſe, the duke would rather have had Henry maſter of all France, than ſee the dauphin triumphant. Mean while, whatever turn affairs ſhould take, he plainly perceived, it would not be poſſible to preſerve his authority, though Henry ſucceeded in his deſigns. And indeed it was not likely that Henry would truſt him with the government, when he was once in poſſeſſion. Thus ſtanding as it were between two precipices, he remained ſome time undetermined, without knowing what to reſolve. Probably it was this that prevented his more effectual endeavours to relieve Roan. He durſt not break with the king of England, for fear he ſhould want his farther aſſiſtance againſt the dauphin. After continuing ſome time in this ſtate of perplexity, he determined at length to do all that lay in his power to be reconciled with his enemy, in order to break ſafely with the king of England. This courſe ſeemed to him both advantageous and honourable. By a ſincere reconciliation with the dauphin, he might hope to have ſome laſting ſhare in the government, and hold the ſecond rank. Beſides, France being his native country, he could not openly forſake her intereſts, without rendering himſelf odious to all true Frenchmen. If he had privately relinquiſhed her, it was not without remorſe. He had been led to it by the ſole thirſt of revenge. The execution of the deſign he had formed, was not however without difficulties. The dauphin had conceived an inveterate hatred againſt him, which was continually fomented by the friends and adherents of the late duke of Orleans, who were always about him, and carefully watching all opportunities to revenge the death of that prince. Notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, the duke of Burgundy became more and more confirmed in his reſolution, not ſeeing any other way to ſave himſelf and the kingdom. He undertook therefore to accompliſh this reconciliation by all ſorts of means, even to the forcing the dauphin to it, by the fear of ſeeing France otherwiſe loſt. In fine, if the dauphin's hatred and obſtinacy ſhould render it impracticable, he was deter-

He reſolves to be reconciled to the dauphin. T. Livius.

determined to take the deſperate courſe of rendering Henry maſter of France. 1419.

At the ſame time that the duke of Burgundy came to his laſt reſolution, the conference between the ambaſſadors of Henry and the dauphin was held at Louviers. The ſame difficulties which occurred at the congreſs of Alenſon, rendered this fruitleſs. It was only agreed, that the king and the dauphin ſhould meet and conſer together. But this interview, the time whereof was twice prolonged, did not take effect, becauſe the dauphin took other meaſures: However, to continue the duke of Burgundy's jealouſy, Henry granted the dauphin a truce from the 12th of February till Eaſter, for all the country between the Loire and the Seine, Normandy excepted.

Conference of Louviers. Act. Pub. IX. p. 686, 701, 703.

Truce with the dauphin. p. 692.

Purſuant to the duke of Burgundy's project, he ſent and ſued for the dauphin's friendſhip, offering, on his part, to deſerve and cultivate it to the utmoſt of his power, intimating withal, that it would be proper to have a conference together, as well mutually to confirm their reconciliation, as to concert meaſures for the welfare of the kingdom. But the dauphin ſcornfully rejected the propoſal. He was too apprehenſive of ſharing the authority with the queen his mother, and the duke of Burgundy, or rather of ſeeing himſelf ſubject to them. The ſole command of the province that owned him for regent, ſeemed to him preferable to the advantage propoſed from a reconciliation, which could not be made without leaving the queen his mother and the duke, a ſhare in the adminiſtration. So, the duke of Burgundy ſaw himſelf reduced to a neceſſity of ſeriouſly endeavouring to make a peace with England, in caſe the dauphin perſiſted in his obſtinacy. The congreſs at Louviers having alarmed him, he was afraid of being prevented, and of not being afterwards ſtrong enough to reſiſt the king of England and the dauphin, if they ſhould join in a league againſt him. He reſolved therefore, in order to free himſelf from that fear, to unravel affairs ſome way or other. To that end, he ſent Henry word, that king Charles was inclined to a peace, and to ſucceed the more eaſily, he propoſed an interview, where the two kings, aſſiſted by their councils, might ſettle the terms, and conclude the intended marriage. Henry readily cloſed with the propoſal, and even granted a three months truce; that during the interval, the time, place, and manner of the conference might be agreed on.

The dauphin refuſes to be reconciled with the duke of Burgundy.

The duke propoſes a peace to Henry. Act. Pub. IX. p. 696, 709, 717, 724, 734, 735. Elmham.

All France was juſtly alarmed at this reſolution. It was eaſily perceived that the peace and marriage could not be made

Fruitleſs attempts to reconcile the dauphin

1419. made in such a juncture without the kingdom's being delivered to the king of England. Matters standing thus, some lords, who had the welfare and interest of their country at heart, used all possible endeavours to procure a peace, or at least a truce between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy. The dauphin would have consented to a three years truce, but the duke would have it only for two months. His aim was to conclude a peace with England, if by that time he could not agree with the dauphin. The pains taken to persuade them to so necessary an union proving fruitless, the project of the interview between the two kings was at length accomplished, after several prolongations, till the 30th of May. It was agreed, it should be near Meulant, in a field chosen for that purpose, where a magnificent pavilion was ordered to be erected. As king Charles's infirmity hindered him from being present in person, it was agreed, that his queen and the duke of Burgundy should act as his procurators, and that the duke of Bretagne should be present. Mean time, to avoid the heats which might arise from the discussion of affairs, commissioners were appointed on both sides to settle the particulars. Henry was pleased to give the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester the honour of being heads of this commission. The court of France being at Pontoise, Henry came to Mante, in order to be near the place of conference, From these two towns it was that the two courts repaired every day to the place appointed. The first day, the queen of France brought the princess Catherine her daughter, with whom Henry was charmed. The effect of this first sight being very visible, the queen believed she should inflame the desires of that prince, by not letting her daughter appear any more. Henry soon perceived her design. He found the princess was to serve for a decoy to ensnare him. But, to frustrate the queen's expectation, he told the duke of Burgundy, it might be depended upon that he would never quit his arms, till he had the king and the princess his daughter in his power, and had expelled him the kingdom in case he opposed it. At any other juncture, the duke, who was as high-spirited as the king, would doubtless have returned him a sharp answer. But not to exasperate too much a prince, of whom he might soon stand in need, he was content with saying, he did not question but he would have reason to be tired of the war.

with the duke of Burgundy. T. Livius. Elmham.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 735, 746, 749, 751, 756.

p. 738.

May 29. P. 759.

Le Fevre.

Henry's demands. Act. Pub. IX. p. 762.

The conference of Meulant ran upon three articles, required by Henry, as previous to the peace and marriage:

y Resumed on June 1. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 762.

5 I. That

1419.

I. That he ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of whatever was granted to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigny.

II. That moreover all Normandy ſhould be delivered to him.

III. The full and independent ſovereignty of whatever ſhould be reſigned to him by the preſent treaty.

As Henry would not recede from theſe articles, the duke of Burgundy plainly ſaw, if he directly oppoſed them, he ſhould occaſion the breaking up of the conference, which it was his intereſt to continue, as the only way left to bring the dauphin to a reconciliation. So, without diſputing or granting the king's pretenſions, he delivered to the king the counter-demands of France. They were ſo drawn as to be liable to great objections, which he might either urge or relinquiſh, according as he ſaw what courſe the dauphin would take. In a word, the duke of Burgundy's aim, was to give the dauphin a little more time, before any thing was concluded with the king of England. Theſe were the demands of France, with the king's anſwers annexed.

Demands of France. Ib. p. 763.

I. That the king of England renounce the crown of France.

The king conſents to it, provided this clauſe be added, [except what is granted to him by the preſent treaty.]

II. That he quit claim to Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and the ſovereignty of Bretagne.

The king is not pleaſed with this article.

Probably, becauſe of the ſovereignty of Bretagne, which he claimed as duke of Normandy.

III. The king of England ſhall ſwear, that neither he, nor his ſucceſſors, ſhall receive at any time hereafter, upon any account whatever, the ceſſion of the crown of France from any perſon, who hath, or pretends to have a right.

The king agrees to this, provided his adverſary will alſo ſwear the ſame, &c.

IV. The king of England ſhall cauſe the renunciations, promiſes, and engagements to be recorded, as the king of France and his council ſhall think moſt adviſeable.

The king likes not this article.

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V. Inſtead of Ponthieu and Montrevil, the king of France ſhall have liberty to give an equivalent in ſome other part of his kingdom, as he ſhall judge proper.

The king diſapproves of this article.

VI. As there are ſtill in Normandy ſeveral places, unconquered by the king of England, which however are to be given up by the treaty, he ſhall reſign upon that account, all his other conqueſts elſewhere. Every one ſhall be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of his eſtate, in what place ſoever it lies. There ſhall be an alliance concluded between the two kings.

The king approves of this, on condition the Scots and the rebels be not included in the alliance.

VII. The king of England ſhall repay the ſix hundred thouſand crowns given to Richard II. in part of the eight hundred thouſand promiſed with queen Iſabella, and moreover four hundred thouſand for that princeſs's jewels detained in England.

The king is willing that this article be allowed out of the arrears due for king John's ranſom. However, he is ſurprized at the demand of four hundred thouſand crowns for queen Iſabella's jewels, when they were not worth a quarter of that ſum.

The duke of Burgundy's deſigns.

It is eaſy to perceive by the nature of theſe demands, that the difficulties were not conſiderable enough to hinder the concluſion of a peace, if both parties had been equally willing. But, on the other hand, they were ſufficient to keep the treaty depending, as long as the court of France pleaſed [z]. In the duke of Burgundy's ſituation, he inſiſted upon the articles diſapproved by the king, no farther than was neceſſary for his purpoſe. He was very glad to let the king believe, the peace was going to be concluded, as indeed it would have been, had the dauphin perſiſted in his obſtinacy. Henry ſo little queſtioned it, that on the 5th of July, that is, about a month after the opening of the congreſs, he gave full power to the archbiſhop of Canterbury to go to Paris, and conclude the peace in his name, with king Charles.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 774.

The dauphin and Burgundy are reconciled.

But whilſt Henry was pleaſing himſelf with this expectation, endeavours were uſing on the other ſide, to break

[z] The conferences at Meulant ended June 30. Goodwin, p. 229.

all

all his meaſures. As he had made uſe of negotiations, now with the dauphin, then the duke of Burgundy, in order to raiſe the jealouſy of both, and attain his ends, he was himſelf over-reached in his own way. The congreſs of Meulant, where the duke of Burgundy's chief aim was to frighten the dauphin, produced the deſired effect. The young prince, alarmed at ſeeing ſo near a concluſion, a peace ſo very diſadvantageous to France and himſelf, believed, he ought not to refuſe any longer to be reconciled with the duke of Burgundy, ſince their reconciliation was the only means to prevent ſo great a misfortune. Wherefore, after ſeveral private conferences between ſome truſty friends of the two princes, a reconciliation ſo earneſtly deſired by all true Frenchmen, was at length brought about. On the 11th of July, they met about three miles from Meulant, in the road to Paris, and embraced one another. After that, they ſigned a treaty, mutually promiſing, to love one another like brothers, and jointly to oppoſe the damnable enterprize of the Engliſh, the antient enemies of the kingdom. 1419. Monſtrelet. T. Livius. Elmham. Act. Pub. IX. p. 776.

This ſtep being made, the duke of Burgundy took new meaſures. As he no longer deſired the concluſion of the peace, he ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, in the conferences which were ſtill continued at Meulant, upon the demands of France. But for fear Henry ſhould deſiſt from his objections, he added ſome freſh articles. In explaining the third demand of France, he clogged it with ſo many conditions, that in all future caſes whatever, neither Henry, nor his ſucceſſors, kings of England, could ever claim or acquire any part of that kingdom. But Henry, who was very willing to quit his pretenſions to France, as deſcended from Edward III. thought it very unreaſonable to be obliged to extend the renunciation for himſelf and ſucceſſors, to all caſes that might happen, and could not poſſibly be foreſeen. He complained moreover, that the duke of Burgundy required things which could not be granted, without offending God, and breaking his oaths. I do not know what this was. In fine, to render the concluſion of the peace impracticable, the duke attacked the king's demands, againſt which he had taken care to alledge nothing before his reconciliation with the dauphin. He affirmed, that in general, they were extravagant, obſcure, ambiguous, and unreaſonable, without mentioning particulars. At the ſame time, he expected Henry ſhould accept the offers of France, abſolutely and ſimply, without any explanation. For fear however of The duke of Burgundy breaks off the conference of Meulant. P. 786. P. 790.

1419. being taken at his word, he refuſed to conſent that the articles already agreed ſhould be committed to writing.

Hitherto Henry had imagined, for what reaſon I know not, that the duke of Burgundy's reconciliation with the dauphin, would be no obſtacle to the peace. We find in the collection of the publick acts, that on the 18th of July, that is, ſeven days after their interview, Henry empowered the archbiſhop of Canterbury to conclude his marriage with the princeſs Catherine. It might be thought he knew nothing yet of what paſſed on the 11th, between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, if it did not appear by a letter in the ſame collection, that ſome of his courtiers had received intelligence of it on the 14th. He was ſo prejudiced on this occaſion, that on the 19th he impowered commiſſioners to prolong the truce. But the duke of Burgundy's new demands, or rather his cavils at the treaty, broke off the conferences, and all went and prepared for the war.

Ib. p. 774, 775.

p. 779.

p. 782.

Henry takes Pontoiſe. Des Urſins. Monſtrelet. T. Livius. Hall. Holinſh.

July the 28th, Henry ordered a detachment, headed by the duke of Clarence to ſtorm Pontoiſe. This enterpriſe was attended with the expected ſucceſs. L'Iſle Adam the governor, little thinking of being attacked, was ſurpriſed and forced to fly with part of the garriſon [a]. As the court of France reſided in that town, during the congreſs of Meulant, and were gone but a few days, the Engliſh ſoldiers found it ſtill full of the baggage of the courtiers. The booty is ſaid to amount to above two millions of crowns.

The taking of Pontoiſe opened the king a way to the very gates of Paris. But however, the poſture of his affairs was not changed for the better, ſince the union of the two factions by which France was divided. Whilſt they were deſtroying one another, an army of twenty five thouſand men was ſufficient for the conqueſt of Normandy. No enemy had appeared to force him to raiſe his ſieges. Moreover, he had been all along, publickly or privately, favoured by one of the factions. But after their reconciliation, he could hardly expect with his own forces alone to accompliſh his enterpriſe. He aimed at no leſs than the conqueſt of the whole kingdom, or at leaſt of what England had loſt ſince the treaty of Bretigny. And yet after a ſix years war and in ſo favorable junctures, he was maſter but of one ſingle province. He knew alſo that in England, his obſtinate continuation of ſo hazardous a war, was not univerſally ap-

[a] But they were met, and the greateſt part of them cut off by John Holland, earl of Huntingdon. Goodwin, p. 239.

proved

proved; and that it was openly ſaid, the conqueſt of France would be the ruin of England. But this was not the only thing that gave him uneaſineſs. He had juſt received a letter from Bayonne, of the 22d of July, informing him, that a powerful fleet [b] was equipping in Caſtile for the dauphin's aſſiſtance. Shortly after, he received another from the mayor of the ſame town, acquainting him that Arragon had declared for the dauphin, that the Caſtilians and Arragonians were now entered Bearn, were ravaging the country about Bayonne, and ſeemed to have a deſign to beſiege the town, The letter added further, that the Caſtilian fleet was ordered to ſail for Scotland, and tranſport from thence a body of troops into France, to ſerve under the dauphin. On the other hand, he could not doubt but the Flemings, who had refuſed to ſerve the duke of Burgundy againſt France, would be ready to obey him, in defence of that kingdom. Notwithſtanding theſe ſudden accumulated difficulties, he perſiſted in his firſt reſolution. He had even the aſſurance to offer king Charles, as a ſort of favour, that he would be contented with what he had demanded at Meulant, on condition Pontoiſe, which he had juſt taken, were confirmed to him. It is however undeniable, he ought to have been greatly embarraſſed. When he undertook the war, he depended upon the diſſenſions of the French. And to theſe diſſenſions was owing the eaſe wherewith he had hitherto conquered. Mean while, he ſaw himſelf obliged to undertake with an inconſiderable army, the conqueſt of a kingdom, of which he yet poſſeſſed but a ſmall part. However, his good fortune, or rather the dauphin's animoſity againſt the duke of Burgundy happily freed him from this embaraſſment. 1419. Act. Pub. IX. p. 783, 791, 794.

In the interview between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, they agreed to meet again on the bridge of Montereau-Faut-Yonne, the 18th of Auguſt, to conſider how to proſecute the war againſt the Engliſh. The duke was extremely unwilling to go to the place appointed. He ſeemed to have a ſurmiſe of what was to happen. However, as a too great miſtruſt might have broke his meaſures, and rendered what had been done ineffectual, he reſolved to perform his engagement. Not to enter into the particulars, mentioned in all the French hiſtories, I ſhall only ſay, the dauphin cauſed the duke to be aſſaſſinated on the very bridge choſen for their conference. I ſay the dauphin cauſes the duke of Burgundy to be aſſaſſinated. P. Æmyl. l. 10. T. Livius. Elmham.

[b] Of forty ſail. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 783.

phin,

1419. phin, whatever pains ſome hiſtorians have taken to clear him. The deed was done before his eyes, and at his feet, and he ſtill kept the murderers in his ſervice, who were the chief officers of his houſhold. This would be a ſufficient proof of his guilt, though there were no hiſtorians faithful enough freely to own it.

The face of affairs changed.

This accident ſuddenly changed the face of affairs. Probably the duke of Burgundy, at the time of his death, was well affected to France. But Philip his ſon and ſucceſſor, ſuffering himſelf to be tranſported with the deſire of revenging his father's death, did not ſcruple to ruin the kingdom, in order to gratify his paſſion. The ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual means to attain his ends, was to make a league with the king of England, and queen Iſabella, mortal enemy of the dauphin her ſon. Accordingly, all the reſt of the year was ſpent in ſecret negotiations, which ended at laſt in putting the kingdom into the hands of the Engliſh. Mean while, the new duke of Burgundy held the poſt enjoyed by the duke his father. That is, being maſter of the king's perſon, he was conſidered as regent by thoſe who were not in obedience to the dauphin.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 805. 808.

The Pariſians apply to Henry. Ib. p. 747, 810.

Since the taking of Pontoiſe, the court of France was removed by reaſon of the continual inroads of the Engliſh to the very gates of Paris. Mean while, the Pariſians ſaw themſelves in manifeſt danger. The duke of Burgundy being wholly engroſſed by revenge, provided not for the defence of Paris. Whereupon, the inhabitants juſtly alarmed at ſo dangerous a neighbourhood, thought it their duty to try to prevent their ruin, by an agreement with Henry. There were ſeveral negotiations, which ended in a ſeparate truce for Paris, from the 20th to the 25th, of November [c]. This was but ſmall comfort to the Pariſians: but as the treaty between the king and the duke of Burgundy was going to be concluded, they had no occaſion for a longer truce, ſince they were to be included in the treaty. Beſides, Henry did not mean to deprive himſelf of the advantage, which the neighbourhood of Pontoiſe gave him upon the Pariſians, in caſe the treaty he was negotiating with the duke of Burgundy, ſhould be broken by ſome unforeſeen accident. After the duke of Burgundy's death, couriers and envoys continually paſſed between the

They obtain a ſhort truce. p. 815. Elmham.

[c] From November 20, till December 4. This truce was confirmed by the king at Roan, December 2, and prolonged to the 12th of that month. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 815.

king

king and the new duke. Henry refuſed not to make the ſame alliance with him, as with the deceaſed. But having been deceived by the father, he would not run the hazard of being deceived by the ſon. So, before he joined with him againſt the dauphin, he reſolved to ſecure a peace with king Charles [d]. 1419.

At the congreſs of Meulant, Henry had limited his pretenſions to the articles of the treaty of Bretigny with the addition of Normandy. But though, after the breaking up of the conferences, he had made a ſhew of keeping to theſe terms without relaxation, it is to be ſuppoſed, if the duke of Burgundy's murder had not very ſeaſonably happened, he would have conſiderably lowered his demands. At leaſt, the poſture of affairs would not have ſuffered him to expect that he could ever compel France to grant him ſo great advantages. After the death of that duke, the ſcene was changed in his favour. So, finding he was earneſtly courted by queen Iſabella and the new duke of Burgundy, he did not queſtion but it was in his power to impoſe upon France what terms he pleaſed. He forgot therefore his offers at Meulant, and reſumed his former pretenſions to the crown of France, with the condition that Charles IV. ſhould be king during life. Theſe are the articles he propoſed as a foundation for peace. Henry claims the crown of France.

I. That he ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Catherine, without any charge to her relations, or the kingdom. Preliminary articles of the peace. Act. Pub. IX. p. 816.

II. That he would not diſturb king Charles in the enjoyment of the crown, or poſſeſſion of the revenues of the kingdom during his life. That his queen Iſabella ſhould likewiſe enjoy, during her life, the rights annexed to her dignity.

III. That after the death of king Charles, the crown of France ſhould deſcend to the king of England and his heirs for ever.

IV. That by reaſon of king Charles's infirmity, which rendered him uncapable to reign, the king of England ſhould take upon him the adminiſtration of affairs, as regent, during the life of the king his father-in-law.

V. That the princes, nobles, corporations, burgeſſes, &c. ſhould take an oath to the king of England as regent, and

[d] During the tranſactions in France, a parliament was held this year on October 16, at Weſtminſter, which granted the king one fifteenth and a half, and one tenth and a half. Rot. Parl. 7 Hen. V. N. 1, 8. Cotton's Abridg. p. 553.

1419. bind themſelves by the ſame oath to own him for ſovereign after the death of king Charles.

VI. That for ſecurity of the performance of theſe articles, the king of France ſhould give the king of England his letters patents under his great ſeal. That he ſhould cauſe the like letters of approbation to be given him by the queen, the duke of Burgundy, the nobles, &c. in clear and plain terms, as ſhould be agreed by the parties.

VII. The king of England would give and cauſe to be given the like letters.

Approved by the duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub. IX. p. 822. Sept. 25.

Henry's pretenſions being thus ſettled in theſe few fundamental articles, the duke of Burgundy ſigned letters patents, whereby he approved of theſe articles as good, beneficial, reaſonable, and tending to the welfare of France and all Chriſtendom. This done, a general truce was publiſhed from the 24th of December to the 1ſt of March. As ſoon as the affair concerning the peace was ended, the plenipotentiaries of the king and the duke of Burgundy ſigned a private treaty of alliance, containing theſe ſix articles:

Treaty between Henry and the duke of Burgundy. Ib. p. 825. Monſtrelet.

I. That one of the king's brothers ſhould marry a ſiſter of the duke of Burgundy.

II. That the king and duke ſhould love and aſſiſt one another like brothers.

III. That they ſhould jointly endeavour to puniſh the dauphin, and his accomplices in the late duke of Burgundy's murder.

IV. That if the dauphin or any of the murderers were taken priſoners, they ſhould not be releaſed without the duke of Burgundy's conſent.

V. That the king of England ſhould cauſe to be aſſigned to the duke and his dutcheſs, daughter of king Charles, lands adjoining to his demeſns in France, of the yearly value of twenty thouſand livres, to be held in fee of the crown. That letters under the great ſeal ſhould be granted for that purpoſe, which the king of England ſhould confirm, when in poſſeſſion of the regency [f].

VI. That if any perſon hereafter, under colour of his marriage with a daughter of France, ſhould claim the like

e Rapin, by miſtake, ſays daughter.

f — Quamprimum ad Coronam & Dignitatem Regis Franciæ pervenerit.—Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 842.

aſſign-

aſſignment of lands, the duke ſhould aſſiſt the king to the utmoſt of his power to prevent it. 1419.

The treaty was ratified by the two princes in the beginning of January, 1420. 1420.

Though the peace was not yet ſigned, it was looked upon as concluded, ſince the terms were agreed. Henry was ſo ſecure of it, that January 24th, that is, four months before the ſigning of the treaty, he promiſed by his letters patents, to maintain the Pariſians in their privileges when king of France. Act. Pub. IX. p. 854.

Mean while, as it was neceſſary to draw the articles agreed, in the moſt exact form, and to avoid all obſcure and ambiguous expreſſions, it required ſome time. This occaſioned the truce to be frequently prolonged. During that time, Henry, had ambaſſadors at Troye, to draw up the treaty of peace jointly with the duke of Burgundy. For the greater precaution, it was firſt digeſted like preliminary articles, that every one might examine what was to be added, retrenched, or explained. This done, Charles confirmed all the articles by his letters patents, dated April the 9th. It is remarkable, that by the XXI. Henry was to ſwear, that upon no occaſion whatever, during the life of king Charles, he would take upon him the title of king of France. And yet we find in the collection of the publick acts, one of his ordinances, dated April 18, for coining new money in Normandy, with an H on one ſide, and theſe words round it: ſit nomen domini benedictum; and on the other, Henricus Francorum rex [g]. The truce prolonged, in order to draw up the treaty. Ibid. p. 852, 857, 863, 889. Articles preliminary approved by king Charles. p. 877. Henry takes the title of king of France on a new coin. p. 888.

After the preliminaries were approved, an interview between the two kings was agreed, for ſwearing and ſigning the treaty. The interview was to be ſomewhere near Troye, but afterwards Henry conſented it ſhould be in Troye itſelf. As king Charles was not fit to appear in publick, the queen and the duke of Burgundy were empowered to ſwear the peace in his name. Henry being come to Troye [h], May the 20th, found there the king of France, the queen and the princeſs Catherine, to whom he preſented a ring of great value. On the morrow, the treaty was ſigned and ſworn with the uſual formalities, and the ſame day Henry was affi- p. 890. p. 894. Henry comes to Troye, ſigns the treaty, and betroths Catherine.

[g] There are ſome of theſe pieces ſtill in being, in the hands of the curious. Rapin.

[h] In his journey thither, he wore a crown on his helmet, and bore for his device a fox's tail embroidered. Goodwin, p. 263.

anced

1419. anced to the princeſs, but the marriage was not conſummated till the 2d of June. The ſubſtance of this famous treaty was as follows:

p. 907. Walſing. T. Livius. Elmham.

Treaty of TROYE.

Treaty of Troye. p. 896.

" I. THE king of England being now ſon of the king " of France, by his marriage with the princeſs Ca- " therine, ſhall honour the king and queen of France, as " his father and mother, &c.

" II. He ſhall not diſturb the king of France during his " life, in the quiet poſſeſſion of the royal dignity, and reve- " nues of the crown. In like manner, queen Iſabella, " whilſt ſhe lives, ſhall enjoy the royal dignity, with the " rents, revenues, honours and prerogatives belonging to " the queen of France.

" III. Queen Catherine ſhall have for her dowry in Eng- " land, forty thouſand crowns a year, as the queens of that " nation uſually had.

" IV. This dowry ſhall be ſo ſettled upon her, that " ſhe may enjoy it from the day of the king her huſband's " death.

" V. If ſhe ſurvive the king her huſband, there ſhall be " paid to her out of France, a yearly revenue of twenty thou- " ſand livres, to be raiſed upon the lands belonging formerly " to queen Blanch, wife of Philip.

" VI. After the death of king Charles, the crown of " France, with all its rights and dominions, ſhall remain to " the king of England, and his heirs.

" VII. As the king of France is frequently rendered by " his infirmity uncapable to reign, the king of England ſhall " from this day be regent of the kingdom, and govern it ac- " cording to juſtice and equity, with the advice of the princes, " peers, barons, and nobles of the kingdom.

" VIII. The parliament of Paris ſhall be maintained in " their juriſdiction over the places ſubject to the king.

" IX. The king of England ſhall preſerve the privileges, " rights, liberties, immunities and cuſtoms of the peers, " nobles, communities, and of all the king's ſubjects in " general.

" X. Juſtice ſhall be adminiſtered according to the laws, " cuſtoms and uſages of the realm.

" XI.

" XI. All the offices, as well civil as military, ſhall be 1420.
" filled with perſons duly qualified, according to the laws of
" the realm.

" XII. The king of England ſhall endeavour to the ut-
" moſt of his power, to reduce to the obedience of the king,
" all the provinces, cities, and towns, which have with-
" drawn their allegiance, and joined the party, commonly
" called the dauphin's or Armagnac's.

" XIII. All the princes, peers, barons, nobles, ſtates,
" as well ſpiritual as temporal, cities, communities, burghers,
" &c. ſhall ſwear. 1. Punctually to obſerve what ſhall be
" enjoined by the two kings and preſent queen. 2. To
" obey the king of England, as regent. 3. To recognize
" him after the death of king Charles for their lawful ſove-
" reign, and to obey none but him. 4. Not to aſſiſt, with
" their council or conſent, any plot againſt his perſon, and
" to diſcover to him all ſuch conſpiracies as ſhall come to
" their knowledge.

" XIV. All the conqueſts which ſhall be made hereafter,
" in the kingdom of France, Normandy excepted, ſhall be
" to the uſe of the preſent king. Item, all the lands and
" lordſhips, which ſhall be conquered, ſhall be reſtored to
" their true proprietors, being in obedience to the king, and
" having ſworn to obſerve the preſent treaty.

" XV. All the eccleſiaſticks of Normandy, ſubject to the
" king of England, and paying obedience to king Charles,
" or that are of the Burgundian party, upon ſwearing the
" preſent treaty, ſhall enjoy their benefices, as well in Nor-
" mandy, as elſewhere.

" XVI. All the Norman eccleſiaſticks holding benefices
" in France, ſhall be continued upon them in the ſame
" terms.

" XVII. The univerſities and colleges, as well in Nor-
" mandy, as in France, ſhall be preſerved in their rights
" and privileges, on the fore-mentioned conditions, ſaving
" to the crown of France its prerogatives.

" XVIII. When the king of England ſhall come to the
" crown of France, Normandy and all his other conqueſts
" ſhall be united to the crown.

" XIX. If the king of England has already diſpoſed in
" Normandy of any lands, revenues, or poſſeſſions, belong-
" ing to any of the Burgundian party, they ſhall have an
" equivalent in France, out of the lands of the rebels. And
" if they receive not this equivalent, before the ſaid king is
" in poſſeſſion of the crown of France, he promiſes to give

" it

1420. " it when he aſcends the throne. But what he has not diſ-
" poſed of, ſhall be reſtored to the proprietors, according
" to article XIV.

" XX. All the publick acts ſhall run in king Charles's
" name. However, as ſome unforeſeen caſes may occur,
" wherein the king of England may be obliged to diſpatch
" orders, then it ſhall be lawful for him to join his name,
" as regent with the preſent king's.

" XXI. The king of England ſhall forbear, on all occa-
" ſions, during the life of king Charles, to aſſume the title
" of the king of France.

" XXII. In the publick acts, the king of France, ſpeak-
" ing of the king of England, ſhall uſe this form, our moſt
" dear ſon, Henry, king of England, heir of France [i].

" XXIII. The king of England ſhall lay no taxes on the
" French, but ſuch as are reaſonable, and for the good of
" the publick, according to the laws and cuſtoms of the
" kingdom.

" XXIV. When he himſelf, or any of his heirs, ſhall
" come to the crown of France, the two kingdoms of
" France and England ſhall be for ever united, under one
" prince. There ſhall not be a king in each kingdom;
" but one and the ſame king ſhall be ſovereign of both
" the realms, without however ſubjecting one to the other.
" But the laws and liberties of each kingdom ſhall be pre-
" ſerved diſtinct and inviolable.

" XXV. Henceforward, friendſhip and a good under-
" ſtanding ſhall be eſtabliſhed between France and England,
" and the two kingdoms ſhall aſſiſt one another with all
" their power.

" XXVI. All the allies of the two crowns, who in eight
" months ſhall deſire it, may be included in the preſent
" treaty, reſerving to the two crowns, and their ſubjects,
" all rights, actions, remedies in reſpect of thoſe allies [k].

" XXVII. The officers and domeſticks of the preſent
" king ſhall be French, or born in countries where the
" French tongue is ſpoken [l], and ſhall be wiſe and well
" qualified perſons. The king his ſon, with the advice of
" the duke of Burgundy, ſhall make an honourable pro-

i Noſter præchariſſimus Filius Henricus, rex Angliæ, Hæres Franciæ.

k Henry probably inſerted this obſcure reſervation, with regard to Scotland. Rapin.

l This was, not to exclude the inhabitants of the provinces belonging to the king of England, as Normandy, &c. Rapin.

" viſion

" viſion for the maintenance of the king's perſon, ſuitable 1420.
" to his royal ſtate and dignity.

" XXVIII. He ſhall keep his reſidence in ſome conſi-
" derable place within his own dominions, and not be con-
" fined to an obſcure retreat.

" XXIX. Conſidering the crimes committed by Charles,
" who ſtiles himſelf dauphin de Viennois, it is agreed, that
" no peace ſhall be made with him, without the unanimous
" conſent of the two kings, and the duke of Burgundy.

" XXX. For the ſecurity of the performance of theſe ar-
" ticles, letters under the great ſeal ſhall be given the king
" of England by the king of France. Item, the queen,
" the duke of Burgundy, the princes of the blood, peers,
" nobles, towns, cities, communities, ſubject to the king,
" and all in general of whom the king of England ſhall
" require it, ſhall give the like letters of approbation.

" XXXI. The king of England ſhall likewiſe give the
" ſame for himſelf, for the princes his brothers, the reſt of
" the princes of the blood, and others, as the king of
" France ſhall require.

Given at Troye, May the 21ſt, in the year of our Lord 1420, and of king Charles the 40th.

The marriage being conſummated [m] June the 2d, the two courts ſet out together next morning for Sens, which was now inveſted. This place holding out but ten or twelve days, the army marched to Montereau, where the duke of Burgundy was murdered, and took the town in a ſhort time. The duke of Burgundy found there the body of his father, very indecently buried in his doublet, and ordered it to be removed to Dijon. Sens taken, Act. Pub. IX. p. 910. and Montereau. Walſing.

About the middle of July, the army laid ſiege to Melun, which was defended by the lord de Barbazan, the governor, four months. The king of England, with his army, was lodged on the ſide of the town towards Gatanois, and the duke of Burgundy, with his troops, on the ſide next La Brie. The ſiege became famous by the ſtout defence of the beſieged [n], who repulſed ſeveral aſſaults, and whom famine compelled at laſt to capitulate about the middle of November. A French hiſtorian ſays, the capitulation was not obſerved, by which the garriſon were to have their lives without Melun beſieged, Act. Pub. X. p. 4. Walſing. T. Livius. and taken. Des Urſins.

m It was ſolemnized on May 30, in St. John's church in Troye, by the archbiſhop of Sens. J. Des Urſins, p. 379.

n This ſiege laſted fourteen weeks and four days. Walſing. p. 403.

1420. ranſom, except ſuch as were concerned in the murder of the duke of Burgundy; but inſtead of being ſuffered to depart, they were thrown into priſon at Paris, and ſtarved to death. To judge of the truth of this fact, it is neceſſary to ſee the articles of ſurrender, and to know, whether thoſe that were carried to Paris, were not ſuch as were expreſly excepted. It is the more likely they were of that number, becauſe the ſame author ſays, the king, and the duke of Burgundy, demanded four and twenty hoſtages by name, and that theſe hoſtages were conveyed to Paris, with as many more as could be ſeized. This ſeems to argue, that the garriſon were releaſed, and none but private perſons ſeized, who might be ſuſpected, as well as the hoſtages, of being concerned in the duke of Burgundy's death. Be this as it will, as Henry ought not to be excuſed in caſe of breach of faith, ſo neither ought a too haſty credit to be given to a ſingle hiſtorian, who appears, in other reſpects, very partial againſt Henry, and even refrains not from abuſive language. After the ſurrender of Melun, the two courts returned to Paris, where the two kings made their entry together, on the firſt Sunday in Advent, and the queens, the next day.

The two courts make their entry into Paris.

In the beginning of December, the ſtates general met at Paris. King Charles going to the aſſembly on the 6th, told them, that of his own free will, he had made a peace with the king of England, was perſuaded it would be beneficial to France, and deſired them to confirm it by their authority. The king's declaration in his preſent condition, was not a ſufficient reaſon to induce the ſtates to ratify a peace, which according to their principles, violated the moſt ſacred rights of the kingdom, in order to ſet the crown on the head of a foreign prince. But in the ſtate they themſelves were in, it was ſcarce in their power to examine the conſequences, or freely to ſpeak their minds. So it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the peace of Troye ſhould be obſerved, and held as a publick law, and that all the French ſhould be obliged to take the oaths mentioned in the treaty. This is not a proper place to examine Henry's pretenſions to the crown of France. They were the ſame as were formerly urged by Edward III. and of which I have amply ſpoken in the hiſtory of his reign. But however, it may be ſaid, that when the French ſwore to this peace, they thought it very unjuſt, and conſequently there could be but little reliance on oaths, which they conſidered as involuntary. Accordingly, they plainly ſhowed afterwards, they valued them not. And yet Henry, with all his policy, depended upon theſe extorted promiſes, as if the

The ſtates of France confirm the peace of Troye. Act. Pub. X. p. 30. T. Livius.

French then living, had been more ſcrupulous, than thoſe who had ſworn to the peace of Bretigny. 1420.

On the 23d of the ſame month, king Charles's council being ſummoned for the purpoſe, the duke of Burgundy appeared in a mourning habit, and demanded juſtice againſt the murderers of the duke his father. Mezerai ſays, the dauphin was ſolemnly called to the marble table [o], and not appearing, was attainted and convicted of cauſing the duke of Burgundy to be killed, pronounced unworthy of all inheritance, particularly of the ſucceſſion to the crown [p], and baniſhed the realm for ever. It is hard to believe, Mezerai would advance ſuch a fact, without good authority. And yet the ſentence, which is extant in the collection of the publick acts, mentions neither the ſucceſſion to the crown, nor the baniſhment of the dauphin. The ſentence is general, againſt all the murderers of the duke of Burgundy, without naming the dauphin, or his accomplices, at leaſt in the purview. It is true, that in the preamble, there is mention of the treaty between the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy, and that afterwards it is ſaid, the duke of Burgundy was killed by him, which words, by him, manifeſtly relate to the dauphin, named a few lines before. It appears however, that the ſentence was ſo worded, that the dauphin was included only in the general notion of the murderers of the duke of Burgundy [q], and that it does not ſeem to point particularly at him. Conſequently, it was not natural to ſpeak of the ſucceſſion to the crown. Probably therefore, Mezerai had more regard to the intent of the decree, than to the words themſelves.

Sentence upon the murderers of the duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub. IX. p. 33. Monſtrelet, T. Livius, Elmham.

The dauphin finding all ſorts of means were uſed to deprive him of the crown, appealed to God and his ſword, from whatever had been hitherto, or ſhould be for the future, tranſacted againſt him, in the name of the king his father, and continued ſtill to aſſume the title of regent. As ſuch, he removed the parliament and univerſity of Paris, to Poictiers, where ſome of the members of theſe two bodies repaired. Thus were ſeen at the ſame time in France, two kings, two

The dauphin appeals to God and his ſword. Paradin.

[o] A court of juſtice in France, eſtabliſhed at Paris and ſome other places, conſiſting of a preſident and ſeven counſellors: from it there lies no appeal. Boulainvilliers Etat de France. Tom. I. p. 39, 40.

[p] —Quod Delphinus privaretur ſucceſſione regni, & ad ſuccedendum patri declaretur inhabilis. T. Livius, p. 91.

[q] In this ſentence, the murderers of the duke of Burgundy are declared guilty of high treaſon, and conſequently to have forfeited body and goods, and to be excluded from all ſucceſſion, direct or collateral, and from all dignities, honours, and prerogatives whatſoever. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 25.

1420. queens, two regents, all the officers of the crown double, ſeven or eight marſhals of France on each ſide, two parliaments, and two univerſities of Paris [r].

1421. Though Henry was declared regent, and heir of France, it was however only by the Burgundian party, who having the king in their power, thought they had a right to diſpoſe of the affairs of the kingdom. The dauphin had ſtill a ſtrong party, who, far from ſubmitting to the peace of Troye, maintained, that though the king had been free and in perfect health, he could not diſpoſe of the crown as he had done, much leſs being diſtempered, and a captive. The provinces diſtant from Paris, not being awed by the Engliſh arms, adhered for the moſt part to the dauphin. Even the country about the metropolis was divided. In the ſame province, there were ſome places for the Engliſh, and others for the lawful heir of the king. So, notwithſtanding the peace, the war was not yet ended, ſince the two kings were under a neceſſity of driving the dauphin out of all the towns and provinces, he poſſeſſed. This was no eaſy taſk, though the union of the Engliſh forces with the Burgundian party, gave them a great ſuperiority.

France divided between two factions.

Pardon granted to the Gaſcon Rebels.

Guienne, part of which was ſubject to Henry, was moreover a very conſiderable advantage, as it ſerved to keep in awe the provinces beyond the Loire. Till the death of Armagnac the conſtable, that province had rather been a charge than a benefit to the Engliſh. There was a conſtant occaſion for a ſtanding army to defend it againſt the continual attempts of the party, which had declared for France about the end of the reign of Edward III. The houſes of Armagnac and Albret, who were at the head of that party, had created the king of England great trouble, particularly after the earl of Armagnac came to have the management of the publick affairs. But after the death of that earl, the heads of the party thought fit, as I ſaid, to make a truce with Henry, in order not to favour the duke of Burgundy by their diverſion. After the treaty of Troye, they ſued for peace, as believing they could no longer reſiſt. Henry hoping to reap great advantages by the quiet poſſeſſion of Guienne, readily received them into favour, and ordered letters of pardon to be given them [s], upon their renouncing,

Act. Pub. X. p. 3.

Ib. p. 41, 45.

[r] During king Henry's abſence in France, a parliament was called by his brother Humphrey duke of Glouceſter, regent of the kingdom, which met December 2. Goodwin, p. 297, 298.

[s] Which were ſigned at Roan, Jan. 16. Rymer's Fœd. tom. 10. p. 41—45.

by

by a publick inſtrument, the appeal of their anceſtors, to the court of the peers of France, in the time of Edward III. Some ſay, that by the peace of Troye, Guienne was to be united to the crown of France, after the death of Charles VI. But, beſides that in the treaty of Troye, there is no mention of Guienne, it plainly appears, by what has been related, that Henry had no ſuch intention. It is rather evident, that he grounded on the treaty of Bretigny, his preſerving, as king of England, the ſovereignty of Guienne, independent on the crown of France. 1421. Choiſy Hiſt. of Charles VI.

Henry having ſettled his affairs in France in ſo glorious a manner for himſelf and his nation, reſolved to return into England, where three things required his preſence. Firſt, his queen's coronation. Secondly, the confirmation of the peace of Troye by the parliament, and the demand of a ſupply of money, to enable him vigorouſly to carry on the war againſt the dauphin. Laſtly, the neceſſity of taking ſome meaſures againſt the Scots, who had ſent ſuccours to his enemy, under the command of the earl of Buchan, the regent's ſon. Upon leaving France, Henry gave the command of his troops to the duke of Clarence his brother [t]. Then he ſet ſail with his queen, and ſafely arrived in England about the end of February. A few days after, the queen was crowned [u], and a parliament ſummoned to meet at Leiceſter the 2d of May. Henry returns to England. Walſing. T. Livius. Elmham. Act. Pub. X. p. 49. The queen crowned. p. 63.

Whilſt the people were buſy in chooſing their repreſentatives, the king took a progreſs into ſeveral counties, and ſtayed ſome weeks at York. His aim was, under colour of ſhowing the queen the country, to procure by his preſence, elections of members that ſhould be favourable to him. He was ſenſible of the nation's diſcontent, at being obliged to bear the expences of the conqueſt of France. Some ſay, it was during the progreſs that the king iſſued out a proclamation, prohibiting the admiſſion of eccleſiaſticks into benefices by the pope's proviſions, contrary to the rights of the patrons. But it is more likely, this proclamation was not iſſued out till after the parliament of Leiceſter, purſuant to an act made for that purpoſe. Be this as it will, it was a mortal blow to the court of Rome, to whom the clauſe of non-obſtante, ſo frequently uſed by the popes, became fruitleſs, at leaſt with regard to the collation of benefices. A parliament called. The king goes to York. Walſing. A proclamation againſt the pope's collations.

t And appointed Thomas Montacute, earl of Saliſbury, his deputy in Normandy. Ibid. p. 29.

u Febr. 14. Monſtrelet. Goodwin, p. 300. Walſingham ſays, it was the 9th, and Elmham the 22d, p. 299.

1421. Before the meeting of the parliament, Henry received the melancholy news, that the duke of Clarence, his brother, was ſlain, April the 3d, in a battle in Anjou. The duke had led ten thouſand men into that province, to reduce it to the obedience of the king. Whilſt he was employed in the expedition, he heard that the earl of Buchan, with ſeven thouſand Scots, had entered the province, and was encamped at Baugé. At the ſame time, he had falſe intelligence that the vanguard of the Scotch army was ſo far from the main body, that it would be eaſy to put them to rout, provided they were ſpeedily attacked. Upon the information, he haſtily headed his horſe, leaving the earl of Saliſbury orders to follow him with the reſt of the army. When he came to Baugé, he found indeed ſome Scotch troops intrenched in the churchyard. He charged them immediately, and diſmounted in order to head his troops. But he was ſo long in forcing the Scots from their poſt, that the earl of Buchan had time to come to their relief. Then the duke remounting his horſe, furiouſly attacked the new comers, notwithſtanding the inequality of his forces. He gave on this occaſion proofs of an uncommon valour; but at length, being over-powered by numbers, and unable to bear the thoughts of flying, he was wounded in the face by a Scotch knight [w], and killed by the earl of Buchan himſelf. His death cauſed an entire defeat of the Engliſh horſe, whereof fifteen hundred were ſlain, and many taken priſoners [x]. Among the ſlain were, the earl of Kent, the lords Grey and Roſs, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction. The earl of Saliſbury, not being able to advance in time to aſſiſt the duke of Clarence, had however the comfort to recover from the enemy the body of that prince, which he ſent to the king his brother [y].

The duke of Clarence is ſlain. Monſtrelet. Walſing. Elmham.

Boethius. Buchanan.

Walſing.

The parliament confirms the peace of Troye, and grants a ſubſidy. Act. Pub. X. p. 110.

The advantage gained by the Scots rendered the king's preſence neceſſary in France. But he had ſtill in England affairs which were no leſs urgent. The parliament meeting the 2d of May, readily confirmed the peace of Troye ſo glorious to England. A ſubſidy was alſo granted [z] for proſecuting the war againſt the dauphin, but at the ſame time

w Sir John Swinton. Buchan. l. 10.

x Among whom were John Holland, earl of Huntington; John Beaufort, earl of Somerſet; and Thomas Montacute, earl of Saliſbury and Perche; the lord Fitz-Walter, and ſir William Bower. Walſ. p. 405.

y He was buried in the cathedral church of Canterbury. Ibid.

z A fifteenth from the laity, and a tenth from the clergy; and the biſhop of Wincheſter lent the king twenty thouſand pounds, by way of advance. Walſ. p. 404. Fabian.

was preſented to him a petition, wherein he was told, it was but too true that the conqueſt of France proved the ruin of England. To obtain the ſubſidy, the king had laid before the parliament, a ſtate of the revenues and expences of the crown. By that account, a fragment whereof is inſerted in the collection of the publick acts, it appears, that the king's revenue amounted but to fifty five thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-three pounds ſterling; and that the ordinary expences ran away with fifty two thouſand two hundred and thirty five pounds; ſo there remained but three thouſand five hundred and eight pounds, to provide for a dozen extraordinary articles mentioned in the account. The parliament's petition could not but be very diſpleaſing to the king. One half of France was ſtill unconquered, and the provinces ſubject to the king were ſo drained, that there was no proſpect of drawing from thence the neceſſary ſupplies for continuing the war. Wherefore, the burden was ſtill to fall upon England. But the parliament grew weary of furniſhing money at a time when it was more neceſſary than ever, by reaſon of the diverſion the kingdom was threatened with from the Scots.

1421.

They preſent a petition to the king.

State of the publick revenues and expences. p. 113.

I have deferred till now to ſpeak of the affairs of Scotland, becauſe ſince the acceſſion of Henry V. to the crown of England, nothing had paſſed in Scotland remarkable enough to break the thread of the hiſtory. But at preſent, it will be neceſſary briefly to mention them for the underſtanding of the ſequel. It was ſeen in the late reign, that in 1406, James Stuart, then prince of Scotland, was detained in England, and ſhortly after became king of Scotland by the death of his father. This new dignity was ſo far from turning to his advantage, that it rather ſerved to cauſe him to be more ſtrictly guarded. The duke of Albany, his uncle, who had aſſumed the regency, liked it too well to endeavour effectually to procure his liberty. Not a year paſſed but he ſent ambaſſadors into England [a], under colour of ſoliciting the freedom of the king his nephew, but his real intention was far from what he ſeemed to deſire. The chief motive of the frequent embaſſies was to negotiate the exchange of the earl of Fife his ſon, for young Piercy, ſon of the earl of Northumberland. The earl had been priſoner in England ever ſince the battle of Halidon: Percy was ſeized in Scotland by way of repriſal for the king. This exchange was

Affairs of Scotland, with regard to England, ſince the beginning of this reign. Buchanan.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 5, 6, 45, 71, 79, 113, 125, &c.

a There were ſome ſent ſoon after king Henry's coronation, viz. April 16, 1413. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. 9. p. 5. 6.

1421. effected, and yet the embaſſies were no leſs frequent. It was ever on pretence of treating about the young king's releaſe, but in reality to influence the king of England to detain him in priſon. Buchanan affirms, it was on condition the regent would engage not to diſturb Henry, by diverſions in favour of France. Otherwiſe, the Scots would never have ſo peaceably ſeen France attacked by the Engliſh. Mean while, as to induce the Scots to remain quiet contrary to their intereſt, it was neceſſary to give them ſome ſeeming ſatisfaction, the regent publickly and earneſtly demanded the liberty of the king his nephew. But Henry knew he ſhould not oblige him in granting his demand. On the contrary, the difficulties he raiſed in the affair, were a ſure means to prevent diverſions from the Scots.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 299, 302, 303, 307, 310.

In 1415, whilſt Henry was preparing to paſs into France, he received advice from the northern frontiers, that the Scots were reſolved to beſiege Berwick with ſixty thouſand men; whereupon the duke of Bedford had orders to levy an army. But it does not appear either that the Scots did then beſiege Berwick, or the duke of Bedford marched againſt them. The Engliſh hiſtorians ſay, the king, upon the above-mentioned advice, called a council to deliberate, whether it was proper to relinquiſh the intended project againſt France, and heartily apply to the conqueſt of Scotland, and that it was reſolved the firſt deſign ſhould be purſued [b]. This may be, but very probably the king was then agreed with the duke of Albany; and the rumour of the invaſion, and the meeting of the council in England, was only to make the people of Scotland believe, the regent acted with ſincerity. And indeed, we do not find in the hiſtory of Scotland any ſigns of ſo conſiderable an armament in the year 1415, or of a reſolution to beſiege Berwick. Beſides, that very year a truce was concluded between the two kingdoms, whilſt all Henry's forces were employed in France. In ſhort, Buchanan affirms, it cannot be ſaid, that during the whole reign of Henry V. there was any war between England and Scotland, all the hoſtilities being nothing elſe but mere robberies. He alledges as a reaſon, that the duke of Albany took care not to diſoblige the king of England, for fear the king of

[b] Ralph Neville, earl of Weſtmoreland, and lord preſident of the north, made a long harangue, to perſuade the the king to diſable the Scots, before he carried the war into France. But John duke of Exeter, the king's uncle, replied to the earl, and was ſeconded by the dukes of Clarence, Bedford, and Gloceſter; upon which the war with France was reſolved. Duck in vit. Chich. p. 14, &c.

Scotland

Scotland ſhould be releaſed. Henry was however afraid, it would not always be in the regent's power to keep the Scots quiet, who were ſo much concerned to prevent the ruin of France. It was doubtleſs from this conſideration, that in 1416 he gave king James leave to paſs ſome time in his own kingdom, having taken ſecurity for his return. He hoped the journey would create between the uncle and the nephew ſuch diſſentions, as would divert the Scots from all thoughts of aſſiſting France. 1421. Ib. p. 341, 417.

The affairs of Scotland continued in this ſituation till 1419, when the dauphin ſent thither the duke of Vendome to deſire aſſiſtance. The ſtates being met upon the occaſion, the regent could not hinder the decreeing a levy of ſeven thouſand men, which were ſent into France under the command of the Earl of Buchan. The victory that general gained over the duke of Clarence at Baugé, procured him the ſword of conſtable of France. Ib. p. 791. T. X. p. 125.

Henry could not without concern ſee the Scots declare ſo openly for the dauphin. He perceived, either that the duke of Albany had not the ſame credit as formerly, or had altered his maxims. Wherefore, to break the meaſures of the dauphin's adherents in Scotland, he believed it neceſſary to gain the king of Scotland to his intereſt, and make him his inſtrument. This was partly his deſign in returning to England. Upon his arrival, he intimated to that prince, that it was his own fault if he was not at liberty, on condition he would uſe his authority to recall his ſubjects, who were in the ſervice of France, and join with him againſt the dauphin. James paſſionately wiſhing to be free, after a fifteen years captivity, very readily complied with Henry's deſires. A private agreement therefore was made between the two princes, the articles whereof are unknown, except one, which was, that James ſhould go into France, and ſtay with Henry till the end of the war. Henry's aim was to interpoſe the king of Scotland's authority, to oblige the ſeven thouſand Scots in the dauphin's ſervice to return home. Accordingly, James attended him into France for that purpoſe. But when he commanded the earl of Buchan to return into Scotland, the earl replied, he did not think himſelf bound to obey him, ſo long as he was in the power of others. For that reaſon, Henry from thenceforward treated as rebels all the Scots that fell into his hands. Act. Pub. X. p. 125. Ib. p. 16.

Henry having finiſhed the affairs which called him into England, left his queen there great with child, and appointed the duke of Bedford, his brother, regent in his abſence, returned The king returns to Paris.

1421. turned into France, where his preſence was neceſſary. He ſailed the 10th of June with a new raiſed army [c], amounting, as ſome ſay, to four thouſand men at arms, and twenty four thouſand archers. When he arrived at Calais, he ſent ſeveral detachments to take ſome caſtles, the dauphin ſtill held in Picardy. At the ſame time, he ordered a conſiderable body to march to the duke of Exeter's relief, who was almoſt blocked up in Paris. Then marching himſelf with the reſt of the army, he came to Bois de Vincennes, from whence he went and joined his father-in-law at Paris.

Ib. p. 108, 116, 127, 129. Walſing. Monſtrelet. Le Fevre. Elmham.

The dauphin beſieges Chartres, but retires upon Henry's coming.

A few days after, he heard the dauphin was beſieging Chartres. As he deſired nothing ſo earneſtly as to decide the quarrel by a battle, he immediately aſſembled his troops, and marched directly to Chartres. But his forces were ſo ſuperior, that the dauphin did not think fit to expect him.

Henry takes Dreux. Monſtrelet. Elmham.

Henry purſued him with all poſſible ſpeed, but finding he could not overtake him attacked Dreux, which ſurrendered upon terms. It is ſaid, that during the ſiege a hermit came and boldly reproached him with the calamities brought on France by his ambition, and threatened him with the judgments of God. Some add, that Henry's death, which happened the next year, ſhowed the hermit to be inſpired. But ſuch conſequences are not always juſt.

He returns to Paris. He beſieges Meaux.

After the ſiege of Dreux, the army being ſeized with the flux, Henry ſent his troops into ſummer quarters, and refreſhed himſelf at Paris. He reaſſembled them in October, in order to beſiege Meaux, though the ſeaſon was not very proper for ſuch an undertaking. Mezerai and ſome others are miſtaken in ſaying, the ſiege was laid before the king went to England. It is certain, it was not begun till four months after his return [d]. The ſame hiſtorian ſays further, the place held out three months, but he ſhould have ſaid ſeven, ſince the ſiege began the 6th of October 1421, and ended not till the 2d of May 1422. It is true, as the town was divided in two parts, namely, the town and the market-place [e], the firſt was taken by ſtorm during the winter, but the market-place held out till May [f].

Monſtrelet. Act. Pub. X. p. 212.

[c] For the payment of which, he borrowed money of the moſt conſiderable perſons in England. Rymer's Fœd. tom 10. p. 96, &c.

[d] Juvenal des Urſins, in his hiſtory of Charles VI, led Mezerai into this error. Rapin.

[e] Where the caſtle ſtood, on the top of a rock.

[f] During the king's abſence, John duke of Bedford, regent of the kingdom, ſummoned a parliament, which met at Weſtminſter, Decemb. 1, and granted to the king a fifteenth. Walſ. p. 406. Rot. Parl. 9 Hen. 5. M. 1. The convocation, which met at York, on September 22, had granted him a tenth. Rot. Fin. 9 Hen. 5. M. 11.

Whilſt

Whilſt the king was employed in the ſiege of Meaux, he received the agreeable news of his queen's being ſafely delivered at Windſor of a prince [g], who was named Henry. The duke of Bedford and the biſhop of Wincheſter ſtood godfathers, and Jaquelina counteſs of Hainault, godmother. This princeſs, who had united under her dominion, Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Friſeland, was married firſt to John duke of Touraine, ſecond ſon of the king of France. That prince dying in 1416, ſhe eſpouſed John duke of Brabant, couſin-german to the duke of Burgundy. She ſoon grew weary of her ſecond huſband, and under colour of their being too nearly related, formed a deſign to have the marriage annulled. For that purpoſe, ſhe procured ſome knights to carry her away, and convey her into England, in order to act more freely. This pretended rape was no ſecret to the king, ſince we find in the collection of the publick acts, a ſafe conduct for that princeſs. Beſides, at her arrival in England, the king aſſigned her a monthly penſion of a hundred pounds ſterling. His intent was to marry her to the duke of Glouceſter, and by that means put his brother in poſſeſſion of four of the nobleſt provinces of the Low-Countries. The duke of Burgundy was extremely offended at the king's diſregard for the duke of Brabant his couſin, in giving Jaquelina a refuge in his dominions. The affront, in his opinion, reflected upon himſelf. Beſides, it was his intereſt that Jaquelina's marriage with the duke of Brabant ſhould not be annulled. Mean while, Henry preferring the duke of Glouceſter's intereſt to the duke of Burgundy's, did not ſeem much to mind the occaſion of complaint given that prince.

1421. Birth of prince Henry. Walſing. T. Livius. Counteſs of Hainault. ſtands godmother.

1422. Her adventures.

Act. Pub. X. p. 67, 134.

Henry was very deſirous of advancing his two brothers, who were both princes of great merit, and with whom he was well pleaſed. In 1419, there was a ſecret negotiation between him and Joan queen of Naples, who being preſſed by her enemies, promiſed to adopt the duke of Bedford, and declare him her ſole heir. That project failing upon queen Joan's affairs taking a new turn, Henry would have obtained for the duke of Bedford, the only daughter of Frederic burgrave of Nuremberg, and afterwards, a daughter of the duke of Lorrain. At the ſame time, he treated of a marriage between the duke of Glouceſter, and Blanch of Navarre, queen dowager of Sicily, who had pretenſions to that kingdom. In fine, an opportunity offering to procure

The king projects marriages for his brothers. Ib. p. 701, 705.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 716, 741.

[g] He was born December 6. Walſing. p. 406.

for

1422. for that prince Jaquelina counteſs of Hainault, he readily embraced it, as the marriage could could not but be advantageous to England. But, as her marriage with the duke of Brabant was firſt to be annulled, the affair could not be accompliſhed before the king's death.

The taking of Meaux. Act. Pub. X. p. 212. T. Livius.

It was not till the beginning of May [h] 1422, that the beſieged of the market-place of Meaux deſired to capitulate, but they could obtain no other terms than to be priſoners of war. The king even excepted all the Engliſh, Iriſh, and Scots, who were in that place, and all that were concerned in the death of the duke of Burgundy; and moreover, all thoſe who had any towns or caſtles in their power, till they were ſurrendered. In fine, he reſerved four officers of the garriſon, namely, Lewis du Guaſt, Dennis de Vaurus, the baſtard of Vaurus, and another, to be proceeded againſt according to the laws. They were all four executed. Du Guaſt was beheaded, and the other three ſuffered a more ignominious death. The baſtard of Vaurus was hanged on a certain tree, from him called the tree of Vaurus, becauſe he had hanged on it many Burgundians, in revenge for the death of the earl of Armagnac. This was a ſevere capitulation, which gave the beſieged the cauſe to repent of their obſtinacy, when probably they had no proſpect of being relieved [i].

The king's ſeverity to the beſieged. Walſing. Monſtrelet. Elmham.

Queen Catherine returns to France. Walſing. Act. Pub. X. p. 171, 175, 201.

About the time of the ſurrender of Meaux, queen Catherine arrived from England, attended by the duke of Bedford, who had left the regency to the duke of Glouceſter, his brother. The two courts joining at Bois de Vincennes, went from thence ſoon after, to keep the Whitſun holidays at Paris. Henry lodged in the Louvre, and Charles in the palace of St. Pol, where he had but a ſmall court, whilſt the regent king's was numerous and ſplendid. On Whitſunday they dined together in publick, the two kings and two queens with crowns on their heads. Thoſe of the French, who had any regard left for their country, could not without grief behold the king of England, though paying an outward deference to the king his father-in-law, ruling France with an abſolute power. Their diſcontent was ſtill increaſed by a tax [k] impoſed by Henry, for coining a new ſort of money.

The two courts join at Paris. Monſtrelet.

A new coin in France.

[h] May 2. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 212.

[i] In this ſiege were killed Richard Beauchamp, earl of Worceſter, and the lord Clifford. The laſt was brought over and buried in the church of the canons of Bolton, in Craven, Yorkſhire. Goodwin, p. 325.

[k] Called in Rymer's Fœd. Marks of Silver. But what the number of them was, or on what they were laid on, is not mentioned. See tom. X. p. 58, 85.

The

The Pariſians loudly murmured, but to no purpoſe. Their condition was very different from what it was a few years before, when their adherence to one of the parties decided the fate of both. 1422.

Act. Pub. X. p. 58, 85. Monſtrelet.

Whilſt Henry was preparing to renew the campain, interrupted by the queen's arrival, news came that the dauphin had taken la Charité, which opened him a paſſage over the Loire. Shortly after, advice was brought that he was beſieging Coſne upon the ſame river, and that the beſieged had capitulated to ſurrender, unleſs relieved by the duke of Burgundy before the 18th of Auguſt. The duke finding his honour engaged to relieve that place, deſired the king to ſend him a reinforcement; to which the king anſwered, he would come himſelf, and immediately began to march at the head of his army. But whilſt he was pleaſing himſelf with the hopes of a victory that would render him maſter of all France, he was ſeized with a flux [l], which obliged him to ſtay at Senlis. However, for fear his illneſs ſhould hinder Coſne from being relieved, he ordered the duke of Bedford, with the beſt part of his troops [m], to join the duke of Burgundy. The dauphin hearing of their junction, and being too weak to give them battle, retired, and the two dukes having nothing more to do there, marched towards Troye. Mean time, Henry hoping his diſtemper would wear off after reſting a little at Senlis, had taken litter, in order to go and head the army. But his illneſs ſtill increaſing, he reſolved at length to return to Vincennes.

The dauphin takes la Charité, and beſieges Coſne. Walſing. Le Fevre. T. Livius. Elmham.

The king falls ſick. Walſing. Monſtrelet. T. Livius.

The dauphin retires.

Henry goes to Vincennes.

The duke of Bedford, hearing of the king's ill ſtate, departed immediately from Troye to come to him. He found him at the point of death, but expecting his approaching diſſolution with great firmneſs. Before he reſigned his laſt breath, he ſent for the dukes of Bedford and Exeter, the earl of Warwick, with ſeven or eight Engliſh lords, to give them his laſt inſtructions. He told them, "His reign "had been ſhort, but glorious, though his pretenſions to "France had cauſed a great effuſion of blood, it could not "be laid to his charge, ſince nothing but force could have "induced the French to a reaſonable peace. For his part,

His dying ſpeech. Monſtrelet. Le Fevre.

[l] J. des Urſins, and other French hiſtorians, ſay, that he died of a flux, accompanied with the piles. Monſtrelet ſays, it was a St. Antony's fire. According to Walſingham, through the hardſhips and fatigue he underwent, he contracted an acute fever, attended with a dyſentery. But Peter Baſſet, who was his chamberlain at the time of his death, affirms he died of a pleuriſy. See Goodwin, p. 337.

[m] And with Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, &c. Walſingham, p. 406.

"he

1422. "he beheld the approach of death without concern, but "could not help lamenting the fate of the prince his ſon, "who, by reaſon of his age, was uncapable of finiſhing a "work ſo happily begun: Wherefore he conjured them, for "God's ſake, to remain in ſtrict union for the ſervice of the "infant prince, who was going to be their king; to take care "of his education, and to give the queen all the conſolation "that lay in their power, and for which ſhe had ſo great "occaſion. He added, his laſt advice to them was to cul-"tivate diligently the duke of Burgundy's friendſhip, and "to take care not to releaſe the priſoners of Azincourt, till "his ſon was of age to hold the reins of the government "himſelf. In caſe they thought proper to conclude a peace, "it ſhould not be without ſecuring the ſovereignty of Nor-"mandy to the crown of England. He concluded with ſay-"ing, it was his deſire the duke of Bedford ſhould take up-"on him the adminiſtration of the affairs of France, and "the duke of Glouceſter be protector of England during "his ſon's minority."

His ſteadineſs at the approach of death. Monſtrelet. P. de Fenin.

Having ſpoken theſe words, he aſked the phyſicians how long they thought he had to live. Upon which, one of them ſaid, kneeling, with tears in his eyes, that without a miracle he could not live above two hours. This terrible ſentence giving him no manner of concern, he ſent for his confeſſor, and having made his confeſſion, ordered his chaplains to read the ſeven penitential Pſalms. When they came to theſe words of the 51ſt, "Build thou the walls of Jeruſa-"lem," he interrupted them, and declared, "Upon the "truth of a dying prince, that, after having ſettled a firm "peace in France, he really intended to wage war upon "the infidels, for the recovery of Jeruſalem out of their "hands." The moment they had finiſhed their devotion, this great prince expired on the 31ſt of Auguſt, in the thirty fourth year of his age, after a triumphant reign of nine years, five months, and eleven days. His body was brought into England, and buried at Weſtminſter among his anceſtors, with a funeral pomp ſuitable to the grandeur he enjoyed whilſt alive, and to the eſteem conceived of him by his ſubjects. His queen, to honour in a particular manner the memory of ſo illuſtrious a ſpouſe, cauſed to be laid on his tomb, a ſtatue of ſilver gilt, as large as the life, and extremely like him [n].

He declares he deſigned to have warred againſt the Infidels.

He dies.

Act. Pub. X. p. 253, 255, 256.

If

n He was interred at the feet of Edward the Confeſſor, in a little chapel, ſince enlarged and beautified with ſeveral ſtatues, and fenced with two iron grates,

If, to know this monarch's character, we follow, without examination, the praiſes beſtowed on him by the authors of his nation, we muſt imagine him the moſt accompliſhed prince that ever appeared in the world before him. Not an Engliſh hiſtorian aſcribes to him the leaſt defect, but all unanimouſly ſpeak of him as a perfect hero. On the other hand, the French have endeavoured to ſhade his portraiture with certain ſtrokes that ſully the luſtre. It will be neceſſary therefore, in order to form a juſt idea of him, to conſider his actions with their circumſtances, independently of the admiration of the one, and the envy of the other. 1422. Character of Henry V. Walſing.

In the firſt place, with reſpect to the government of his own kingdom, he ought not to be denied his due praiſe; for avoiding to tread in the ſteps of Richard II. and even of his own father, he conſtantly forbore to incroach on the liberties and privileges of the people. His readineſs at all times to give the royal aſſent to ſuch acts, as the parliament judged neceſſary for the welfare of the kingdom, was a clear evidence of his regard for the good and happineſs of his people. Nevertheleſs, in this very thing he was guilty of exceſs, ſince, contrary to his own inclination, and the dictates of his reaſon, he conſented to the perſecution of the Lollards, out of pure condeſcenſion to the clergy. Indeed, it was almoſt impoſſible that, being endued with an excellent judgment, he ſhould not perceive the groundleſſneſs of the accuſations againſt them, in the beginning of his reign. And yet, rather than publickly retract, he ſtill feigned to believe it true, at the very time when he pardoned ſome condemned perſons, who perſiſted in a denial of the pretended crime.

But it is not chiefly for what he acted in England, that hiſtorians have been ſo laviſh of their praiſes, his warlike exploits are the principal ſubject of his panegyrick. And yet, to ſpeak without aggravation, he was perhaps in no reſpect leſs remarkable, notwithſtanding the glorious ſucceſs that attended his arms. The conqueſt of France, conſidered in itſelf, has ſomething of the grand and the marvellous. But

grates, by Henry VII. On his tomb of grey marble, erected by his queen, was placed a royal image of ſilver gilt; but about the latter end of Henry VIII, the head (being of maſſy ſilver) was broken off, and conveyed away, with the plates of ſilver that covered his trunk, which now only remains of heart of oak; and his epitaph defaced, which was but theſe two ſilly verſes.

Dux Normannorum, verus conqueſtor eorum,
Heres Francorum deceſſit, et Hector eorum.

the

1422. the deſcription of the affairs of that kingdom renders it doubtleſs not ſo wonderful as it appears, when abſtracted from all its circumſtances. Lewis VIII. father of St. Lewis, conquered England in a like juncture, and yet no one ever thought ſolely to aſcribe the conqueſt to his wiſdom or valour. Henry projected his enterprize at a time when the civil diſſenſions of the French rendered them unable to defend themſelves. The towns he took were defended only by the beſieged themſelves, without any army ever appearing to relieve them. However, ſome of theſe places ſtopped him ſeveral months, and were ſurrendered only by famine.

The battle of Azincourt is then the great and almoſt ſole warlike exploit, which can juſtly afford matter for panegyrick. In this famous action, he gave proofs of an uncommon conduct, reſolution, and bravery. But this very battle, the ſucceſs whereof was ſo glorious, gives likewiſe occaſion to tax him with imprudence. It may be ſaid, that if he was victorious, it was, becauſe he had reduced himſelf to an abſolute neceſſity of vanquiſhing or dying, to which a general never expoſes himſelf, whatever the event may be, without cauſing his conduct to be ſeverely cenſured. His undertaking to retire to Calais without foreſeeing the difficulties of the march, and without being ſecure of a paſſage over the Somme; his obſtinacy in reſolving to paſs that river, in order to force his way through an army ſo ſuperior in number to his own, ſeem excuſable only by the ſucceſs of the battle of Azincourt, which was a ſort of miracle. Had he been vanquiſhed, as he ſhould naturally have been, he would have been infallibly charged with indiſcretion or raſhneſs. The neceſſity he was reduced to during his march, if we may believe the French hiſtorians, of offering to reſtore Harfleur, and repair the damages he had cauſed to France, ſhews, how much he himſelf was convinced of his error. This battle therefore was more glorious for him on account of his perſonal valour, than with regard to his military capacity. It muſt be confeſſed, never did prince expoſe himſelf more in a battle, and give more ſignal proofs of true valour, than did Henry in that action.

As for his other conqueſts in France, I do not know, whether his greateſt admirers have reaſon to wiſh he had met with more oppoſition. What might have happened in that caſe is beyond human knowledge. It cannot however be denied, that the victory of Azincourt prepoſſeſſes us in his favour. But what may be extolled in him without danger of being deceived, is the excellency of his genius, and the ſolidity

city of his judgment. He knew how to manage the great undertaking he had formed with wonderful addreſs, wiſely improving the ſeveral revolutions in France, and making them all turn to his advantage. Few princes would have ſtopped like him, after ſo glorious a victory as that of Azincourt, and preferred a repoſe, which, though ſeemingly leſs glorious than the continuation of the war, was in reality to him more advantageous. This policy, in my opinion, is one of the brighteſt paſſages of his life, and beſt ſhews the ſoundneſs of his judgment. His negotiations with the dauphin and the duke of Burgundy at the ſame time, and his inſtructions to his ambaſſadors, are plain indications of his abilities, and how difficult it was to deceive him. 1422.

It is not very ſtrange, that the proſperous ſucceſs of his undertakings ſhould gain him extraordinary praiſes from the nation, eſpecially as it cannot be denied, that this ſucceſs was no leſs owing to his prudent conduct, than to favourable junctures. In general, he forced the French to own him for regent and heir of their kingdom. And this is one of thoſe actions, which ſeldom fail of being praiſed beyond meaſure. Accordingly, hiſtorians have not been ſatisfied with comparing him to David, Alexander, and Cæſar, but have ranked him above theſe great men. But however, without going ſo far for compariſons, which after all ſeem not very juſt, methinks he might with more reaſon be put in parallel with Edward III. his great grandfather. However, I ſhould hardly ſcruple to give the preference to Edward. Edward had to deal with all France united againſt him, and the difficulties he encountered in his conqueſts, were incomparably greater, and required an abler head to ſurmount them than thoſe which oppoſed the progreſs of Henry V.

What I have been ſaying of this prince properly relates only to his principal action, namely, his war with France. I ſhall now deſcribe his other qualifications, which, though not ſo illuſtrious, are no leſs worthy of admiration than the glorious ſucceſſes, which have almoſt wholly engroſſed the attention of the publick. It is certain, he had all the endowments of body and mind requiſite to form a great man. His ſtature was tall and majeſtick, though a little too ſlender and long necked. His hair was black, and his eyes of the ſame colour were very lively. He was ſtrong and robuſt, very expert in all bodily exerciſes, chaſte, temperate, at leaſt after he came to the crown, inured to hardſhips, and patient of hunger and thirſt, heat and cold. In all this he was a ſtanding example to his troops of moderation and conſtancy.

1422. He was a great lover of juſtice, following it himſelf, and cauſing it to be punctually obſerved. Religious without diſguiſe, perſevering in piety, and conſtant in his private as well as publick devotions, a great protector of the church and clergy, he won by theſe qualities the eſteem and affection of the eccleſiaſticks, who did not a little contribute to heighten the luſtre of his glory. He was prudent in council, bold in undertaking, and reſolute in executing. As for his valour, he gave continual proofs of it through the whole courſe of his life. There is another thing likewiſe, for which he ought to be praiſed. He cauſed military diſcipline to reflouriſh, which was almoſt entirely neglected in England ſince the reign of Edward III. Never did the Engliſh nation ſhine with ſuch luſtre, as under this renowned prince. To this may be added, he was ſo fortunate as to end his days in the midſt of his proſperity, and not ſee, with Edward III. the fruits of all his labours deſtroyed.

Having related what is ſaid by the Engliſh to this prince's advantage, the faithfulneſs of an hiſtorian requires that ſome failings caſt upon him by the French, and aggravated perhaps by malice and envy, be not paſſed over in ſilence. In the firſt place, they tax him with cruelty, and making war in a barbarous manner. They ground the charge not only upon the ſlaughter of the priſoners at the battle of Azincourt, but alſo upon his putting to death ſeveral officers after the taking of Caen, Melun, and Meaux. But as to the priſoners of Azincourt, there is no doubt but the maxims of war, and the neceſſity of providing for his own ſafety, will juſtify his orders upon that account, ſuppoſing they were not too haſty. As for his treatment of the burghers and garriſons of the conquered places, I confeſs, it is not impoſſible but he might be ſomething ſwayed by revenge, by reaſon of the time theſe brave men made him loſe, but this can only be ſaid by conjecture. That he uſed ſeverity towards ſome is certain, but his motives are unknown. To diſcuſs ſuch facts, more circumſtances are required than are come to our knowledge. However, with regard to thoſe of Meaux, they are known to have incurred the guilt of ſeveral murders, for which doubtleſs they deſerved to be puniſhed. It was neither unjuſt nor barbarous to hang the baſtard of Vaurus on the ſame tree, whereon he himſelf had hanged all the duke of Burgundy's adherents, that fell into his hands. For the other three, executed at the ſame time, I know not the reaſon; but it is to be preſumed, they were not capriciouſly choſen from all the reſt of the garriſon, to be inſtances of the ſe-

verity of the conquerors. As for the Engliſh and Iriſh, who were in the ſervice of his enemies, their being excepted in the capitulation needs no apology. It were to be wiſhed, for Henry's reputation, that he could be as eaſily juſtified in refuſing to give quarter to the Scots, on pretence they would not obey their king, who was actually his priſoner. 1422.

The French accuſe alſo this prince of exceſſive pride, even to the cauſing, as they aſſure us, the marſhal de l'Iſle Adam to be committed to the Baſtile, for daring to look in his face when ſpeaking to him °. It is true, if he had no other reaſon, this was a high ſtrain of haughtineſs and rigour. But can it be denied, that a look, a bare geſture, may be ſometimes very offenſive? And who knows but the marſhal, as he ſpoke, uſed ſome aggravating circumſtance or raſh expreſſion, which rendered him worthy of chaſtiſement, and which has been induſtriouſly concealed to make the king's action appear the more odious? Monſtrelet. P. de Fenin.

Avarice is another failing, wherewith he is confidently reproached. It is pretended, that after he was declared regent and heir of France, he was never bountiful, either to any of the Burgundian party, who had ſerved him, or to thoſe of the dauphin's, who voluntarily ſubmitted to him, I ſhall not undertake to clear him from this charge, as it does not appear that he was very liberal to the Engliſh themſelves, who ſerved him, whether by reaſon of his great expence, or becauſe he was otherwiſe inclined. Though he had many good officers, and excellent generals, we do not find, that he rewarded them according to their merit and ſervices. We muſt however except the earl of Dorſet, to whom he aſſigned a penſion of a thouſand pounds a year, when he created him earl of Exeter; Faſtolff, to whom he gave a conſiderable eſtate near Harfleur; the Act. Pub. IX. p. 329.

° King Henry, who had little eſteem for him, did not treat him with ſuch favour as he ſhewed to the other officers, as appeared upon occaſion of the marſhal's coming to him one day for inſtructions; his majeſty ſeeing him in a very plain coat, ſaid to him in raillery, how, L'Iſle Adam, is this the garb of a marſhal of France? To which he replied with an air of confidence, that he had it made to wear in the boat which brought him down the Seine. The anſwer was diſpleaſing from the manner of delivering it, and king Henry was provoked to ſay, you are too rude in your behaviour, ſir; how dare you look on a king in that bold manner? Sir, replied the marſhal, it is the faſhion of my country, where, if one man ſpeak to another, though the greateſt on earth, with a downcaſt look, we think him conſcious of ſome baſeneſs or guilt. Your cuſtoms, ſaid the king, are very different from ours. The next year, the marſhal was diſplaced from his office, and committed cloſe priſoner by the king's order, for ſome miſcarriages. Monſtrelet. P. de Fenin. Goodwin, p. 280.

1422. captal of Buch of the houſe of Foix, who had the lordſhip of Longueville; and the earl of Saliſbury, to whom he gave the earldom of Perche. But after all, very poſſibly Henry's want of liberality was the effect of his prudence. I have obſerved, that the revenue of the crown amounted but to fifty ſix thouſand pounds, and that he was forced to pawn his jewels, to ſupply what the ſums granted him by parliament, wanted to defray the charges of the war. Was it proper to appear liberal in ſuch circumſtances? Upon many occaſions, it were to be wiſhed, ſovereigns would moderate their bounties, which are but too often at the expence of the poor people.

p. 765. p. 739.

Laſtly, an unbounded ambition is a failing, which the French think may juſtly be laid to his charge. To know whether this accuſation be well-grounded, it ſhould be examined, whether he was in the right to renew, or rather to continue a war againſt France, occaſioned by her breach of the treaty of Bretigny, and begun by herſelf. But this enquiry would be needleſs, after what has been ſaid upon the ſubject in the reign of Edward III. to which recourſe may be had. However it cannot be denied, that Henry was very ambitious. His firſt project was only to reſtore the peace of Bretigny. But when he ſaw a poſſibility of mounting the throne of France, his ambition carried him beyond the bounds preſcribed by himſelf in the beginning of the war. I have taken notice of his intent, to make one of his brothers king of Naples, and the other of Sicily, and of his uſing, certainly, no very honourable means to procure the duke of Glouceſter four provinces of the low-countries. We find in the collection of the publick acts, he had a deſign to purchaſe the duchy of Luxemburgh of the emperor Sigiſmund, and to treat with him concerning his pretended claim to Dauphiné. In fine, it farther appears, he would have paid the ranſom of a lord of the houſe of Blois [p], priſoner to the marquiſs of Baden, probably, to aſſert one day the pretenſions of that houſe to the duchy of Bretagne.

Act. Pub. X. p. 143, 144, 145.

His iſſue. By Catherine of France his queen, Henry left but one ſon of his own name, about eight or nine months old. The queen his widow, forgetting ſhe had been wife of ſo great a prince, and her deſcent from the moſt illuſtrious houſe of Europe, married ſome time after, Owen Tudor, a

[p] The lord Oliver de Blois, count of Poictiers. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 145.

Welſh

Welſh gentleman, not without giving great offence both to the Engliſh and the French. It is pretended, this gentleman was deſcended from the antient kings of Wales, but I do not know whether the deſcent be well proved [q]. Owen Tudor had by the queen three ſons, namely, Edmund, Jaſper, and Owen [r]. The eldeſt married Margaret, only daughter of John Beaufort duke of Somerſet, grandſon of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, and Catherine Roet his third wife. He was father of Henry VII. whom we ſhall ſee hereafter mount the throne, and leave it to his poſterity. 1422.

Charles VI. king of France, ſurvived Henry but two months. The death of theſe two monarchs is going to open a ſcene very different from what we have ſeen [s].

[q] It is likewiſe ſaid, he was the ſon of a Brewer: but the meanneſs of his extraction was made up by the delicacy of his perſon, being reckoned the handſomeſt man of his time.

[r] And a daughter that died an infant.

[s] King Henry, among other works of magnificence and charity, rebuilt the royal palace of Shene, now called Richmond; and the caſtle of Kenelworth. He alſo founded the fraternity of St. Giles without Cripplegate, London, beſides other monaſteries mentioned above. Walſing. p. 387. Stow's Ann. p. 362.—It was alſo this king that firſt inſtituted garter king at arms, and made ſeveral regulations about the honourable order of the garter, which the curious reader may ſee in Aſhmole's Inſtitut. &c. of the garter, p. 252, &c. He alſo appointed a new herald, by the title of Agincourt king at arms. Rymer's Fœd. tom. IX. p. 702.

H. 5.

In the ninth of Henry V. a pound weight of gold, of the old ſtandard, was to make by tale fifty nobles, or a hundred half nobles, or two hundred quarter nobles, amounting to ſixteen pounds, thirteen ſhillings and fourpence in tale. And a pound weight of the ſame old ſtandard, was to make by tale, ninety groſſes or groats, or a hundred and eighty half groats, or three hundred and ſixty ſterlings, or ſeven hundred and twenty mailes, or fourteen hundred and forty farthings, amounting to thirty ſhillings. Bartholomew Goldbeater, was maſter and worker. This king's roſe noble is inſcribed, HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. ET. FRANC. DNS. HIB. the king ſtanding in a ſhip, holding in his right hand a ſword, in the left a ſhield, with the arms of France and England, the flower-de-lis being ſtrictly three; he being the firſt that bore them ſo. Reverſe, CH. AVTEM. TRANSIENS. PER MEDIUM, ILLORV. IBAT. a croſs fleuri, with four fleurs-de-lis, and as many lions paſſant; each under a crown above, and three pellets below; within the center of the croſs, in a roſe the letter H, the whole with-

1422. in a large roſe. Evelin's deſcription of his roſe noble, belongs to his ſon's angel. There was alſo gold money ſtamped at Paris, and in Normandy, by Henry V, called ſaluts, bearing the angel's ſalutation of the bleſſed virgin, (the one holding the arms of England, the other of France) with the king's title; and, on the reverſe, CHRISTVS VINCIT. CHRISTVS SIGNAT. CHRISTVS IMPERAT. which we find very little altered, upon ſome of the earlieſt piſtoles of Lewis XIV. The legend indeed belongs to France, and Du Freſne reckons the ſalut amongſt the proper coins of that country. The king's gold coins were ſo debaſed, that it was neceſſary to order, that they ſhould be recoined at the Tower gratis. His ſilver money was moſtly (as the ſtatute directed) coined at Paris, though ſome of his pieces have CIVITAS LONDON, in the inner circle of the reverſe. His ſilver coins are ſuppoſed to be diſtinguiſhed (chiefly) from thoſe of Henry IV, by two little circles, or eyelet holes, deeply impreſſed below the face, on each ſide the neck, which are anſwered by two more, in the middle of two triangles of globules in the quarters of the croſs, on the reverſe. See the fig. There was alſo white money coined by this king in France, after the victory of Azincourt; his ſtyle being then REX ANGLIÆ ET HÆRES FRANCIÆ. Theſe blanks, ſays ſir Edward Coke, were valued at eight pence, and becauſe of their baſeneſs, were deemed gally halfpence, ſuſkyn and dotkyn, and prohibited by act of parliament. Coke's Inſt. l. 3. c. 30. p. 92.

THE

K. HENRY VI.
Verme Sculp

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK XII.

The reign of HENRY VI. *with a diſſertation on the maid of* ORLEANS.

15. HENRY VI. *ſurnamed of* WINDSOR.

HENRY V. when he had almoſt attained his ends, ſeemed to have been taken out of the world by a particular direction of divine providence, which is ſometimes pleaſed to ſtop the beſt concerted undertakings, when juſt going to be accompliſhed. The peace of Troye not being yet firmly ſettled, and the prince who was to mount the throne, but an infant of nine months, every thing ſeemed to concur to take from the Engliſh the hopes of ſeeing the two kingdoms of France and England united under a king of their nation. But on the other hand, the noble qualities of the dukes of Bedford and Glocester, brothers of the deceaſed king, incouraged the moſt timorous. How great ſoever the loſs might be, it was not thought irreparable, ſince the valour, experience and wiſdom of theſe two princes, enabled them to ſupport the new king's minority. Inſtead therefore of being diſheartned at ſo terrible a blow, they ſhewed, by proclaiming young Henry king of England, and heir of France, that they were determined to

Henry VI. 1422.

It is reſolved in England to maintain young Henry's right to France.

Henry VI is proclaimed heir of France.

1422. maintain what the king his father had ſo glorioufly eſtabliſhed.

The duke of Gloceſter had governed the kingdom by the title of guardian, ever ſince the duke of Bedford his elder brother attended the queen into France. But this dignity being inconſiſtent with a king actually preſent in his kingdom, ceaſed the moment young Henry was proclaimed [a]. It is true, the late king had ordered upon his death-bed, that during his ſon's minority, the duke of Gloceſter ſhould be regent, or protector in England. But this was not a ſufficient warrant to exerciſe that important office. The parliament's confirmation was alſo requiſite. For that, and ſome no leſs urgent reaſons, the council ſpeedily ſummoned a parliament for the 9th of November. Till the two houſes ſhould ſettle the form of government during the king's minority, the council, whereof the duke of Gloceſter was preſident, iſſued out all neceſſary orders for whatever would not admit of delay.

A parliament is called. Cotton's Abridg.

A few days after, the council was informed of ſome commotions [b] in Wales, and the neighbouring counties, which might be attended with ill conſequences. Very likely, as the earl of March had great intereſt in thoſe parts, ſome of his moſt zealous adherents deſigned to raiſe troubles, in order to try at ſuch a juncture, to revive the earl's claim to the crown. It may at leaſt be preſumed, theſe commotions ſeemed to be of great moment, ſince, beſides the orders of the council, to the ſheriffs, commiſſioners were appointed to put them in execution.

The Welſh begin to ſtir. Act. Pub. X. p. 254.

During the time between the calling and ſitting of the parliament, died king Charles VI at Paris, the 21ſt of October, having ſurvived Henry V. his ſon-in-law, but fifty five days. His death entirely changed the face of affairs. It was not doubted that the dauphin would take the title of king of France, and exert his utmoſt to procure the poſſeſſion of a crown, which he deemed fallen to him by the death of the king his father. Whilſt Charles VI. was alive, many of his ſubjects thought it their duty to obey him, without inquiring, whether what he did was conformable to the laws, and beneficial to the ſtate, becauſe, their oath

The death of the king of France. Mezerai.

[a] A guardian is appointed to govern in the king's abſence only; and a regent, or protector, during an interregnum, or the non-age of the king. Rapin.

[b] They were informed of ſome quarrels, diſſenſions, and debates (as it is ſaid in Rymer's Fœd.) that had happened in Shropſhire, Hereford-ſhire, Worceſterſhire, Glouceſterſhire, and the Marches of Wales. Tom. X. p. 254.

to

to him was not conditional. But after his death, they believed it no leſs incumbent upon them, to acknowledge the dauphin his ſon, for ſovereign, notwithſtanding the peace of Troye, which deprived him of his right. Indeed, that peace bore but too viſible marks of ſeduction and violence, to be conſidered by true Frenchmen, as a fundamental and inviolable law, though many that believed it very unjuſt, had been forced to approve it. So the dauphin, who, in the latter years of the king his father, might, in ſome meaſure, be counted a rebel, was upon better terms, when he could aſſume the title of ſovereign. 1422.

Theſe conſiderations obliged the duke of Bedford, who continued in France, ſeriouſly to reflect on the poſſible ill conſequences of the change, and to ſeek means to prevent them. Charles VI. had no ſooner cloſed his eyes, but the duke ordered Henry to be proclaimed king of France, and, purſuant to the will of the late king his brother, took himſelf the title of regent. Then he broke the great ſeal, and cauſed a new one to be made, with the arms of France and England, and the effigies of the young king holding a ſceptre in each hand. Henry VI. is proclaimed king of France at Paris. The duke of Bedford takes the title of regent. J. Chartier.

The ſucceſſion to the crown of France being ſettled by the peace of Troye, the regent thought he might, upon that foundation, and without a new conſent of the ſtates, put the king his nephew in poſſeſſion of the kingdom. Wherefore, contenting himſelf with aſſembling at Paris, all the great men of the Engliſh party, he made a ſpeech, exhorting them to recognize young Henry for their ſovereign. He inſiſted on the peace of Troye, and their oath to maintain it, and endeavoured to convince them, it was for their own, as well as the kingdom's intereſt, inviolably to obſerve it. This done, all that were preſent ſwore allegiance to Henry, and did homage to him in the perſon of the regent, for the lands they held of the crown. The ſame thing was afterwards required of thoſe that were abſent, and of the towns in ſubjection to the Engliſh. The French lords ſwear allegiance to Henry. Hall.

The ceremony being ended, the regent, the council of France, and city of Paris, ſent deputies to London, of whom the biſhop of Terouenne was the chief, to congratulate the young king upon his acceſſion to the crowns of the two kingdoms. At the ſame time, the deputies had orders to go by the low countries, and exhort the duke of Burgundy to remain firm to the alliance. It was feared the death of Henry V. and of Charles VI. might cauſe him to alter his meaſures. A deputation to Henry. Monſtrelet.

Whilſt

1422. Whilſt the duke of Bedford was taking all neceſſary precautions to ſettle the affairs of the king his nephew, the dauphin was no leſs intent upon his. He was at Eſpaly, a houſe belonging to the biſhop of Puy, when he heard of his father's death. He ſhed tears at the news, whether nature rouzed herſelf upon the occaſion, or he had really preſerved an affection for a father, who was not to be blamed for the miſchiefs he had done him. The firſt day he appeared in mourning, but on the morrow put on ſcarlet, and was proclaimed king of France, with all the ſolemnity the circumſtances of his court, and the place he was in, would permit. After that, he came to Poictiers, where he had removed the parliament of Paris. He was crowned there, in the beginning of November, becauſe the city of Rheims, where the coronation of the kings of France is uſually performed, was in the hands of the Engliſh.

The dauphin takes the title of king of France, and is crowned at Poictiers. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Thus Henry VI. and Charles VII. aſſumed, both at the ſame time, the title of king of France, and diſputed with each other the poſſeſſion of the throne thirty years. This renders the hiſtory of the preſent reign ſo interwoven with that of France, that they cannot poſſibly be ſeparated. The Engliſh were bent to preſerve for their young king, the crown of France, acquired by his father, and of which they believed his anceſtors to have been unjuſtly deprived. On the other hand, Charles meant likewiſe to take poſſeſſion of the ſame crown, which it was deſigned to wreſt from him, and which, in his opinion, he held not ſo much from the king his father, ſeduced by ill counſels, as from a long train of anceſtors, who had enjoyed it before him. This important quarrel produced numberleſs events, which to be well underſtood, require an exact knowledge of the ſtate of the affairs of both kings, in the beginning of their reigns. It is no leſs requiſite to know the perſons that managed the affairs, as well civil as military, of the two kingdoms. In ſhort, to perceive wherein conſiſted the advantages and diſadvantages of each king, during a tedious war, it will be abſolutely neceſſary to have a general idea of the ſtate of France, with regard to the aſſiſtance each of the two kings might have, as well from the princes and vaſſals of the crown, as from foreign [illegible]. This review ſeems to me indiſpenſable, in order to avoid the obſcurity, which would inceſſantly occur, in a mere recital of ſo many various events.

Neceſſity of joining together the hiſtories of France and England.

First

First then, for the perſons of the two kings, Charles was one and twenty years old [c], and Henry but an infant of nine months. But even in that the advantage was on Henry's ſide, whoſe affairs were managed by two uncles of great abilities, and by the wiſeſt council then in Europe. On the contrary, Charles, who never paſſed for an extraordinary genius, was, by reaſon of his age, more difficult to be ruled, his paſſions frequently hindering him from following the beſt advice. To the time he aſſumed the title of king, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf neither by his valour nor conduct. More prone to pleaſures than war, he appeared very unfit to reſtore the affairs of the French monarchy, which was upon the brink of deſtruction. The duke of Burgundy's murder, committed in his preſence, and doubtleſs by his orders, had raiſed diſadvantageous prejudices againſt him. He had not been more ſcrupulous, with regard to the duke of Bretagne his brother-in-law. That prince, whom the earls of Pontievre, by a notorious treachery, had carried away by force, and long detained in priſon, came to know, after his deliverance, that the plot was contrived againſt him with the dauphin's privity and conſent. And therefore, it might be ſaid, it was not Charles's fault, that the duke of Bretagne had not undergone the ſame fate with the duke of Burgundy. Theſe things made a deep wound in his reputation, which was not otherwiſe ſupported by any ſignal virtue or action. All that could be ſaid to his advantage, was, that he had not baſely ſtooped to his enemies. But it did not require a great genius, to refuſe running into manifeſt deſtruction.

1422.

Situation of the affairs of both kings.

Act. Pub. IX. p. 876, 884.

As to the forces of the two kings, it is eaſy to ſee, that Henry had greatly the advantage of his rival, ſince with what he poſſeſſed in France, he had moreover all England on his ſide. France was then ſo divided between them, that each had whole provinces under his obedience, and in others, each had fortified towns and adherents. In the provinces thus divided, there was ſcarce a walled town, but what had a garriſon for one or other. And this rendered them, above thirty years, the ſeat of the war.

Charles was poſſeſſed of all Languedoc, from whence he had lately expelled the earl of Foix, whilſt Henry V. was employed in the ſiege of Melun, and had appointed for governor, the earl of Clermont, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Bourbon. From that time, the earl of Foix, had in vain attempted to recover that province.

[c] P. Daniel ſays, he was but in the twentieth year of his age. Vol. VI. p. 1.

The

1422. The dauphiné, was likewiſe entirely ſubject to Charles, who poſſeſſed alſo Berry, Auvergne, Touraine, part of Saintonge, the city of Rochel and Poictou. Beſides theſe provinces, he conſidered as countries dependant of him, Provence, Maine, and Anjou, for reaſons mentioned hereafter.

Henry was in poſſeſſion of Normandy and Guienne, the richeſt provinces of the kingdom. Picardy, Champagne, la Brie, and the iſle of France belonging to him, excepting a few places, which ſtill held out for king Charles. In a word, he was maſter of Paris, the metropolis of the kingdom, which alone was equivalent to a great and rich province. He could moreover rely on the two Burgundies, Flanders, and Artois, which belonged to the duke of Burgundy, his vaſſal and ally.

From what has been ſaid, it is eaſy to perceive, that the war might be carried on in all the provinces of France, Bretagne excepted, which hitherto had ſtood neuter. But there were ſome places more expoſed than others to the fury of the ſword, as Picardy, Champagne, la Brie, and the iſle of France. The reaſon is, becauſe the Engliſh, before all things, would clear theſe provinces of king Charles's garriſons, in order to attack him afterwards beyond the Loire, without being forced to leave any thing behind them. For the ſame reaſon, it was Charles's intereſt to proſecute the war in the ſame provinces, to prevent his enemies from carrying their conqueſts into the ſouthern provinces, which were his laſt refuge.

After ſeeing the diſpoſition of the provinces, it will be neceſſary to examine that of the French princes, immediate vaſſals of the crown. And firſt of the duke of Bretagne.

Situation of the duke of Bretagne.

Ever ſince the beginning of the war, John V. duke of Bretagne, had ſtood neuter, without concerning himſelf in a quarrel, which could not fail of drawing the war into his country, if he had been ſo ill adviſed, as to declare for either of the kings. But after the peace of Troye was ſigned and ſworn, he believed it no longer poſſible to continue in a ſtate of neutrality. Charles VI. and Henry V. being united by the peace, and there being but one king of France, he could not help acknowledging him, unleſs he would openly join with the dauphin. But ſuch a proceeding would have been very imprudent, ſince the dauphin was ſo low, that there was little appearance of his ever recovering. Upon theſe accounts, as ſoon as the duke ſaw the two kings united, he ſent Henry V. word, he was ready to ſign the peace of

Act. Pub. X p. 8, 15, 20, 22.

Troye,

Troye, and do homage for his dutchy to king Charles. The negotiation, though begun in 1420, could not be ended before Henry's death. Probably, the duke of Bretagne prolonged it, on purpose to see how the war against the dauphin would go. Be this as it will, Henry dying before the affair was finished, the duke of Bretagne saw himself in the same state, as before the peace of Troye, that is, at liberty to choose his side, or stand neuter, according as he should be determined by the events. There was however one strong reason for his not siding with the dauphin, and that was, the discovery of the dauphin's being deeply concerned in the conspiracy of the Pontievrians. Nevertheless, preferring the peace of his subjects, to the pleasure of revenge, he had not thought proper to declare for England. 1422.

Arthur, earl of Richemont, brother to the duke of Bretagne, was taken prisoner at Azincourt in 1415, and carried into England, where he remained till 1420. Mean while, the duke his brother being seized by the Pontievrians, he desired king Henry's leave, to go and endeavour to free him. Leave was granted him on certain conditions, namely, that on Michaelmas day 1422, Arthur should return to London, and appear before the king, or his successor, the lord chancellor, or the mayor of London. The state of the earl of Richemont. Act. Pub. X. p. 5, 8, 46.

That during the term of his enlargement, he should make no alliance with the dauphin, or any other person whatever, against the king of England, or the duke of Burgundy; neither should he attempt any thing contrary to the peace of Troye.

That Alan de Rohan, the duke of Bretagne's lieutenant, the states and barons of the country, should promise the same thing, during the earl's absence from England.

For security of these conditions, the earl of Montfort was to be delivered to the king, whom he promised to restore, upon the earl of Richemont's return to London.

The earl ratified and swore all these articles, and then departed for Bretagne. The death of Henry V. happening a month before the expiration of his leave, instead of returning into England, according to his oath, he still remained at the duke his brother's court, who was freed from his imprisonment. Thus, at the time of Charles VI's death, he was really prisoner of the English, though he was not actually in their power, and moreover, liable to the reproach of breach of faith. Some have thought to justify him, by saying, he only stood bound to the person of Henry V. and therefore, upon that monarch's decease, believed himself freed Hist. of Charles VII. by J. B. J. Tom. I. p. 195.

1422. freed from his oath. But this pretended limitation of his engagement, is deſtroyed by the ſore-mentioned articles.

Beſides the duke of Bretagne's diſpoſition with reſpect to the two rival kings, he was moreover prompted to ſide with the Engliſh, by the earl of Richemont, his brother, who had a great influence over him. Arthur not only thereby deſigned to free himſelf from his engagement, but had alſo other views, which ſhall be mentioned hereafter. It may therefore be ſaid, that though the duke of Bretagne ſtood neuter, or was deſirous of ſtill paſſing for ſuch, he was however upon the point of declaring for England.

State of the duke of Burgundy.

As for the duke of Burgundy, there is no occaſion to repeat his reaſons to remain firm to the alliance of the Engliſh. It will ſuffice to ſay, that he did not think the death of the duke his father, ſufficiently revenged, whilſt Charles enjoyed any part of France.

Of the duke of Anjou, king of Sicily.

Lewis III. duke of Anjou, and king of Sicily, who was poſſeſſed in France, of Provence, Anjou, and Maine, was entirely in the intereſt of king Charles, his brother-in-law. But he had been ſome time employed at Naples, in ſecuring the inheritance of Joan II. queen of that country, who had adopted him for her ſon. In his abſence, Violante of Arragon, his mother, had the adminiſtration of affairs, and remained firmly attached to king Charles, her ſon-in-law.

Of the earl of Foix and his brothers. Othag. Hiſt. of Foix and Bearn.

The houſe of Foix, made then a very great figure in the kingdom [d], Matthew of Caſtlebon, earl of Foix, and ſovereign of Bearn, dying without iſſue in 1399, Elizabeth his ſiſter, wife of Archembald de Grailly, captal of Buch in Guienne, took poſſeſſion of his dominions. Charles VI. attempted to deprive the captal and his wife of that noble inheritance, but they found means to keep poſſeſſion. Archembald died in 1413, leaving five ſons, all of diſtinguiſhed merit. John, the eldeſt was earl of Foix and Bigorre, and ſovereign of Bearn. Gaſton, who bore the title of captal of Buch, adhered to Henry V. who made him knight of the garter, and earl of Longueville. From him ſprung the houſe of Candale. Archembald, lord of Noailles, the third

[d] The earls of Foix (part of Gaſcogne) were in ſo high eſteem in the court of France, that they took place of the earl of Vendôme, though a prince of the blood, and lived in a ſtate equal to moſt kings in Chriſtendom. Francis Phœbus, by marrying the heireſs of Navarre, added that kingdom to Foix in 1479. And by Anthony of Bourbon, duke of Vendôme, marrying Joan, heireſs of this houſe, became king of Navarre, earl of Foix, and ſovereign of Bearn, whoſe ſon Henry II, king of Navarre, &c. ſucceeded to the crown of France in 1589, being grandfather to Lewis XIV, late king of France.

ſon,

ſon, was killed on Montereau bridge, with the duke of Burgundy. Matthew, the fourth brother, married the heireſs of Cominge. We ſhall ſee hereafter, that a quarrel between him and his wife, cauſed the country of Cominge, to fall into the hands of Charles VII. Peter the youngeſt, was at firſt a Franciſcan friar, then biſhop of Leſcar, and at laſt cardinal, and legate à latere in France, under the pontificate of Martin V. He founded the college of Foix at Toulouſe. 1422.

Hence it appears, that the houſe of Foix was very conſiderable, as well for extent of dominion in the ſouthern parts of France, as for the merit of the four brothers, whereof it conſiſted. The neighbourhood of Guienne obliged the earls of Foix, to pay great regard to the kings of England, who were maſters of that dukedom. Foix, Bearn, and Bigorre, could with eaſe be invaded by ſo powerful neighbours, and with difficulty be aſſiſted by the kings of France. Beſides, the captal of Buch, and the earl of Cominge, were vaſſals of the king of England. An ancient quarrel between the houſe of Foix, and the earls of Armagnac, was a farther inducement to that houſe, to continue under the protection of the Engliſh, and the duke of Burgundy, ſworn enemy of the Armagnacs. Theſe conſiderations led Henry V. when he entered upon the regency of France, to give the government of Languedoc, to the earl of Foix. He made an agreement with the earl, to find a conſiderable number of troops [c], to keep that province in obedience to Charles VI. He was, as hath been ſhewn, expelled by the dauphin, and the earl of Clermont put in his room. Immediately after the death of Henry V. the earl of Foix renewed the agreement with his ſucceſſor, who made him governor again. But it was not in his power to diſpoſſeſs the earl of Clermont. Afterwards, the earl of Foix, ſeeing England did not obſerve the agreement, ſided with king Charles. But in the beginning of the preſent reign, he and his two brothers openly declared for the Engliſh.

Act. Pub. X. p. 46, 70, 176—194.

Ib. p. 271, ——276.

On the other hand, the houſes of Armagnac and Albret, very powerful in Guienne, declared for Charles VII. though a little before, they had complied with the times, and made their peace with Henry V.

Of Armagnac and Albret.

[c] A thouſand men at arms, and a thouſand archers. For the maintenance of which, he was allowed by Charles VI, ſeven hundred and fifty crowns of gold a month. Ibid. p. 192.

The

1422. The houſe of Orleans conſiſting of two princes, Charles, duke of Orleans, and John, earl of Angoulême his brother, both priſoners in England. The firſt had been there ever ſince the battle of Azincourt in 1415. The ſecond was given in hoſtage to the duke of Clarence, in 1412, for ſecurity of the payment of the Engliſh troops, ſent by king Henry IV. to aſſiſt the princes in league againſt the duke of Burgundy. Theſe two princes being priſoners, were, as to their perſons, neither ſerviceable nor hurtful to either of the two parties, but their ſtrong towns were at the diſpoſal of king Charles.

Ib. p. 41. &c.

Of the duke of Orleans, and earl of Angoulême.

Some affirm, that the duke of Orleans made a treaty with Henry V. whereby, in conſideration of a great penſion paid yearly for his expence, he obtained of that monarch, a neutrality for his city of Orleans, and all his other places. But this pretended treaty is only a chimera, ſince the foundation on which it is built, namely, the penſion, had never any exiſtence. The ninth and tenth volumes of the publick acts of England, are full of papers concerning the duke of Orleans, and yet, among ſo many, there is not one that gives the leaſt intimation of the penſion, much leſs of the pretended treaty. Beſides, it is not very likely, that Henry V. ſhould, in the time of his proſperity, grant a neutrality, for places ſituated in the heart of a kingdom, he was undertaking to conquer.

Hiſt. of Charles VII.

John, duke of Alenſon, about thirteen or fourteen years old, ſon of the duke of Alenſon, ſlain in the battle of Azincourt, began to give tokens of an uncommon valour and conduct, which made him looked upon as a prince of great hopes. He was firmly attached to king Charles, as well as Peter his baſtard brother, who paſſed for one of the ſtouteſt warriors in the kingdom.

Of the duke of Alenſon.

Charles d'Artois, earl of Eu, was priſoner in England, ever ſince the battle of Azincourt. As he was not releaſed till 1434, he made no figure in France, the firſt years of this reign.

Of the earl of Eu.

John, duke of Bourbon, head of the illuſtrious houſe of Bourbon, which was divided into ſeveral branches [f], was priſoner in England, ſince the year 1415. So, though he was a prince of great merit, he had no ſhare in the tranſactions of France. But the earl of Clermont, his eldeſt ſon, firmly adhered to king Charles, with all his father's towns.

Of the duke of Bourbon.

Lewis earl of Vendôme, of the houſe of Bourbon, was likewiſe priſoner in England, ſince the battle of Azin-

Of the earl of Vendôme

f Thoſe of Clermont, Bourbon, and Auvergne, de la Marche, and Vendôme.

court. It is true, he agreed with Henry V. for his ranſom, and had even paid part, but as he could not raiſe the reſt, was not yet releaſed. The French authors ſay, that in 1423, he miraculouſly eſcaped out of captivity, and in memory thereof, inſtituted an annual proceſſion at Vendôme. I know not the manner of his eſcape, but find in the collection of the publick acts, that in May 1423, he was taken out of the Tower of London, by the king's order, and delivered to ſir John Cornwal, who took him priſoner at the battle of Azincourt; that in July of the ſame year, he obtained leave to go into France, to provide the reſt of his ranſom, that upon payment of the whole, he might have his liberty. In all likelihood, he fully ſatisfied the king, for it does not appear, that he was re-demanded. So, I do not ſee what miracle there could be in his eſcape, unleſs it was his miſuſe of his paſs-port, in which caſe the miracle would not be very great. But however, he might inſtitute a proceſſion at Vendôme, in memory of his eighteen years captivity. 1422. Act. Pub. X. p. 289. p. 297.

Having ſpoken of the princes of the royal family of France, it will be proper to mention the other lords and generals in the ſervice of king Charles.

The earl of Buchan [g], a Scotchman, ſon of the regent of Scotland, and firſt couſin to king James I. was conſtable of France, a dignity conferred on him by the dauphin, after the battle of Baugé. The earl of Buchan.

Among the other generals, the moſt conſiderable were, the marſhals de la Fayette, and de Severac, Andrew de Laval lord of Loheac, John d'Harcourt earl of Aumarle, John de la Haye, lord of Cologne, Culant, afterwards high-admiral, Aymeri, viſcount of Narbonne, Pothon of Xantrailles, Stephen de la Hire, ſurnamed Vinnoles, Graville, and ſome others of an inferior rank, or leſs note. To theſe I add, the baſtard of Orleans, natural brother of the duke of that name, though as yet, he did but begin to appear, becauſe he rendered himſelf very famous in the hiſtory of this reign. Other generals.

After the generals, it will be farther neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the moſt eminent perſons, belonging to the court of the new king. I have already ſpoken of the perſon and qualities of king Charles. Mary of Anjou, his queen, was a princeſs of very great beauty, but much more valuable for her extraordinary merit. And yet, he loved her not as he ought, and as ſhe deſerved, being continually State of Charles's court. Mary queen of France.

[g] John Stuart.

1422. drawn aſide by other amours, which poſſeſſed in his heart the place, ſhe ought to have held. However mortifying ſoever the king's coldneſs might be, ſhe bore it with great conſtancy, without the leaſt murmur, or reproach, ſtill hoping to gain his affection by her patience, moderation, and dutiful behaviour. If this conduct was not capable of inſpiring the king, with a tenderneſs for ſo accompliſhed a ſpouſe, it commanded at leaſt all his eſteem, and forced him to ſhew it, by conſulting her generally, in his moſt important affairs.

The queen of Sicily. Violante of Arragon queen of Sicily, and mother of the queen, was commonly at Charles's court, where her merit and capacity gave her great credit.

Tannegui du Châtel. Tannegui du Châtel was the king's chief favourite. It was he that firſt ſtruck the late duke of Burgundy, on Montereau bridge. It was not doubted, that, as he was the firſt in executing, ſo he had been the principal in adviſing, that deteſtable treachery. However, all the French writers repreſent him as a very honeſt man. I do not know, how that character can be reconciled with ſuch an action, which, let what will be ſaid, was but too premeditated.

Louvet. Louvet, preſident of Provence, was the next in the king's favour. He had the management of the finances. As he was very covetous and ambitious, he generally preferred his own, to his maſter's intereſts. He is ſaid to be one of the adviſers of the duke of Burgundy's murder. On the other hand, the duke of Bretagne conſidered this miniſter, as well as d'Avaugour, another of Charles's courtiers, as the chief authors of the Pontievrian conſpiracy, becauſe they had prevailed with the dauphin to approve it.

La Trimouille. La Trimouille, of a very ancient family, was in great favour with the king, though not in ſo great as du Châtel and Louvet. He was very ambitious, and notwithſtanding his high birth, regularly made his court to the favourites, in order to increaſe his credit.

De Giac and Beau-lieu. De Giac, and the Camus de Beau-lieu, creatures of Louvet, were conſiderable at court, by reaſon of their patron's intereſt.

Theſe were the moſt noted perſons of Charles's court, which uſually was not very numerous. Moſt of the princes of the blood were priſoners in England, and the other great men found it more advantageous to follow the army, the king's circumſtances not affording them any great proſpect at court.

I ſhall

I ſhall now conſider the chief managers of the publick affairs of the Engliſh, both at court and in the army. 1422.

John duke of Bedford, regent of France, under the young king his nephew, was the moſt accompliſhed prince then in Europe. Wiſe, judicious, of great valour, ſolidity, and penetration, maſter of his paſſions, and of a genius, ſuperior to all employed by him, he ſeemed born for a throne, though providence had ranked him among ſubjects. To all theſe qualities he added a majeſtick ſtatelineſs, which became his birth, and his high rank in France and in England. But this he never carried beyond what was neceſſary to command a due regard for his perſon and authority. To ſum up his character in a word, he was perfectly like the late king his brother, and in all his actions took him for pattern. He had with him in France, the earls of Warwick [h], Saliſbury [i], Arundel [k], the dukes of Somerſet [l], Faſtolf [m], Talbot [n], and many others, all eminent for their valour and experience in the art of war. The French authors who have writ the life of Charles VII. ſeldom ſpeak of theſe generals, without an honourable epithet. For my part, I ſhall only mention theſe illuſtrious perſons. Their names became ſo famous in the hiſtory of thoſe days, that all the encomiums I can beſtow on them, would be no addition to their glory and reputation.

The Engliſh lords.

Engliſh generals.

The duke of Burgundy had, at the ſame time, three generals, whom I ſhall rank among the Engliſh, becauſe they were in the ſervice of the ſame prince. Their actions well deſerve an honourable mention.

Generals of the duke of Burgundy.

The firſt was John de Luxemburg, earl of Ligny, ſon of Valeran de Luxemburg, conſtable of France. This general ſignalized himſelf, during the whole war.

Earl of Ligny.

Liſle-Adam, marſhal of France, was a bold and enterpriſing warriour, and withal, capable of managing the moſt difficult undertaking. It was he, that in 1419, made the duke of Burgundy maſter of Paris. After that, incurring, by his too great haughtineſs, the diſpleaſure of Henry V. he was committed to the Baſtile, from whence the duke of Bedford had lately freed him, at the duke of Burgundy's requeſt.

Liſle-Adam

h Richard Beauchamp.
i Thomas Montacute.
k John Fitz-Alan.
l Henry Beaufort.
m Sir John Faſtolf, for ſo he is called in Rymer's Fœd. and not Falſtaff. In [illegible]. p. 408. he is named Falſtolf.
n Sir John Talbot; who had this notable motto on his ſword-blade, Sum Talboti. Pro vincere inimicos meos. Speed, p. 653.

1422. Toulongeon, commonly called marſhal of Burgundy, was in high eſteem with the duke his maſter, on account of his valour and parts.

Toulongeon

The court of England.

I muſt now paſs into England, and briefly mention ſome of the princes and great men, who were chiefly concerned in the direction of the young king's affairs.

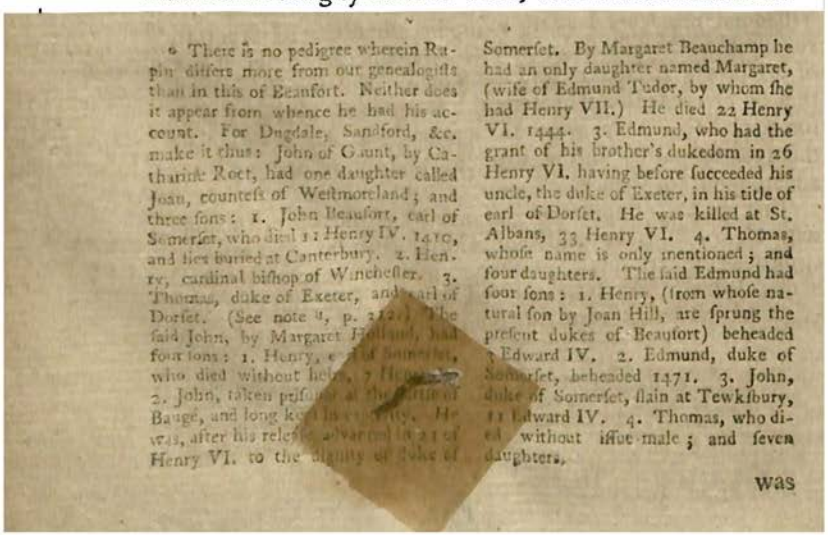
Duke of Glouceſter.

Humphrey duke of Glouceſter, younger brother of the duke of Bedford, was a prince equally qualified for the field and the cabinet. His noble endowments, improved by an extenſive knowledge of the ſciences, would have put him upon a level with the duke his brother, had he been more maſter of his paſſions, or leſs ambitious and haughty. I ſhall have frequent occaſion hereafter, to make known more fully the character of this prince.

The princes of Lancaſter

The princes of the houſe of Lancaſter, legitimated by the name of Beaufort, held the next rank to the duke of Glouceſter. Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, and Henry his brother, biſhop of Wincheſter, were ſons of John of Gaunt and Catherine Roet, his third wife. John, earl of Somerſet, their elder brother was dead, and had left four ſons, of whom Henry the eldeſt, bore the title of earl of Somerſet. Of the other three, Thomas, John, and Edmund, the laſt only was at court, the other two being priſoners in France *.

Richard duke of York, ſon of Richard earl of Cambridge, beheaded at Southampton in 1415, and grandſon of Edmund de Langley duke of York, fifth ſon of Edward III.



* There is no pedigree wherein Rapin differs more from our genealogiſts than in this of Beanfort. Neither does it appear from whence he had his account. For Dugdale, Sandford, &c. make it thus: John of Gaunt, by Catharine Roet, had one daughter called Joan, counteſs of Weſtmoreland; and three ſons: 1. John Beaufort, earl of Somerſet, who died 12 Henry IV. 1410, and lies buried at Canterbury. 2. Henry, cardinal biſhop of Wincheſter. 3. Thomas, duke of Exeter, and earl of Dorſet. (See note ‖, p. 212.) The ſaid John, by Margaret Holland, had four ſons: 1. Henry, [illegible] Somerſet, who died without [illegible] 2. John, taken priſoner at the battle of Bauge, and long kept in [illegible]. He was, after his releaſe, advanced in 21 of Henry VI. to the dignity of duke of Somerſet. By Margaret Beauchamp he had an only daughter named Margaret, (wife of Edmund Tudor, by whom ſhe had Henry VII.) He died 22 Henry VI. 1444. 3. Edmund, who had the grant of his brother's dukedom in 26 Henry VI. having before ſucceeded his uncle, the duke of Exeter, in his title of earl of Dorſet. He was killed at St. Albans, 33 Henry VI. 4. Thomas, whoſe name is only mentioned; and four daughters. The ſaid Edmund had four ſons: 1. Henry, (from whoſe natural ſon by Joan Hill, are ſprung the preſent dukes of Beaufort) beheaded 3 Edward IV. 2. Edmund, duke of Somerſet, beheaded 1471. 3. John, duke of Somerſet, ſlain at Tewkſbury, 11 Edward IV. 4. Thomas, who died without iſſue male; and ſeven daughters.

was

was the only male iſſue of this family. He was very young at the time I am ſpeaking of, but I ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention him in the courſe of this reign. 1422.

Other lords.

Humphrey earl of Stafford, was ſon of Anne of Glouceſter, daughter of the unfortunate duke of Glouceſter, whom Richard II. his nephew, cauſed to be ſtrangled at Calais.

Henry [p], earl of Eſſex, half-brother of the earl of Stafford, had married Iſabella ſiſter of the young duke of York.

Ralph Nevill earl of Weſtmoreland, was allied to the royal family, by his marriage with Joan Beaufort, ſiſter of the duke of Exeter, and the biſhop of Wincheſter.

Thomas Courtney earl of Devonſhire, had for wife a ſiſter of the duke of Somerſet.

Henry Talbot had married a ſiſter of the earl of Eſſex.

Henry Holland earl of Huntingdon, deſcended from a half-ſiſter of Richard II. was priſoner in France, ſince the battle of Baugé, wherein the duke of Clarence was ſlain.

Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, and John Fitz-Alan earl of Arundel, were married to princeſſes of the houſe of March [q].

Nothing more remains, in order to give a general knowledge of the affairs of the two contending kings, but to ſee how ſome foreign princes ſtood affected towards them.

How the princes of Europe ſtood affected with regard to the two kings.

It is very ſtrange, that during a long war of thirty-eight years, no prince in Europe would be concerned in it. Immediately after the peace of Troye, Henry V. ſent ambaſſadors into ſeveral parts to make alliances, in order to render himſelf ſo ſuperior to the dauphin, as to put it out of his power to make any reſiſtance. But we do not find that he ſucceeded in that deſign. If he made alliances with ſome princes, they were ſo worded, as did not oblige them to be parties in the war; ſo that he reaped but little advantage from thence.

The emperor

The emperor Sigiſmund might, by virtue of his league with Henry V. have aſſiſted his ſon. But he was himſelf embroiled in troubles on the account of religion in Bohemia, which wholly employed him. The reſt of the German princes were unconcerned at what paſſed in

[p] Henry Bourchier. He was not created earl of Eſſex till June 10, 1460, the 1ſt of Edward IV. See Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 129.

[q] The former was indeed ſon of Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Mortimer, earl [illegible]ch; but he married Eleanor, daughter of Ralph Nevill, earl of Weſtmoreland; and the latter married Maud, daughter of Robert Lovell. Idem, vol. I. p. 281, 323.

1422. France. They were not ſorry to ſee the Engliſh and French unable, by their diſſention, to diſturb their neighbours.

Italy. All Italy ſtood neuter. The duke of Milan alone was inclined to king Charles, but hitherto had ſent him no ſupplies.

Spain. Caſtile, Arragon, and Portugal, were in peace, or in truce, with the two rival kings, and aſſiſted neither. Their policy was to let them battle together, and afterwards join with the conqueror.

Duke of Lorrain. The duke of Lorrain was inclined to king Charles, on account of the alliance between their families. But he durſt not aſſiſt him, for fear of drawing the war into his country.

Among all the neighbouring princes of France, Amadeus, firſt duke of Savoy, and Lewis de Chalon, prince of Orange, were thoſe, on whom the eyes of both parties were chiefly fixed, by reaſon of the diverſions they could make in Provence and Dauphiné. Mean while, theſe two princes obſerved as yet a neutrality, pleaſed with being courted by both ſides. It was, however, eaſy to perceive, they leaned to the Engliſh, on account of the duke of Burgundy, the prince of Orange being his nephew, and the duke of Savoy his vaſſal.

The Low-Countries. As for the neighbours of England, there were only the princes of the Low-Countries and the Scots, that could be ſo concerned in the quarrel, as greatly to advantage, or prejudice the two kings. The duke of Burgundy poſſeſſed Flanders and Artois. John of Burgundy his firſt couſin, held Brabant, and the earldom of Limbourg. Moreover, by his marriage with Jaquelina of Bavaria, daughter of the late earl of Hainault, he had acquired the ſovereignty of Hainault, Holland, Zeland and Friſeland. The firſt of theſe two princes was firmly united with the Engliſh, and the other took care not to declare againſt them, for fear of depriving his ſubjects of their advantageous commerce with England.

Scotland. As for the Scots, the war in France ought not to have been indifferent to them. It is certain, their intereſt required their utmoſt endeavours to ſtop the progreſs of the Engliſh in that kingdom. Beſides their ancient alliance, whereby they were obliged to aſſiſt the French, it was eaſy for them to perceive, it could not but be very dangerous to their ſtate, to ſuffer the king of England to grow ſo very powerful. But, the private intereſts of the regent had hindered them from taking the courſe, moſt agreeable to the

good of their country, till at length, they ſent ſeven thouſand men to the dauphin. From that time, growing more and more ſenſible of their error, in permitting the Engliſh to become maſters of France, they had reſolved to ſend thither a more powerful ſupply. But the duke of Albany dying in the mean time, and Mordac his eldeſt ſon, a prince of a mean genius, ſucceeding him in the regency, inteſtine troubles aroſe, which prevented the Scots from executing their reſolution. So, till the death of Henry V. they had acted nothing in that reſpect, and king James was returned into England priſoner as before. 1422.

Here I ſhall end this digreſſion, which will not appear needleſs, when we come to ſee the relation it bears to the events mentioned hereafter. And now having given a general knowledge of the affairs of the two kings, it is time to reſume the thread of the hiſtory.

The parliament met on the 9th of November, according to the ſummons. The duke of Glouceſter, by a patent under the great ſeal, was commiſſioned to hold it in the king's name, according to the uſual practice, when the ſovereign is not in condition to be preſent in perſon. The parliament's firſt care was to ſettle the government, during the king's minority. They nominated the members of the council; filled the offices of the crown; and gave the great ſeal to the biſhop of Durham [r], and not to the biſhop of Wincheſter, as ſome affirm. To purſue the plan that was formed, it was neceſſary to appoint a protector, who ſhould take upon him the adminiſtration of the publick affairs, during the minority. Henry V. had ordered, on his death-bed, that this high dignity ſhould be conferred on the duke of Glouceſter his brother. But his will could not be obeyed, without great injury to the duke of Bedford, the eldeſt brother, the ſecond perſon in the kingdom, and preſumptive heir of the crown as long as Henry was childleſs. This prince would thereby have been below the duke of Glouceſter, his younger brother. It is true, he was regent of France, but very poſſibly, he might return into England, during ſo long a minority. Wherefore, it was neceſſary to find ſome expedient, to perform the deceaſed king's will, without derogating from the elder brother's rights. After a ſerious examination of the affair, the parliament nominated the duke of Bedford protector of England, defender of the church, The parliament meets. Cotton's Abridg. Act. Pub. X. p. 257. The privy-council ſettled. Ib. p. 259. Cotton's Abridg. The duke of Bedford is made protector.

[r] Thomas Langley. At the ſame time William Rindroſſe was appointed treaſurer of England, and John Stafford keeper of the privy ſeal. Cotton's Abridg. p. 503.

1422. and firſt counſellor to the king. But a clauſe was added, that he ſhould exerciſe that office, only whilſt in the kingdom, without having in his abſence, any ſhare in the government. At the ſame time, the protectorſhip was likewiſe conferred on the duke of Glouceſter [s], with power to act only in the abſence of the duke of Bedford his brother, who, upon his return into England, was to be acknowledged for ſole protector. The protector's ſalary was ſettled at eight thouſand marks a year [t].

Act Pub. X. p. 261.

and in his abſence the duke of Glouceſter, Ib. p. 261, 268.

Jealouſy of the council againſt the duke of Glouceſter.

It has been ſeen, that the duke of Glouceſter was not ſo moderate, as the duke of Bedford his brother. He was impatient of any oppoſition to his will. For that reaſon, the privy council were always upon their guard, to hinder his aſſuming a greater authority, than his ſtation entitled him to. As they held their places not of him, but of the parliament, they were the leſs afraid of diſpleaſing him, knowing it was not in his power to remove them. Therefore in the council itſelf, there was a ſort of confederacy againſt him, managed by the biſhop of Wincheſter his uncle. The biſhop's oppoſition to the protector, ended at length in a quarrel, the ſad effects whereof, we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the ſequel of this reign.

Governors appointed for the king. Hall.

After having ſettled what related to the protectorſhip, the parliament appointed governors, to take care of the king's perſon and education. Theſe were Thomas Beaufort duke of Exeter, and Henry his brother, biſhop of Wincheſter, both great uncles of the king. I know not the qualities of the duke of Exeter, not having met with his character in any hiſtorian [u].

[s] Humphrey, duke of Glouceſter, was alſo conſtituted lord-chamberlain, and high conſtable of England. Ibid. p. 564.

[t] This parliament granted the king the ſubſidy of ſtaple-ware, viz. three and thirty ſhillings and four pence, on every ſack of wool exported, and alſo tonnage and poundage, for two years. Ibid.

[u] Rapin ſeems to have miſtaken this Thomas Beaufort for his nephew of the ſame name, of whom indeed there is no mention but of his name. Thomas Beaufort, third ſon of John of Gaunt, by Katherine Swynford, was in the 5th of Henry IV. made admiral of England, and afterwards lord chancellor. He was created 13 Hen. IV. earl of Dorſet; and 4 Hen. V. duke of Exeter, for life. He was earl of Harcourt in Normandy, and behaved with much valour and conduct in the French wars, and particularly at the famous battle of Azincourt, where he commanded the rear-ward. He bravely defended Harfleur in Normandy, (of which he was governor) and in a pitch'd battle, encountered and put to flight the earl of Armagnac. He married Margaret, daughter of ſir Thomas Nevill, and had a ſon by her, who died young. So that leaving no child, he departed this life at Greenwich in 1424, and was buried at St. Edmundſbury in Suffolk, leaving his nephew John, earl of Somerſet, his heir, who was twenty-three years old. Sandf. Geneal. p. 263.

As for the bishop of Winchester, he was a prince more proper for the world and a court than for the church. However, he is placed by some in the class of the learned of those days. After he was made bishop of Winchester in 1405, his principal business was to heap up riches. He had succeeded so well, that he was commonly reckoned the wealthiest of all the English nobles. Henry V. his nephew, had some regard for him, but was apprehensive of his intriguing temper. For that reason he opposed the pope's making him a cardinal, for fear that dignity would give him occasion to exercise his talents too much. The truth is, he was a man of sense, and well skilled in all the means human prudence suggests to the ambitious, to accomplish their ends. His birth, parts, riches, and office of governor to the king, gave him great credit in the council, and of course in all the rest of the kingdom. In a word, he knew so well to manage his affairs, that he had a better interested than the duke of Gloucester his nephew, though protector, and ruined him entirely. The occasion of their quarrel is not fully known. Some say, the bishop, angry that the duke of Gloucester was preferred before him in the government of the kingdom, which he would rather have had, than that of the king, never ceased plotting to supplant him. Others on the contrary affirm, the duke of Gloucester hated him, only because he always found him ready to oppose his assuming too great an authority as protector, which might in the end prove fatal to their common master. 1422. Character of the bishop of Winchester. Jealousy between the duke of Gloucester and bishop of Winchester.

Whilst the courts of the two new kings were equally employed in affairs which would not admit of delay, the war was but faintly prosecuted in France. Besides, the season permitted not (after the death of Charles VI. on the 21st of October) great armies to keep the field. So, from that time to the end of the year 1422, the troops of the two kings took some repose, in order to prepare for the renewal of the war. There is nothing therefore remarkable in that interval, but the taking of St. Valery, a place of great importance, surrendered to the English, pursuant to a capitulation made some months before, and of Bussi in the earldom of Guise, by the earl of Ligny, the duke of Burgundy's general. On the other hand, James d'Harcourt became master of la Rue in Picardy, and Hire of Vitry in Champagne. Few warlike exploits during the rest of the year 1422.

The duke of Bedford's design, according to the late king his brother's project, was to reduce all the towns Charles still held in the isle of France, and the adjoining provinces, 1423.

that

1423. that he might afterwards attack him beyond the Loire. It was the more neceſſary to proceed in that manner, becauſe, ſo long as Charles had places about Paris, the Engliſh durſt not remove from the metropolis, without leaving a ſtrong garriſon, and much weakening their armies. At the time the regent was preparing to execute this deſign, he received the ill news that Graville, one of king Charles's captains, had taken Meulan by ſtorm the 4th of January. The loſs troubled him extremely, as well becauſe it retarded the execution of his projects, as by reaſon of the neighbourhood of Meulan, which was but ſix leagues from Paris. Beſides, the taking of a place ſo very near him was a ſort of affront he could hardly digeſt. And therefore, he determined to open the campaign with that ſiege.

Meulan taken by ſtorm by the French. Monſtrelet. Hall.

They take alſo la Ferté Milon.

Shortly after, king Charles's troops took likewiſe la Ferté Milon, a ſmall town between Meaux and Soiſſons. But the caſtle making a brave defence, the marſhal de l'Iſle Adam had time to relieve it, and drive the French out of the town.

The regent beſieges Meulan;

In the beginning of February, the regent himſelf beſieged Meulan [w]. As it was king Charles's intereſt to keep the war in the iſle of France, and the neighbouring provinces, he ordered the earl of Aumarle to join Stuart, who commanded the Scotch troops, and march with him to the relief of that place. The French give Stuart the title of conſtable of Scotland, but it does not appear, he was ſtyled ſo by the hiſtorians of his nation. I imagine, the miſtake of the French ſprung from their ignorance of the Engliſh and Scotch tongues, wherein the title of conſtable may be given to every leader or commander in chief of a body of troops, without his being conſtable of the kingdom. Be this as it will, the earl of Buchan being then in Scotland, Stuart commanded the auxiliary troops of that kingdom. The two generals were actually joined, but a conteſt ariſing about the command, they parted again without attempting any thing. Graville hearing of it, capitulated the 2d of March. The capitulation ran, that ſuch of the beſieged as had any caſtles in their power, ſhould deliver them to the regent. Purſuant to the agreement, the regent took poſſeſſion of Marcouſſi, Montlheri, and ſeveral other places [x].

P. Daniel. T. VI.

which capitulates.

w Being accompanied with Thomas Montacute, earl of Salisbury, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, the lord Scales, the lord Poynings, ſir John Faſtolf, maſter of the houſhold, &c. Hall, fol. 84.—After the taking of the town, ſir Henry Mortimer, and ſir Richard Vernon, were appointed governors of it. Ibid.

x And the lord of Graville alſo declared for the Engliſh. P. Daniel, vol. VI. p. 8.

Though

Though these towns are of little conſequence at this day, they were then of great importance, chiefly on account of their lying near Paris, and keeping the Engliſh at a diſtance from the Loire, which was very advantageous to king Charles. For that reaſon he ſo managed, that his adherents fortified themſelves in thoſe parts, in all the towns and caſtles capable of making any reſiſtance, in order to continue the war there. And this alſo was the reaſon that induced the regent to form the project of clearing the iſle of France of all theſe garriſons. However, he would not have opened the campaign ſo early, had he not been forced to it by the loſs of Meulan. He was meditating a much more important deſign, which he executed immediately after the retaking of that place. 1423.

I have obſerved, that the duke of Bretagne made ſome advances towards ſwearing the peace of Troye, but that the death of Henry V. broke off the negotiation. The duke of Bedford perceiving of what conſequence it was to the king his nephew to gain that prince to his intereſt, had ſpent the whole winter in negotiating an alliance with him, by the duke of Burgundy's mediation. The negotiation ſucceeding to his wiſh, he came to Amiens, where he met the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, with the earl of Richemont, his brother. According to the plan before formed, they ſigned a treaty of league and alliance againſt king Charles. To render their union more firm, they moreover concluded two marriages, namely, between the duke of Bedford and Anne, fifth ſiſter of the duke of Burgundy, and between the earl of Richemont and Margaret, eldeſt ſiſter of the ſame duke, and widow of Lewis the dauphin, who died in 1415. As the earl of Richemont had been the means of engaging the duke of Bretagne in the alliance, it was very reaſonable the mediator ſhould find his advantage therein. The young earl having an extraordinary opinion of his own merit, his vanity was agreeably flattered by that marriage. Indeed, it was no ſmall honour for him to eſpouſe a ſiſter of the duke of Burgundy, widow to a dauphin of France. But to obtain the princeſs's conſent, he was forced to agree, that, according to the cuſtom of England, ſhe ſhould keep the title of dauphineſs, becauſe ſhe abſolutely refuſed to take the inferior one of counteſs of Richemont. The treaty between theſe princes was concluded April the 8th.

Interview of the dukes of Bedford, Burgundy, Bretagne, and earl of Richemont, at Amiens. April. Act. Pub. X. p. 280.

They ſign a league againſt king Charles.

Marriages. Monſtrelet.

Soon after the duke of Bedford went to Troye, where he conſummated his marriage. An hiſtorian ſays, that the duke of Burgundy, in caſe he died without male heirs, promiſed him

The regent conſummates his marriage. Monſtrelet.

1423. him the earldom of Artois, but there was no occaſion to perform the engagement. In conducting his bride to Paris, the regent ſtaid ſome time in Champagne, to form the ſiege of Point-Sur-ſeine, a ſmall town of that country, which was carried by ſtorm. After that he came to Paris, and lodged in the Hotel des Tournelles, which he had ordered to be repaired and magnificently furniſhed.

The earl of Saliſbury beſieges Montaigu. April. Monſtrelet.

In the beginning of the year, the earl of Saliſbury had been inveſted with the goverment of Champagne and la Brie, and had received orders from the regent to clear theſe two provinces of king Charles's garriſons. This general, having taken the field in April, beſieged, or rather blockaded, Montaigu, a very ſtrong caſtle, ſeated upon a cape, belonging to the province of Burgundy, but running into Champagne. There were but ſixſcore men in the caſtle, and yet by reaſon of its ſituation it was almoſt impregnable.

He leaves the ſiege to the earl of Suffolk.

The earl of Saliſbury having formed the blockade, left the earl of Suffolk [y] with ſome troops, and marched himſelf to other conqueſts. In June, he became maſter of Vertus, Sezanne, Epernay, and ſome other places.

Tannegui attempts to relieve Montaigu.

Mean while, king Charles, to whom the keeping of ſome towns in thoſe parts was of great conſequence, ordered Tannegui du Châtel to relieve Montaigu. The earl of Saliſbury, who had left but few troops before that caſtle, fearing ſome misfortune, haſted immediately to their aſſiſtance. He made ſuch ſpeed, that Tannegui du Châtel, who was now far advanced, finding himſelf too inferior to the Engliſh, was forced to retire into Burgundy, where the French had lately ſurpriſed Mâcon and Crevant, at the two extremities of that province. Saliſbury followed, but not being able to overtake him, reſolved to beſiege Crevant, a ſtrong place upon the Yonne, three leagues above Auxerre.

Saliſbury beſieges Crevant.

Charles prepares to relieve it.

Charles had no ſooner received the news, but he ordered Stuart, who was lately reinforced from Scotland, to draw ſome troops out of the neighbouring garriſons, and join du Châtel, in order to attempt the relief of Crevant. All theſe forces together made a body of ten thouſand men, whereof, by order of the king, the marſhal de Severac went and took the command. But as it required ſome time before they could be joined in one body, Saliſbury had time to take the place. After that, not knowing yet the deſigns of the French, he joined Suffolk before Montaigu.

Crevant is taken.

[y] He had left la Brie.

Whilſt

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in Burgundy, the duke of Bedford cauſed Orſay to be beſieged, a ſmall place between Paris and Montlheri. The garriſon holding out ſix weeks, and ſurrendering only at diſcretion, he reſolved to make them an example for a terror to the other ſmall towns. All the officers and ſoldiers were carried away priſoners to Paris, and ordered to be put to death. But happily for them the ducheſs of Bedford meeting them as they were going to puniſhment, ſtopped the execution, and obtained their pardon. 1423. Orſay taken by the Engliſh. Monſtrelet.

Mean time, the French army, aſſembled in the Auxerrois, marched to Crevant, which they had been able to relieve, and beſieged it. The army was commanded by the marſhal de Severac, who had under him du Châtel, Stuart, Ventadour, and ſome other officers of note. The ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, then at Dijon, ſent immediately to the marſhal Toulongeon, and all the Burgundian nobles, to try to relieve Crevant. At the ſame time, ſhe deſired the earl of Saliſbury to join her generals, in order to raiſe the ſiege. Saliſbury was very ſenſible how neceſſary it was to comply with the ducheſs's requeſt, and therefore leaving part of his troops before Montaigu, the garriſon whereof was reduced to twenty men, repaired to Auxerre, and joined the Burgundians. Next day, they marched together to Crevant. They had in all but ſix thouſand men [z], however, they were ſome of the beſt ſoldiers in Europe. The beſiegers, hearing of their march, raiſed the ſiege in order to meet them, and poſted themſelves at ſome diſtance from Crevant, upon a hill, where it was very difficult to force them. The reſolution of the French generals ſurpriſed the Engliſh and Burgundians, who ſeeing no poſſibility of attacking them in that poſt, altered their rout, and as if they had ſome other deſign, paſſed the Yonne at Cologn le Vimeux, with intent to repaſs it at ſome other place, and proceed to Crevant. The French finding that their ſtation on the hill was become uſeleſs, deſcended, and poſted themſelves by the river ſide, in order to defend the paſſage. The two armies remained above three hours facing one another, with the river between them. At length, a body of Engliſh gaining a certain bridge, withſtood the efforts of the French army with uncommon reſolution, and gave the reſt of the troops time to come to their ſupport. This action, which was one of The French beſiege Crevant. Hall. Hall. The battle of Crevant, where the French are worſted. P. Daniel.

z Hall ſays, there were, of Engliſhmen and Burgundians, about fifteen thouſand men. And among them, the lords Willoughby, Poynings, Molyns, ſir Thomas Rampſton, ſir John Paſſheley, ſir Thomas Fleming, ſir John and ſir Reginald Grey, &c. fol. 85.

the

1423. the boldeſt, was performed with that bravery, order, and conduct, that it was not poſſible for the French to beat them from the bridge. As ſoon as all the Engliſh and Burgundians were over, they ſo vigorouſly attacked their enemies, that they put them to flight. The marſhal de Severac was blamed for retiring too ſoon, and leaving Stuart engaged with his Scotch troops. There was ſlain on the ſpot above five hundred [a], moſt of them Scots. As many were made priſoners, among whom were Stuart and Xaintrailles, with forty officers of note.

Mâcon and other places taken by the Engliſh.

The loſs ſuſtained by the French on that occaſion rendering them uncapable to keep the field before a victorious army, the earl of Saliſbury returned to the blockade of Montaigu. A few days after his arrival, the place capitulated, and the fortifications were demoliſhed. Then, being apprehenſive of no oppoſition from the French, he divided his army with the earl of Suffolk, who took Mâcon, whilſt the earl of Saliſbury finiſhed the conqueſt of Champagne. After that, Saliſbury entered the iſle of France, and took Coucy and ſome other caſtles.

Siege and capitulation of Crotoy. Monſtrelet.

In the mean time, the regent had laid ſiege to Crotoy, a town in Picardy, ſituated on the Somme, over-againſt St. Valery. Ralph Boteler had the management of the ſiege, which employed him till October. At laſt, James d'Harcourt, governor of the town, agreed to ſurrender it the 1ſt of March next, if not relieved by that time. This ſort of capitulation was very common in thoſe days. On the day fixed for the relief or ſurrender of the place, the beſiegers drew up under the walls, expecting their enemies. This was called Tenir Journee. If no army appeared that day to give them battle, the place was ſurrendered according to the capitulation. Though the governor of Crotoy had given ample time to prepare for his relief, Charles was not in condition to attempt it, and the town was ſurrendered to the duke of Bedford.

The battle of Crevant was the more prejudicial to Charles's affairs, as he loſt many officers of diſtinction, ſome whereof were ſlain, and the reſt priſoners in the hands of the Engliſh or Burgundians. Among the priſoners, Xaintrailles was the perſon for whom the king was moſt concerned, knowing him to be one of the braveſt officers in the kingdom, and moſt capable of doing him ſervice. Though he

[a] Several lords, eighteen hundred knights and eſquires, beſides common ſoldiers; and three thouſand Scots. Of the Engliſh, were ſlain, ſir John Grey, ſir William Halle, ſir Gilbert Halſel, and Richard ap Madocke. Hall, ibid.

had

had not much money, he ſent him however wherewithal to pay his ranſom. Xaintrailles very thankfully received the favour, and to give the king ſenſible marks of his gratitude, preſently after his releaſe, found means to ſurpriſe Ham and Guiſe. At the ſame time, la Hire or Vignoles did the like by Compiegne. 1423.

Charles ranſoms Xaintrailles. Ham, Guiſe, and Compiegne taken by ſurpriſe. They are retaken.

The loſs of theſe places gave the regent no ſmall uneaſineſs, as it obliged him to keep his forces near Paris, in ſpite of the projects he had formed. As he could not execute his deſigns till the French were expelled the northern provinces, he ordered the three towns taken by ſurpriſe to be beſieged all at once. If the particulars of all the ſieges during the war were to be related, it would be very tedious, neither would it affect but few readers. It is better to keep to the general affairs, and recite all the beginnings and events of the ſieges.

The regent's deſign being, as I ſaid, to retake theſe three places, the earl of Ligny inveſted Ham, and the marſhal de l'Iſle Adam made an attempt upon Compiegne. But l'Iſle Adam falling into an ambuſh laid for him by la Hire, loſt three hundred of his men. Nevertheleſs, he obliged his enemy to keep within the walls. After Ligny had taken Ham, he inveſted Guiſe. Xaintrailles, who commanded in that place, perceiving that with his few troops he ſhould make but a faint reſiſtance, went away in queſt of relief. But inſtead of ſucceeding in his deſign, he fell himſelf into the hands of the Burgundians, and Guiſe ſurrendered immediately. After that, Ligny joined l'Iſle Adam before Compiegne, and la Hire was forced at laſt to capitulate. So, all the advantage Charles gained by taking the three places, was making the regent loſe time, which however was no ſmall matter, conſidering the ſituation of his affairs.

Charles receives an aid from the duke of Milan.

After the duke of Bretagne had taken part with the Engliſh, Charles ſaw nothing in France able to ſupport him, and therefore reſolved to apply to foreign princes for aſſiſtance. He could hope for aid only from Philip Maria Viſconti, duke of Milan, and the Scots. Philip was uncle to the duke of Orleans, and conſequently a friend of the houſe of Valois. His affairs being then in a good ſituation, he ſent king Charles a thouſand men at arms, and five hundred lances, at the time when the loſs of the battle of Crevant had made him deſpair of keeping the field. Theſe troops being arrived on the borders of France, Grolée, governor of Lyonnois, and Culant, lately made admiral, went to receive them. As they were entering Baujolois, the governor of la Fuſſiere ſent the

1423. the generals word, that he was in negotiation with Toulongeon, marſhal of Burgundy, to ſurrender the town, and as the marſhal knew nothing of their march, it would be eaſy to ſurpriſe him when he came to take poſſeſſion. The ſtratagem was executed with ſuch ſecrecy, that Toulongeon entering la Fuſſiere with ſeven hundred men, was made priſoner with all his followers. The duke his maſter exchanged him afterwards for Stuart, taken at Crevant.

Toulongeon made priſoner.

Battle of Gravelle, where the Engliſh are worſted. Hall.

This little advantage was not capable of comforting king Charles for all his loſſes. But ſhortly after, he had a freſh occaſion of joy in the news, that a body of Engliſh troops were defeated in the Maine with great loſs. John de la Pole, brother of the earl of Suffolk, knowing the French had no army in the field, departed from Normandy with a body of troops drawn out of ſeveral garriſons, and throwing himſelf into Anjou, burnt the ſuburbs of Angers. After that, he retired with a booty of twelve thouſand head of cattle, taken in his incurſion. Whilſt he was employed in the expedition, the earl of Aumarle, governor of Anjou, aſſembled ſome troops to ſtop his progreſs. The young duke of Alenſon, Loheac, Coulonge, the baſtard of Alenſon, and ſeveral others, joining him with what troops they could draw together [b], he overtook the Engliſh at Gravelle in Maine. Pole perceiving it was impoſſible to drive away his booty without fighting, drew up his troops, and intrenching himſelf with his carriages in the front, received the French with great reſolution. But whilſt his men were courageouſly fighting, a detachment of the enemy attacking them in the rear, it was not poſſible for them to defend themſelves on two ſides. After a very obſtinate reſiſtance, they were at length defeated with the loſs of fourteen hundred men [c], and all their booty. Pole himſelf was taken priſoner [d]. Charles's flatterers would have made him believe, he was revenged for the affair of Crevant. But there was a wide difference between theſe two actions, with reſpect to the conſequence. The battle of Gravelle did not affect the affairs of the Engliſh, whereas that of Crevant had almoſt ruined Charles.

Charles has aid from Scotland. Buchanan.

This ſucceſs however ſerved to raiſe his hopes, eſpecially when it was ſeconded with the news of the arrival of five thouſand men, brought from Scotland by the earl of Buchan. This lord had returned to his own country, to take care of the intereſts of his new maſter, to whom he was entirely de-

b Six thouſand men. Hall, fol. 87.
c Three hundred, ſays Hall, ibid.
d With ſir John Baſſet, John Auford, lieutenant of Falaiſe, John Clifton, Henry Mortimer, and ſix hundred other perſons. Hall, ibid.

voted.

voted. The great men of Scotland, were very much inclined the ſame way. The new regent being a prince of no great genius and credit, it was not difficult for the earl his brother to do king Charles ſervice. By his care and ſolicitations he procured an aid of five thouſand men, commanded by Archibald, earl of Douglaſs, his father-in-law [e]. Douglaſs was a lord of great repute in his own country, on account of his quality, riches, and alliances, but ſtill more conſiderable for his merit and experience in military affairs. At Rochel, he landed his troops, which could never more ſeaſonably arrive. Charles pleaſed, as may be imagined, to ſee theſe ſupplies, loaded the principal Scotch officers with honours, careſſes, and favours. He had already conferred on the earl of Buchan, the higheſt military poſt, to which he could make no addition. Douglaſs was created duke of Touraine. Stuart was made baron d'Aubigni, and afterwards earl of Evreux, with licenſe to quarter his arms with thoſe of France. To give the Scots a farther mark of his eſteem and confidence, Charles choſe out of them a company of guards, which in proceſs of time was increaſed to a regiment. In ſhort, he forgot nothing, that could help to gain the affection of the Scots, in order to engage them to ſend him greater ſupplies, or make a powerful diverſion in England.

1423.

He careſſes the Scots. Buchan.

Thus the affairs of Charles began to flouriſh, by the ſucBirth of cours of the Scots and the duke of Milan, which enabled him prince Lewis. to withſtand his enemies. His joy at the arrival of theſe troops, was preceded by the ſatisfaction of having a ſon born on the 4th of July the ſame year. He gave the young prince the name of Lewis with the title of dauphin.

Beſides theſe ſucceſſes, which gave new life to king The earl of Richemont, Charles, an event was preparing in his favour, that was no quarrels leſs proper to reſtore his affairs: I mean the earl of Richewith the mont's change, which drew after it that of the duke of Bre- duke of tagne. Richemont having conſummated his marriage at Bedford. Dijon, where the duke of Burgundy came with the dauphineſs, his ſiſter, went and paid a viſit to the duke of Bedford at Paris. During his ſtay, he frequently intimated to the duke, that he was extremely deſirous of commanding the Engliſh army, to which he offered to join a conſiderable body of the duke his brother's troops. But the regent did not think proper, to ſet at the head of his army a young foreign prince, who had never commanded in chief, nor even

[e] Buchanan calls him his ſon-in-law, l. 10.

1423. ſerved ſince the battle of Azincourt. The earl of Richemont, who was extremely haughty and ſelf conceited, could not brook the refuſal. He conſidered it as a great affront, and from that time reſolved to be revenged. We ſhall ſee hereafter how he executed his reſolution.

Truce for Burgundy and Lyonnois.

Shortly after, Charles and the duke of Burgundy made a truce for Lyonnis and Burgundy. The truce was abſolutely neceſſary for theſe two provinces, as well as for the duke of Savoy, by whoſe means it was procured. His ſubjects and the inhabitants of Burgundy and Lyonnis not being able to live without trading together, the war was very detrimental to theſe two provinces.

Affairs of England. Act. Pub. X. p. 282. Earl of March governor of Ireland.

Whilſt France was the ſeat of war, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, by the good order eſtabliſhed in the government. In the month of May, Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, was made governor of Ireland, with a very extenſive authority. Policy required that, during the king's minority, that prince ſhould be removed from the kingdom, on account of his right to the crown. Not that he had given occaſion by his conduct for any ſuſpicion. But it was not impoſſible, that even without his conſent, he might prove the cauſe of commotions, which the wiſdom of the council was willing to prevent. He did not depart till February or March, the next year.

A ſubſidy granted. Cotton's Abridg. Act. Pub. X. p. 310.

The parliament, which met on the 20th of October, granted the king a ſubſidy [f] for the ſupport of the war in France, where king Charles ſtill kept his ground, notwithſtanding the great diſproportion between his and his rival's forces [g].

I have obſerved, that the Scots were extremely careſſed by king Charles, and that the nation began to follow maxims

[f] Of twelve pence in the pound of all merchandize exported or imported, and three ſhillings of every tun of wine, for three years; that is, the ſame duties on the ſtaple ware, and tunnage and poundage, as before. Cotton's Abridg. p. 568.—In this parliament it was enacted, that becauſe money was daily carried out of England to ſeveral parts of France, no gold nor ſilver ſhould for the future, be carried out of the realm, unleſs for the charges of the war, and the payment of the king's ſoldiers, upon pain of forfeiting the ſum of money ſo carried out; and the informer to have the fourth part. See ſtatute book.—It was alſo enacted, that if any perſon, committed to priſon, for high or petty treaſon, ſhall break priſon, and eſcape, it ſhall be deemed petty treaſon, and his goods ſhall be forfeited to the lord of the manor, where they are found. Upon this ſtatute, ſir John Mortimer was accuſed, for attempting to break out of the Tower, and hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn. Stow's Ann. p. 364, 365. Cotton's Abridg. p. 568.

[g] And about this time a reinforcement of ten thouſand men was raiſed in England, and ſent over to France to the duke of Bedford. Hall, fol. 87.

entirely

entirely different, from what they had done during the duke of Albany's regency. The duke of Glouceſter and the council of England, perceiving the alteration, which might prove very prejudicial to the king's affairs, thought it neceſſary to countermine king Charles's deſigns, by means of the king of Scotland, priſoner in England, ever ſince 1408. To that end, they reſolved to ſet him at liberty, upon ſuch terms as ſhould attach him to the intereſts of England. This was indeed the only way to ſtop the career of the Scotch nobles, who were almoſt all inclined to an open rupture with the Engliſh. Whilſt the council was thinking how to proceed without a too plain diſcovery of their deſign, an accident in Scotland ſaved them the trouble of making the firſt advances. 1423. Treaty about ſetting the king of Scotland at liberty. Ib. p. 286.

Murdac Stuart, regent of Scotland, ſince the death of the duke of Albany, his father, had three ſons, all very ill-tempered, and who created him a great deal of trouble, becauſe he was neither able nor ſteady enough to keep them within the bounds of their duty. The youngeſt aſking one day for a certain hawk, and being denied, wrung the bird's neck, though he knew it to be greatly valued by his father. This action convincing the regent, how difficult it would be for him to govern the nation committed to his care, ſince his own children had ſo little regard for him, he aſſembled the ſtates, and propoſed a negotiation with England concerning their king's liberty. A motion ſo agreeable to the wiſhes both of nobles and people, was received with joy and applauſe. And, not to afford him time to repent, ambaſſadors were immediately named, and impowered to negotiate the affair. As the council of England ſtood affected, theſe ambaſſadors met with a very civil reception, and commiſſioners [h] were preſently appointed to treat with them. The commiſſioners inſtructions were, that they ſhould conſent to king James's liberty, upon the following terms: that the captive prince ſhould pay the king the ſum of forty, or at leaſt of thirty ſix thouſand marks, for his expences in England during his captivity: that a truce ſhould be made, during which neither of the two kings ſhould aſſiſt the other's enemies. Moreover, they were ordered to intimate to the Scotch ambaſſadors, that it would be very proper to marry their king Buchanan. Act. Pub. X. p. 294, 296.

[h] Thomas, biſhop of Durham, Philip, biſhop of Worceſter, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, Ralph Nevill, earl of Weſtmoreland, Richard Nevill, warden of the Eaſt marches, ſir Ralph Cromewell, and ſir Thomas Chaworth, John Wodeham, archdeacon of the Eaſt riding, and Robert Waterton. * Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 294.

1423. to a princeſs of the royal family of England. But the council wiſhed, that if poſſible the propoſal ſhould come from the Scots.

Firſt conference. September. p. 299.

The firſt conference was held at York in the beginning of September, and on the 10th of the ſame month the plenipotentiaries agreed, that James ſhould have his liberty, and return into his kingdom. That he ſhould pay, at ſeveral times, the ſum of forty thouſand marks, and give hoſtages for ſecurity of payment. In the ſecond conference, held at London, on the 4th of December, every thing relating to the payment of the money, and the quality of the hoſtages, was ſettled. Then it was agreed, that the king of Scotland ſhould marry Joanna, ſiſter of the duke of [i] Somerſet, and niece of the duke of Exeter and biſhop of Wincheſter. On account of the marriage, which was ſolemnized in the beginning of February next year, Henry, or the council in his name, abated ten thouſand of the forty thouſand marks the king of Scotland was to pay [k].

A match is agreed upon between James and Joanna of Somerſet. p. 302, 322.

1424. Matters being thus ſettled, the ambaſſadors of both nations ſigned [l] a ſeven years truce, to commence May the 1ſt, 1424; during which, each of the two kings was obliged to hinder his ſubjects from doing any damage to the other. So, by the treaty, James bound himſelf indirectly, to recal his troops out of France, before May the 1ſt. Nevertheleſs, whether he neglected to ſend orders for their return, or, as is moſt likely, his generals found ſome pretence to evade them, the troops, as will be ſeen preſently, were ſtill there in Auguſt. All theſe negotiations being thus ended, James was conducted to the borders, and ſet at liberty the beginning of March.

Truce between Scotland and England. p. 328.

Miſtake of ſome Engliſh hiſtorians concerning the homage. Hollingſh. p. 587.

An Engliſh hiſtorian affirms, that before James quitted England, he ſwore fealty, and did homage to young Henry, in Windſor caſtle, for the whole kingdom of Scotland. It were to be wiſhed, that in advancing a fact of ſuch importance, and ſo very improbable, the hiſtorian who relates the very words of the oath and homage [m], had diſcovered the fountain

[i] John Beaufort, ſon of John, marquis of Dorſet, ſon of John of Gaunt, by Katherine Swinford, was not created duke of Somerſet, and earl of Kendale, till the 21ſt of Henry VI. Dugdale. See note [u], p. 312. Joanna is called in Rymer's Fœd. ſiſter of the earl of Somerſet. Tom. X. p. 323.

[k] He engaged to pay forty thouſand pounds in all; viz. ten thouſand marks within ſix months after his return into Scotland, and ten thouſand marks every year afterwards, till the whole was paid. And he delivered twenty eight hoſtages, and the towns of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, as a ſecurity. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 307, 322, 326, 327, 333.

[l] March 28. Ibid. p. 332.

[m] "I Jamis Stuart, kyng of Scottes, "ſhal be true and faithfull unto you, "lorde

fountain from whence it was drawn. It cannot be denied, 1424.
that ſince John Baliol, all the kings of Scotland had conſtantly refuſed the homage. For we muſt not reckon among the kings Edward Baliol, who, to aſcend the throne of Scotland, had made himſelf ſlave of Edward III. But not to take things ſo high, it will ſuffice to remark, that Robert III. father of James, plainly refuſed to do homage to Henry IV. and that ſince, there had been no treaty of peace between the two nations, but truces only, which had ſettled nothing upon that point. So James was upon the ſame terms with the king his father. If therefore he did homage to Henry VI. it muſt have been by virtue of a new agreement. And yet, it does not appear in the inſtructions of the Engliſh commiſſioners, that they had any orders upon that ſubject. The conventions of the plenipotentiaries, appointed to treat concerning the liberty of king James, make no mention of the homage, though they are very large upon things of much leſs importance. Neither has the treaty of truce any thing like it. In ſhort, in above thirty ſeveral acts extant in Rymer's collection, concerning the affairs negotiated in the years 1423 and 1424, between the Engliſh and Scots, there is not one ſyllable alluding to any ſuch thing. Upon all theſe accounts, it is to be preſumed, that what is advanced by this hiſtorian, and by ſeveral others after him, concerning the pretended homage at Windſor, is the pure effect of their prejudice. They verily believed, as many do ſtill, that the homage was due from the king of Scotland, and accordingly they imagined, the captive king would not be ſuffered to depart, without being obliged to pay it. But, beſides the reaſons which the king of Scotland had to refuſe the homage, the ſilence of the records in the collection of the publick acts, ſeems to me a clear demonſtration. The reader may look back to what has been ſaid upon the ſubject, in the reign of Edward I. where the rights of the Engliſh and Scots were ſufficiently explained.

Whilſt the king of Scotland's liberty was negotiating in England, the war was continued in France, with various ſucceſs. In the beginning of the year, the French took, by Beaumont taken by the French. Monſtrelet.

" lorde Henry, by the grace of God, " kyng of Englande and Fraunce, the " noble and ſuperiour lorde of the " kyngdome of Scotlande, and unto " you I make my fidelitie for the ſame " kyngdome of Scotlande, whiche I " holde and claime to holde of you; " and I ſhal beare you my faithe and " fidelitie of life and lymme, and " worldly honor againſt al men; and " faithfully I ſhall knowledge, and " ſhal do you ſervice due of the " kyngdome of Scotlande aforeſaid, ſo " God help me and theſe holy evan- " geliſtes." Hollingſh. p. 587. Hall, fol. 86. Stow's Ann. p. 364.

1424. ſcalade, Beaumont upon Oyſe, a ſmall town in the iſle of France, ſix leagues from Pontoiſe.

La Charité ſurpriſed. On the other hand, Perrinet Graſſet, a Burgundian adventurer, ſurpriſed La Charité, a place of great importance, which might open the Engliſh a paſſage over the Loire, and enable them to carry their arms beyond that river.

The taking of places by ſurpriſe was then ſo frequent, that it is ſtrange, the daily inſtances ſhould not render the governors more vigilant. The duke of Bedford was extremely concerned to ſee, that as he promoted the execution of his projects, by taking the enemy's towns about Paris, others were ſurpriſed, which retarded his deſigns. His ſcheme was, as I obſerved, to clear the northern provinces, and yet he could not accompliſh it. There was no end of it, and therefore it was neceſſary, in order to purſue his project, to take Beaumont from the French. For that purpoſe, he opened the campaign in March, with an army of ten thouſand men. After he had recovered that place, he made himſelf maſter likewiſe in the iſle of France, of ſeveral caſtles, by which the Pariſians were very much incommoded.

Beaumont retaken.

The French ſurpriſe Ivry. Whilſt he was employed in theſe ſlight expeditions, news was brought, that Giraut, a captain of king Charles's party, had ſurpriſed Ivry, on the frontiers of Normandy. He poſted immediately into thoſe parts, and not to give the French time to provide for its defence, laid ſiege to the town, the beginning of July. Giraut, perceiving he could not long defend it, in his preſent condition, capitulated to ſurrender on the 15th of Auguſt, if not relieved by that time. King Charles being ſoon informed of the capitulation, reſolved to relieve Ivry at any rate, and to employ in that ſervice the Italian and Scotch troops lately arrived. To theſe, he joined about eleven thouſand men, drawn out of ſeveral provinces and garriſons, foreſeeing, that without a great ſuperiority of forces, it would be very difficult to ſucceed in his deſign. All theſe troops together, made an army of twenty thouſand men [n], which was formed in Maine. Charles had never had one ſo numerous. It was the earl of Buchan's place, as conſtable of France, to command in chief. But he was pleaſed to reſign that honour to the earl of Douglaſs, his father-in-law, to whom the king ſent for that purpoſe a patent, conſtituting him his lieutenant-general of the

It is beſieged by the regent. Monſtrelet. J. Chartier. It capitulates. Charles prepares to relieve Ivry. Hall.

Earl of Douglaſs commands the army of France.

[n] P. Daniel ſays, it conſiſted of about fourteen thouſand men, half of whom were Scots. Tom. VI. p. 14. According to Hall, there were in it fifteen thouſand French and Bretons, and five thouſand Scots, which is more probable, and more agreeable to Rapin's account, fol. 88.

whole kingdom, otherwiſe, the conſtable could not have been under his command. 1424.

All the French nobles of Charles's party repaired to the army, in order to partake of the glory, which was expected from this expedition. The French beginning to march, paſſed on the 12th of Auguſt, by the walls of Verneuil, a town in Perch, poſſeſſed by the Engliſh. The next day, they came in ſight of the Engliſh army, which was advantageouſly intrenched before Ivry. Douglaſs had no ſooner viewed the enemy's camp, but he judged it impoſſible to be attacked. So, altering his deſign on a ſudden, he immediately returned, and reſolved to lay ſiege to Verneuil. He reckoned, he ſhould have time ſo to fortify his camp, as to expect the Engliſh with advantage; or, in caſe they would not venture to attack him, the taking of Verneuil would make the king ample amends for the loſs of Ivry. Upon his appearing before Verneuil, the garriſon prepoſterouſly imagined, he was come from defeating the Engliſh before Ivry, taking it for granted, that with ſo great a ſuperiority, he would never return thus without action. In that belief, which the French took care not to deſtroy [o], they ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons, and Douglaſs garriſoned the place with French.

He does not think fit to attack the Engliſh. Hall.

P. Daniel. Verneuil ſurrenders to him.

Upon news of the march of the French, the earl of Saliſbury haſtened to join the regent, with a thouſand men at arms, and two thouſand archers, who arrived at the camp on the 14th. So the Engliſh army was about fifteen thouſand ſtrong.

The earl of Saliſbury reinforces the regent.

On the 15th of Auguſt, Ivry opened her gates to the beſiegers, purſuant to the capitulation, and next day, the regent marched to Verneuil, where the French ſtill remained. When he came within a league of their camp, he ſent a herald to offer them battle. At the ſame time, he bid him tell Douglaſs, he was come to take a bit with him; to which the other replied, he ſhould find the cloth laid. Naturally, it was the duke of Bedford's buſineſs to advance, ſince he was in queſt of his enemies: but knowing the impetuous humour of the French, he did not queſtion, that being ſuperior in number, they would come and attack him, and therefore reſolved to expect them. For that purpoſe, he choſe an advan-

Ivry ſurrenders. The regent approaches the French, Biondi.

and reſolves to wait their coming. Hall.

[o] The French told the garriſon, that they had diſcomfited and ſlain all the Engliſh army, and the regent, with a ſmall number, had ſaved himſelf by the ſwiftneſs of his horſe. Whereupon the inhabitants of Verneuil giving (as Hall expreſſes it) too light credit to theſe French fables, opened their gates to them. Hall, fol. 88.

1424. tageous poſt for his camp, and for the field of battle, a ground flanked by a hill, on which he placed two thouſand archers. He ordered his foremoſt ranks to take ſuch piles, as the late king his brother had ſo ſucceſsfully uſed in the battle of Azincourt, for the better reſiſting the efforts of the French horſe, among whom were all the nobles. In that poſture, he waited the enemies reſolutions, hoping they would be ſo imprudent as to attack him, and he was not deceived in his expectation.

Diſſenſions in the French council of war.

The earl of Douglas having viewed himſelf the Engliſh camp, called a council of war. He repreſented that the duke of Bedford, inſtead of advancing, deſigned to fight with advantage, on a ground choſen by himſelf; and therefore, it was by no means proper to attack him in that place. That the danger the king's affairs would be in, was of ſo great a conſequence, that he thought a battle was not to be hazarded. That however, if it was judged neceſſary to fight, the beſt way would be to chooſe an advantageous poſt, and there expect the enemy, in order not to engage, till after ſuch precautions were taken, as would in ſome meaſure warrant ſucceſs. This advice coming from a foreigner, was thought too cautious by ſome of the council. Amidſt the debates, a party was formed againſt the general, headed by Aymeri, viſcount of Narbonne. That lord repreſented, that if, with ſuch a ſuperiority, a battle was avoided, the reputation of the king's arms would be irreparably loſt. That by ſuch cowardice the troops would be ſo terrified, that there would be no poſſibility to lead them againſt enemies, who were avoided, when they ought to have been attacked. That the king's affairs were not to be reſtored without ſome great action, and, as there could not be a fairer opportunity to vanquiſh the enemy, to neglect it, would be to betray the intereſt of the king and kingdom. Notwithſtanding theſe reaſons, the conſtable and oldeſt captains were of the general's opinion. But the contrary party were reſolved to carry their point. Narbonne, their head, going out of the council, ordered his banner to be diſplayed, and began to march towards the enemies. They who were of his mind did the ſame, and were joined by all the volunteers of the army. Douglas was enraged at this diſobedience. But neither his nor the conſtable's authority was capable of making them return. Had he been in his own country, he would have left theſe raſh men to periſh. But as he was in a foreign kingdom, he was afraid of being taxed with cowardice, or with having

Narbonne forces Douglas to march up to the enemy.

Hall.
P. Daniel.

voluntarily

voluntarily ſuffered part of his troops to be loſt. Beſides, the number of the diſobedient continually increaſing, he ſaw himſelf forced, though with extreme indignation, to march with the reſt of his army. When they ſaw themſelves followed, they readily left the general the conduct of the army, congratulating one another upon having conquered his obſtinacy. Mean while, notwithſtanding the earl of Douglaſs's care, his troops, fearing victory would eſcape them, were in ſuch diſorder and confuſion, that, when they came in ſight of the Engliſh, they were almoſt quite out of breath. However, they immediately attacked them, without regarding thoſe that adviſed them to reſt a little before they engaged. The Italians, being expoſed to the arrows of the two thouſand archers on the hill, were the firſt that took to flight. The French and Scots behaved better, but had to deal with ſoldiers inured to war, who were not eaſily frightened. In ſhort, the leaders ſeeing the attack unſucceſsful, and themſelves liable to everlaſting diſgrace, and ſome even juſtly fearing an exemplary puniſhment, choſe an honourable death before a ſhameful retreat. The earl of Douglaſs, the earl of Buchan, Narbonne, Ventadour, Graville, Rambouillet being ſlain, and many others of the moſt conſiderable wounded, there were ſcarce a general left to lead the ſoldiers to the charge. So the whole army was utterly routed, and hotly purſued. Then it was, that the greateſt ſlaughter was made, as it uſually happens on ſuch occaſions. The Italians returning upon a falſe information that their friends had the advantage, met the victorious Engliſh, who ſlew many more of them. Theſe foreign troops would have been all cut in pieces, had not the night cooled the ardour of the conquerors. The French and Scots loſt above five thouſand men [p], who lay dead on the field, beſides a great number of wounded and priſoners. Among the laſt were the marſhal de la Fayette and Gaucour. The young duke of Alenſon, who had behaved moſt gallantly, was found among the dead, with ſome remains of life, and by the extraordinary care of the regent, cured of his wounds. But, as it will be ſeen hereafter, the recovery of his liberty coſt him dear. The Eng-

1424.

Battle of Verneuil. Aug. 16.

Hall.

Duke of Alenſon taken priſoner.

[p] By the report of Montjoy, French king at arms, and the Engliſh heralds then preſent, there were ſlain, of French and Scots, nine thouſand ſeven hundred, and of the Engliſh, two thouſand one hundred. Two hundred gentlemen, beſides many common ſoldiers, were taken priſoners. This battle, which Rapin places on the 16th of Auguſt, is ſaid by Hall to have been fought on the 27th of that month. Hall, fol. 90.

liſh

1424. liſh loſt ſixteen or ſeventeen hundred of their braveſt ſoldiers. The 17th of Auguſt, the day after the battle, the regent inveſted Verneuil, where Rambure commanded. This the governor could have long defended himſelf, had he been well ſtored with proviſions. But that want, and perhaps the conſternation of the garriſon, obliged him to ſurrender the third day. There was found in Verneuil, all the baggage of the French, Scotch, and Italian generals, with the money deſigned for the payment of the army. As they entered the town, the Engliſh met the corps of the viſcount of Narbonne, going to be buried, and becauſe he was one of the duke of Burgundy's murderer's, took his body and hung it on a gibbet.

Verneuil ſurrenders to the Engliſh.

Narbonne's body hung on a gibbet.

A commotion at Paris appeaſed by the regent. Hall.

After the battle of Verneuil, the regent left the command of the army to the earl of Saliſbury, and poſted to Paris, where ſome mutineers had raiſed a ſedition, in a belief, that he could not fail of being defeated by the French. The commotion was appeaſed by the death of ſome of the ring-leaders: however it convinced the regent, that he muſt not truſt to the affection of the Pariſians, unleſs it was in his power to keep them always in awe.

Saliſbury conquers Maine. Hall. Monſtrelet.

The earl of Saliſbury finding himſelf able to make ſome conſiderable attempt, entered Maine [q], and beſieged Mans, the capital of the province, and one of the ſtrongeſt cities in France. The governor made a long and brave defence, but at length deſpairing of relief, he capitulated. After the taking of Mans [r], the Engliſh general inveſted la Ferté Bernard, another place in the ſame province, which could hardly be taken by ſtorm, by reaſon of its ſituation. Whilſt part of his troops kept the place blocked up, he over-ran the reſt of the province, and took St. Suſanne [s] with ſome other places. He finiſhed this glorious campaign, and the conqueſt of Maine, with taking la Ferté Bernard [t], after a four months blockade.

A favourable event for Charles.

The defeats of Crevant and Verneuil had thrown king Charles's troops and all his towns into great conſternation. Had not winter been ſo near, probably, the Engliſh would have puſhed their conqueſts farther. But this delay, which the ſeaſon gave king Charles, would have only retarded his

[q] At the head of twelve thouſand men. He was attended by the lord Scales, ſir John Montgomery, ſir John Faſtolff, &c. Hall, fol. 91.

[r] Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, was made governor of this town, and ſir John Faſtolff, his deputy. Ibid.

[s] Of which ſir John Popham was made governor. Ibid.

[t] The regent gave it to Thomas Montacute, earl of Saliſbury, and his heirs. Hall, fol. 22.

ruin

ruin a few months, if a favourable and unexpected event had not given him ſome reſpite. I mean the quarrel between the dukes of Glouceſter and Brabant, wherein the duke of Burgundy was alſo engaged. It may be truly ſaid, that this affair cauſed the Engliſh to loſe the fatal moment, which, probably was to determine the ruin of the houſe of Valois, and render them maſters of all France. This will plainly appear in the ſequel. But it will be neceſſary firſt, to give a brief account of the riſe of a quarrel, which proved ſo fatal to England. 1424.

The affair of Hainault.

William of Bavaria, late earl of Hainault, had by Margaret, his counteſs, daughter of Philip le Hardy, duke of Burgundy, an only daughter called Jaquelina, who had been married to John, ſecond ſon of Charles VI. John being dauphin, by the death of his elder brother Lewis, died at Compiegne in 1416, and Jaquelina remained a widow at her father's houſe. The earl, her father, dying ſhortly after, ſhe became heireſs of his dominions, containing Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and Frieſland. So noble an inheritance could not fail to attract the addreſſes of many princes. But the counteſs, her mother, being deſirous to procure this rich match for a prince of her own family, caſt her eyes on John duke of Brabant, her nephew, and perſuaded her daughter to marry him. The mariage proved unfortunate. The new-married couple ſoon quarrelled, for reaſons foreign to our hiſtory [u]. Their quarrel grew to that height, that Jaquelina at laſt cauſed herſelf to be run away with by ſome Engliſh knights, who carried her to London. I have obſerved in the foregoing reign, that this voluntary rape was not unknown to king Henry V. Very probably, that monarch had then thoughts of marrying Jaquelina to the duke of Glouceſter.

Upon the princeſs's arrival in England, ſhe began to think of annulling her marriage with the duke of Brabant. To that end, ſhe applied to the anti-pope Benedict XIII. who, though depoſed by the council of Piſa, perſiſted in keeping his title and dignity. The pretended pope, overjoyed at being addreſſed to, nulled Jaquelina's marriage, with permiſſion to marry again. But whether Henry V. was afraid of diſobliging the duke of Burgundy, couſin-german of the duke of Brabant, or thought it too irregular

[u] The duke of Brabant was an infirm and weak prince; whereas Jaquelina had a courage and genius uncommon to her ſex. P. Daniel Hiſt. Franc. tom. VI. p. 18.

to

1424. to uſe the diſpenſation of a pope, whom he himſelf did not acknowledge, he haſtened not to the concluſion of the projected marriage.

Henry dying in the mean while, the duke of Glouceſter believed, he ought not to delay any longer ſo advantageous a marriage. He eſpouſed Jaquelina, either in the very year 1422, or at leaſt in the beginning of 1423 [w]; for there is in the collection of the publick acts, a petition dated March 7, 1423, and preſented to him under the title of earl of Hainault [x]. However that may be, the duke had no ſooner conſummated his marriage, but he thought of means to take poſſeſſion of his ducheſs's dominions, now in the hands of the duke of Brabant. Mean while, the duke of Burgundy foreſeeing, Jaquelina's third marriage might create a war between the two princes her huſbands, had a conference upon that ſubject with the duke of Bedford at Amiens, and afterwards another at Paris in December 1423. They agreed that the deciſion of the affair ſhould be left to the pope, as the proper judge of ſuch caſes. The duke of Brabant approved of the expedient, becauſe he knew there was no ſufficient reaſon to induce the court of Rome to annul the marriage. But the duke of Glouceſter rejected it, proteſting however, he was ready to conſent to a reaſonable agreement. Mean time, he made preparations to ſupport his pretenſions, whilſt the duke of Bedford, his brother, was triumphantly proſecuting the war in France. At laſt, in October 1424, he came to Calais with his ducheſs, and brought with him five thouſand men. He ſtaid there till about the middle of November.

Act. Pub. X. p. 279.

Monſtrelet.

Monſtrelet.

The duke of Burgundy comes to the duke of Bedford at Paris.

Though the duke of Burgundy was entirely in the duke of Brabant's intereſt, his good underſtanding with the Engliſh was not altered. He ſtill hoped, the duke of Glouceſter would deſiſt from his pretenſions, and the rather as he ſaw the duke of Bedford his brother, uſing his endeavours to perſuade him. The arrival of the Engliſh troops at Calais alarmed him not, being yet ignorant, they were deſigned againſt the duke of Brabant. Nay, very likely, they were ſent from England to ſtrengthen the regent. And therefore, whilſt the duke of Glouceſter ſtaid at Calais, Philip was at Paris, partaking of the diverſions and entertainments made by the regent, on account of his glorious

w Hall places it in the firſt year of Henry VI. and ſays, it was not only wondered at by the common people, but alſo deteſted by the nobility, and abhorred by the clergy, fol. 84.

x Holland, Zealand, &c. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 279.

campaign. At his return to Dijon, he celebrated his ſecond nuptials with Bona of Artois, widow of Philip earl of Nevers, his uncle. She was ſiſter of the earl of Eu, priſoner in England, and half ſiſter of the earl of Clermont, eldeſt ſon of the duke of Bourbon. 1424. He marries Bona of Artois. Stow.

Whilſt the marriage was ſolemnizing at Dijon, the duke of Glouceſter departed from Calais, and, with Jaquelina his wife, marched towards Hainault. He paſſed through part of the duke of Burgundy's dominions, without ſuffering his troops to commit any diſorder, and came before Bouchain, which opened her gates to him. Shortly after, all the other towns of Hainault ſubmitted and ſwore fealty to him and the ducheſs. Whereupon, the duke of Burgundy ordered Ligny and l'Iſle-Adam, to draw an army together with all poſſible ſpeed and join the earl of St. Pol, brother of the duke of Brabant, who was making preparations at Bruſſels for the aſſiſtance of the duke his brother. But before we proceed in this affair, it will be neceſſary to cloſe the account of the occurrences of the year 1424, with what paſſed in England. The duke of Glouceſter becomes maſter of Hainault. Hall. Monſtrelet. The duke of Burgundy prepares to aid the duke of Brabant.

Sir John Mortimer, uncle of Edmund earl of March, having been ſome time priſoner in the Tower, was charged with attempting to make his eſcape, in order to raiſe an inſurrection in Wales. It was pretended, his deſign was to proclaim the earl of March his nephew, and upon his refuſal, to proclaim himſelf. Whether his crime was proved, or it was thought proper to make away with a perſon, who, in caſe he had eſcaped, might have done miſchief, he was condemned and executed [y]. Cotton's Abridg. Hall. Stow.

The earl of March, his nephew, did not long ſurvive him. He died in Ireland, about the latter end of the year, without any iſſue. By his death, the title of earl of March, Death of the earl of March.

y Rapin, deceived by the likeneſs of names, calls ſir John Mortimer, brother of the earl of March. The genealogy ſtands thus. Edmund Mortimer, third earl of March, married Philippa, daughter of Lionel, duke of Clarence, third ſon of Edward III. and by her had, 1. Roger; 2. Edmund, who married Glendour's daughter; 3. John, priſoner in the Tower, and put to death, 3 Henry VI. The ſaid Roger dying in Ireland, 22 Richard II. left, 1. Edmund, ſent into Ireland by Henry IV. and kept priſoner in the caſtle of Trim, till he died childleſs, in 3 Henry VI. 1424. 2. Roger, who died young. 3. Anne, wife of Richard, of Coninſburg, earl of Cambridge, ſecond ſon of Edmund de Langley, duke of York, fifth ſon of Edward III. he was beheaded at Southampton, 1415, leaving a ſon, Richard, duke of York, and heir to his uncle Edmund Mortimer, earl of March. Hence it is plain, ſir John Mortimer was not brother, as Rapin ſays, but uncle to Edmund, earl of March, that died this year, 1424, in Ireland. — The tranſaction, mentioned here by Rapin, happened this year in February, during the parliament that was then ſitting. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 568. Stow's Ann. p. 365.

and

1424. and his right to the crown of England, from which he was excluded by the election of Henry IV. descended to Richard duke of York his nephew, son of Anne his sister, and the earl of Cambridge, beheaded at Southampton in 1415. All the English historians unanimously affirm, that this prince, then under age, bore not yet the title of duke of York, which according to them, was not conferred upon him till the parliament of Leicester in 1426. But we find in the collection of the publick acts, that he is styled duke of York, in an act dated February 26, 1425, that is, thirteen months before the parliament of Leicester, where he was only made knight [z].

The duke of York his heir. Hall. Stow. Act. Pub. X. p. 342.

1425. In the beginning of the year 1425, the affairs of king Charles were in a deplorable condition. The battles of Crevant and Verneuil had deprived him of his troops and best generals. He had neither money nor credit. His revenues being all mortgaged, he saw himself unable to bring an army into the field. The dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne, the two most powerful vassals of the crown, were in strict union with the English. The king of Sicily, his brother-in-law, had just lost Maine, and could hardly preserve the rest of his dominions. The king of Scotland, antient ally of France, had made a truce with the English, which tied up his hands, and hindered him from sending any succours. Reduced to this wretched state, he saw himself as it were forced beyond the Loire, without hopes of keeping any longer his towns about Paris. To this was added, the just apprehension of quickly seeing the enemy's armies in Berry, Languedoc, and Dauphiné. The English called him only the earl of Ponthieu, or in derision the king of Bourges.

Sad state of king Charles's affairs. P. Daniel.

The affair of Hainault. Certainly, if the duke of Gloucester had shewn the same zeal for the king his nephew's interests, as he did for his own, and sent the duke of Bedford the troops and money, he employed against the duke of Brabant, it may be reasonably presumed, France would have been undone. Never would Charles have had it in his power to wrest that conquest out of the hands of the English. This was the critical minute, which that nation should not have neglected. They were near the end of a war, which had lasted ten years, and probably was going to end according to their wish, in securing the crown of France to the king's of Eng-

z This year, on July 16, Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, was made high chancellor. Rymer's Fœd. Tom. X. p. 340.

land.

land. The duke of Bedford ſaw it plainly. He never ceaſed to ſolicit his brother to improve ſo favourable a juncture, and defer the execution of his deſigns till a more convenient ſeaſon, when he might even employ all the forces of France and England. But his remonſtrances were not capable of diverting the ambitious duke from an enterpriſe which promiſed him the poſſeſſion of four of the fineſt provinces of the Low Countries. He was a younger brother, and the ſucceſſion of the throne of England, ſuppoſing the king his nephew died without iſſue, was to come to his brother before him. For that reaſon, he thought he ſhould not neglect an opportunity, which would raiſe him above the rank of a ſubject, and was not likely to offer again. But at the ſame time, he cauſed the duke his brother to loſe that of completing the conqueſt of France. The great number of garriſons requiſite in the kingdom, where was neither town nor caſtle, but what was fortified, drained the Engliſh army. So, the regent, not receiving any ſupplies, becauſe of the unhappy diverſion of Hainault, was no more able than king Charles, to bring an army into the field. This is the true reaſon why, during the year 1425, the war was, as it were, diſcontinued in France, and no conſiderable conqueſt made on either ſide. 1425. Hall.

Continuation of the buſineſs of Hainault.

I left the duke of Glouceſter, maſter of Hainault, and the duke of Burgundy preparing to diſpoſſeſs him. In Burgundy's orders to his generals for levying an army, he ſet forth, that having agreed with the duke of Bedford, upon an expedient to end the quarrel, it was accepted by the duke of Brabant, but rejected by the duke of Glouceſter. The Engliſh prince hearing what the duke of Burgundy had advanced, ſent him a letter, dated from Mons, January the 12th, 1424-5, taxing him with ſaying an un-truth. The duke of Burgundy, provoked at the affront, returned him a very abuſive anſwer. He told him he lied, and offered to make good his aſſertion, in ſingle combat, and to take the duke of Bedford for judge [a]. The duke of Glouceſter accepted the challenge, and appointed St. George's day for the combat. Several other ſharp letters paſſed between them, but of no conſequence to what I have farther to ſay. Monſtrelet. Stow.

A challenge between the dukes of Burgundy and Glouceſter.

Whilſt theſe two princes were thus reviling each other, the earl of St. Pol, brother of the duke of Brabant, beſieged the little town of Braine in Hainault, defended by two hundred Monſtrelet. Stow.

Braine taken by the Brabanders.

[a] He offered to take the emperor for judge, and if that would not do, then the duke of Bedford. Monſtrelet, fol. 20.

Engliſh.

1425. Engliſh. After a faint reſiſtance, the garriſon capitulating, the Brabanders violated the articles, put the Engliſh to the ſword, and ſet fire to the town [b].

Truce between the dukes of Glouceſter and Brabant.

Mean while, as the ſingle combat of the dukes of Burgundy and Glouceſter was of courſe to decide the principal quarrel between Glouceſter and Brabant, it was thought proper to make a truce, in expectation of the ſucceſs of the combat. Upon ſigning the truce, the duke of Glouceſter returned into England. He would have carried his ducheſs along with him, but the people of Mons were ſo urgent with him to leave her behind, that he could not deny their requeſt. He made the magiſtrates, however, ſolemnly ſwear to defend her, at the peril of their lives, againſt all perſons whatever [c].

Glouceſter returns to England. Hall.

Charles takes advantage of the Hainault diverſion. P. Daniel.

Whilſt the war of Hainault ſuſpended that of France, Charles took meaſures to improve that happy diverſion. In a great council, held to conſider the ſtate of his affairs, it was unanimouſly agreed, there was but one way to free him from his preſent circumſtances. And that was, to offer the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne a carte blanche, in order to win them from the Engliſh. The firſt had openly broke with the duke of Glouceſter: the other might be gained by the earl of Richemont his brother, who had great influence over him, and moreover was very angry with the duke of Bedford. This was a juncture which was not to be neglected. On the other hand, Bona of Artois, lately married to the duke of Burgundy, being French, and half ſiſter to the earl of Clermont, the king's zealous adherent, it was likely ſhe would readily endeavour to gain the duke her ſpouſe.

He gains the earl of Richemont, and by his means the duke of Bretagne. Monſtrelet.

The reſolution being then taken to try theſe two means, Charles ſent to the earl of Richemont private emiſſaries, who told him, what a great eſteem the king had for him, intimating, that he had often ſaid, he ſhould deem himſelf invincible, if he could have him at the head of his army. This was attacking the prince in the moſt ſenſible part. As he had a high conceit of his own merit, it was no ſmall pleaſure to him, to ſee king Charles offer him a poſt, ſcornfully refuſed him by the duke of Bedford. However, knowing the perſons that talked to him thus, were ſent only to ſound him, he contented himſelf with returning a civil an-

[b] There was at this ſiege a body of French troops, commanded by Xaintrailles; which the duke of Bedford took heinouſly ill. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel, tom. VI. p. 20.

[c] He alſo left two thouſand Engliſhmen with her. Hall, fol. 93.

ſwer

ſwer to their compliments, and artfully inſinuating, he had a great inclination to ſerve their maſter. 1425.

The firſt ſtep being taken, Charles ſent to him the queen dowager of Sicily, his mother-in-law, with Tannegui du Châtel, and impowered them to offer him the conſtable's ſword. This poſt had been vacant ever ſince the death of the earl of Buchan, ſlain in the battle of Verneuil. The queen of Sicily, and du Châtel found the earl entirely diſpoſed to the change. He was exaſperated againſt the duke of Bedford, and being extremely proud and vindictive, was pleaſed to think, he ſhould have an opportunity of revenging his contempt. So, without much ſollicitation, he accepted the king's offer, with great demonſtrations of thankfulneſs, and promiſed to engage the duke his brother in his intereſts. However, he required two conditions, without which, he proteſted, he could not accept the honour deſigned him by the king, or promiſe any thing, with regard to the duke his brother. The firſt was, that Louvet and d'Avaugour, the principal authors of the Pontievrian conſpiracy, ſhould be removed from court. The ſecond, that the duke of Burgundy ſhould conſent to the affair propoſed to him. His reaſon was, becauſe he had engaged himſelf by oath with the duke of Burgundy, in the treaty of Amiens. He had not the ſame ſcruple with reſpect to the duke of Bedford, though he was no leſs engaged with him, than with the duke of Burgundy. But paſſion frequently cauſes the ſame thing to appear with two different faces, according to the perſons with whom we are concerned. The queen and du Châtel readily aſſured him, the king would comply with his demands. Whereupon he came to Tours, where Charles took care to flatter his vanity with all poſſible civilities and careſſes. But however, the earl ſtood firm to his previous demands, and told the king plainly, he could liſt in his ſervice, only upon the terms propoſed. The king gave him hopes of the firſt; without however fixing the time; and as to the ſecond, was pleaſed, that he ſhould talk with the duke of Burgundy, to obtain his conſent. He took likewiſe the opportunity to ſend to the duke of Burgundy, the biſhops of Puy and Chartres, with orders to ſound him, whether there was any way to diſengage him from the king of England.

Conditions demanded by the earl of Richemont.

Though the duke of Burgundy was extremely incenſed againſt the duke of Glouceſter, he appeared not ſo inclinable to an agreement, as Charles and his council expected. The murder of the duke his father being ſtill freſh in his mind, he ſhewed at firſt great averſion to a reconciliation.

The duke of Burgundy leſs intractable with regard to Charles VII.

1425. Nevertheleſs, preſſed by the king's envoys, who endeavoured to excuſe their maſter, by caſting the blame on his evil counſellors, he replied, the king therefore ſhould diſmiſs thoſe pernicious counſellors, and then it would be time to talk of an accommodation. This was a ſufficient intimation, that he was not inexorable, eſpecially as he readily conſented, that the earl of Richemont ſhould accept of the conſtable's ſword.

The king's perplexity about his favourites.

Charles, it ſeems, had reaſon to congratulate himſelf upon his good fortune. It was in his own power to gain the duke of Bretagne, and moreover, he had hopes that the duke of Burgundy was not proof againſt a reaſonable ſatisfaction. However, the terms impoſed upon him threw him into great perplexity. To procure theſe advantages, he muſt part with his two principal miniſters, favourites and confidents, namely, Tannegui du Châtel, who ſlew the duke of Burgundy, and Louvet, preſident of Provence, whom the duke of Bretagne, conſidered as author of the Pontievrian conſpiracy. Du Châtel ſaved him part of his trouble to make ſuch a ſacrifice. He came and caſt himſelf at his feet, entreating him in reward of his ſervices, to give him leave to retire, ſince his preſence at court could not, for the future, but be detrimental to ſo good a maſter. It was with extreme reluctance that the king granted his requeſt. It was a long time before he could come to a reſolution. Mean while, preſſed by the continual inſtances of a faithful ſervant, who deſired his leave only to give him a freſh proof of his zeal, he ſuffered him at length to retire. There are few favourites, who thus prefer their maſter's good to their own. Louvet, who was not ſo diſintereſted, did not think himſelf obliged to follow that example. He would have kept himſelf in his poſt, at the expence of all the advantages the king could expect from an alliance with the duke of Bretagne.

P. Daniel. Du. Tillet.

Châtel deſires leave to retire.

Louvet tries to keep his poſt.

Charles cannot think of diſcarding Louvet. P. Daniel.

Mean while, the earl of Richemont not doubting in the leaſt, that the king would perform his promiſe in relation to Louvet, came to him at Tours, where he received the conſtable's ſword [d], the 7th of March, 1425. He had promiſed to detach the duke of Bretagne from England, but as he ſtill ſaw Louvet and d'Avaugour about the king, was not in haſte to perform his engagement. Charles was willing enough to make him a ſacrifice of the laſt. But Louvet had a ſurer footing at court. Beſides his being beloved by the king, one of his daughters, wife of the lord de Joyeuſe, ſhared Charles's heart with Agnes Sorrel, who began to appear at court as a

[d] P. Daniel ſays, it was at Clinon. Tom. VI. p. 26.

favourite.

favourite. So, to gain the duke of Bretagne, Charles saw himself forced to dismiss a beloved minister, and disoblige a mistress. This gave him no small concern. On the other hand, Louvet used his utmost endeavours to ruin the constable in his master's favour. He represented to him, with what haughtiness he had imposed terms on his sovereign, as if he had been his equal, and caused it to be considered as a favour, that he was pleased to accept of the constable's sword. In short, he so managed the king, that Charles, who was very obstinate, resolved not to part with his minister, let what would be the consequence. 1425.

The constable finding himself disappointed, resolved to ruin Louvet, in spite of the king himself. For that purpose, knowing that minister was not beloved by the great men at court, he so caballed with them, that a plot was formed to remove him from the king. When he was secure of the success of his project, he withdrew from court without taking leave, and sent the king word, he would never return so long as Louvet was there. Charles, little regarding his retreat, still persisted in the resolution to keep his minister. But when he saw, that by degrees the great men retired to their governments, on divers pretences, that they refused to receive his orders, and that he had but two or three towns left, which he could call his own, he found he must resolve to part with Louvet, or his kingdom. He was even apprehensive, that the constable would deliver the duke of Bretagne's places to the English. So, he was forced, though with extreme indignation, to dismiss his minister, who had still credit enough to cause his creature de Giac to be received in his room. He is forced from court by the constable.

Upon this removal, the constable was willing to return to court, but Charles was so provoked with him, that he could not bear to see him. However, the state of his affairs obliged him at length to admit him again. The constable, content with having accomplished his designs, performed his promise concerning the duke his brother, and brought him to Saumur, where he did homage to the king [e]. The duke of Bretagne does homage to Charles. Du Tillet. P. Daniel.

e And at the same time, viz. Octob. 7. concluded a treaty with him, whereby he engaged to assist him in driving the English out of France, upon the following condition: 1. That Charles should be reconciled to the princes of the blood, particularly to the duke of Burgundy. 2. That he should not protect the earl of Pontievre. 3. That the duke of Burgundy should have the administration of the finances in the Languedoil, that is, the country between the Loire and Languedoc. Du Tillet, p. 345, 363. P. Daniel, tom. VI. p. 29.

1425. Whilſt the earl of Richemont was raiſing diſturbances in the court of king Charles, Henry enjoyed not greater tranquillity. I have obſerved, that the duke of Glouceſter, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, his uncle were not friends. On which ſide ſoever the fault lay, they loſt no opportunity of vexing each other. The Hainault expedition furniſhed the biſhop with one, which he knew how to improve. When that undertaking was propoſed in council, he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed it, and manifeſtly ſhewed, how prejudicial it might be to the king's affairs. But though, on that occaſion, he was in the right, the duke of Glouceſter had intereſt enough to have it approved. He departed with a mind imbittered againſt his uncle, and with a reſolution to be revenged, the firſt opportunity.

Quarrel between the duke of Glouceſter and biſhop of Wincheſter. Hall.

The hiſtorians inform us not, how the government was ſettled, during the duke of Glouceſter's abſence, which laſted about a year [f]. Very likely, the biſhop of Wincheſter had the greateſt ſhare in it, and made uſe of that advantage to create his enemy many vexations. Some even ſay, all his proceedings tended to deprive him of the protectorſhip, in order to obtain it for himſelf.

The duke being returned into England, about October, 1425, the quarrel was kindled afreſh, with great animoſity on both ſides. One day as he intended to go to the Tower, ſir Richard Woodville, the governor, refuſed him admittance, by the biſhop of Wincheſter's advice. The protector, who was very high ſpirited, flew into a violent paſſion with the biſhop, and proceeded even to threats. In a word, the quarrel was carried ſo far, that they both began to arm their

[f] Before his going over, a parliament was held at Weſtminſter, which met on April 30, and granted the king the ſubſidy of wools, namely, forty three ſhillings and fourpence on every ſack, from ſtrangers; and from denizens, thirty three ſhillings and fourpence; as alſo three ſhillings of every tun of wine, and twelve pence in the pound of all ſorts of merchandize imported or exported. Cotton's Abridg. p. 578. Stow's Ann. p. 366. Hall, fol. 92.—The young king rid in great triumph to this parliament through the city of London upon a large courſer: Hall, ibid.—Several perſons having made a trade of carrying from time to time a great number of ſheep and fleeces out of the realm into Flanders, and other countries beyond ſea, it was enacted in this parliament, that no perſon whatſoever ſhould be ſuffered to carry any ſheep out of England, upon pain of forfeiting the ſame, or the value thereof, to the king. See ſtatutes.—It being feared, that ſome quarrel ſhould ariſe between the attendants of the duke of Glouceſter, and the biſhop of Wincheſter, during the ſeſſion of this parliament, ſtrict orders were given, that no perſon ſhould come to it with ſwords, or other warlike weapons. This order was literally obſerved, yet the lords came with batts, or great clubs, from whence this parliament was called, the parliament of batts. Comp. Hiſt. p. 352.

friends,

friends, either to attack or defend. The duke of Coimbra, prince of Portugal, then in England g, and the archbiſhop of Canterbury, endeavoured in vain to reconcile them. An hiſtorian ſays, the biſhop of Wincheſter was forced to fly for refuge to the Tower, and that eight or ten of his people were killed by the duke's. But this is unlikely, ſince, in their mutual complaints, laid before the enſuing parliament, there is no mention of any ſuch thing. 1425. Hall. Monſtrelet.

The prelate having no warriours on his ſide, did not find his account in deciding the quarrel by arms. The intrigues of the cabinet were more within his province. And therefore, to prevent the miſchief that might befal him, if things remained in their preſent ſtate, he writ to the duke of Bedford, deſiring him to come into England. He told him in his letter, unleſs he made all poſſible haſte, the kingdom was in danger of being expoſed to fatal commotions, by his brother's violent temper. The duke of Bedford perceiving the importance of the quarrel, ſet out immediately, leaving in France, Richard de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, to command in his room, and arrived in England, December the 20th. The duke of Bedford comes into England. Hall. Warwick commands in France. Act. Pub. X. p. 359.

As ſoon as the duke ſet foot in the kingdom, he aſſumed the title of protector, and was received as ſuch, purſuant to the act of parliament in 1422. We find in the collection of the publick acts, not only that petitions were preſented to him as protector, but the parliament aſſigned him the ſalary of eight thouſand marks, annexed to that dignity, and which the duke of Glouceſter till then had enjoyed. 1426. The duke of Bedford received for protector. Ib. p. 357, 359, 365.

A few days after his arrival, the duke of Bedford ſpoke in the council of the treachery of the duke of Bretagne, and the earl of Richemont, repreſenting the prejudice it brought to the king's affairs. Upon his remonſtrances, and by his advice, it was unanimouſly reſolved, to declare war againſt the duke of Bretagne; which was accordingly done on the 15th of January, by proclamation. Moreover, to find that prince employment in his own country, and hinder him from aſſiſting king Charles, a reſolution was taken to ſupport the Pontievrians his enemies, and try by their means, to raiſe a civil war in Bretagne. To that end, ſafe-conducts were diſpatched to the two brothers of Pontievre: but however, nothing came of it. Probably, their intereſt was not great in that country. England proclaims war with Bretagne. Ib. p. 340. Argentré.

g He was ſon of Philippa, eldeſt daughter of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter. During his ſtay in England, he was made knight of the garter. Hall, fol. 92. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 405.

1426. This affair being ended, the duke of Bedford wholly applied himſelf, to procure a ſincere reconciliation between the duke his brother and the biſhop of Wincheſter. The way to ſucceed, was to favour neither. Had he taken his brother's part, as the ties of blood ſeemed to require, he would not have been fit to perform the office of a mediator. Moreover, beſides the character of brother and nephew, he had another to maintain, in order to anſwer his duty, and the expectations of the publick; I mean that of protector, chiefly concerned in the good of the ſtate, independently of the duties of nature. So, not to take upon himſelf alone ſo nice an affair, he aſſembled ſome of the prime nobility at St. Albans, in hopes of finding, with their aſſiſtance, ſome expedient, to content theſe two princes. But their animoſity was ſo great, that it was not poſſible to ſucceed by that means. After many fruitleſs endeavours, the deciſion of the affair was forced to be referred to a parliament ſummoned at Leiceſter for March [h]. When the parliament met, the duke of Glouceſter exhibited ſix articles againſt the biſhop.

Continuation of the quarrel of the duke of Glouceſter and biſhop of Wincheſter. Hall.

Cotton's Abridg. Hall.

Articles of accuſation againſt the biſhop. Hall.

I. He accuſed him of cauſing him to be denied entrance into the Tower, and thereby rendering the dignity of protector contemptible.

II. That he would have removed the king from his palace at Eltham, to Windſor, with deſign to become maſter of his perſon.

III. That not being ſatisfied, with cauſing him to be denied admittance in the Tower, he had placed armed men on London Bridge, and in Southwark, on purpoſe to murder him.

IV. That he had concealed a villain in the late king's room, when prince of Wales, in order to murder him.

V. That he had adviſed the ſame prince, to ſeize the crown, before the king his father's death.

VI. That in his letter to the duke of Bedford, it evidently appeared, that his deſign was to raiſe a civil war in the kingdom.

Biſhop's reply. The biſhop gave a particular anſwer to theſe accuſations, by explaining ſuch of his actions as might have

h It met there the 18th day of February, and continued the ſubſidy of wools, and tunnage and poundage for two years. Cotton's Abridg. p. 582, 585.

been

been ill conſtrued, or by denying the facts laid to his charge [1]. 1426.

The parliament appointing commiſſioners to examine the accuſation and anſwers, declared, upon their report, that the charge was groundleſs, and acquitted the biſhop. Then they obliged the two princes to be reconciled. Whereupon they ſhook hands, and ſeemingly parted good friends, but however were no leſs enemies to each other.

He is declared innocent. They are reconciled outwardly.

Mean while, as the times and circumſtances of affairs would not allow the duke of Glouceſter to be entirely ſacrificed to his enemy, the protector took care to procure him alſo ſome ſatisfaction. In the firſt place, he took the great ſeal from the biſhop of Wincheſter, and gave it to the biſhop of London. Moreover, as it was impoſſible for the two adverſaries to be together in the council, without great prejudice to the king's affairs, he prevailed with the biſhop to go with him into France, under colour of performing a vow. But to repair the injury his abſence might do him, he had leave to ſolicite a cardinal's cap, which was ſent him ſhortly after.

Expedients to ſatisfy both parties. Act. Pub. X. p. 353. p. 358.

[1] To the firſt article, the biſhop anſwered, that, after the duke of Glouceſter's going to Hainault, ſeditious and odious bills (or papers) and language, being caſt and uſed in the city of London, ſounding of inſurrection and rebellion againſt the king's peace, and deſtruction as well of the ſeveral eſtates of the land, as of ſtrangers, who thereupon in great numbers fled out of the land; it was thought adviſable, to aſſign Richard Woodville, eſq; deputy governor of the Tower, a certain number of defenſible perſons, for the more ſure keeping of the ſaid Tower: and he was ſtraightly charged by the council, that, during the time of his ſaid charge, he ſhould not ſuffer any man to be in the Tower ſtronger than himſelf, without eſpecial charge, or commandment of the king, by the advice of his council. 2. To the ſecond he anſwered, that he never purpoſed to lay hands on the king, or remove him, without the advice of the council: for, the doing of it would have been no advantage to him, but rather great peril and charge. 3. To the third he ſaid, that what armed men he employed, it was only in his own defence, for he was often warned, that my lord of Glouceſter intended him bodily harm. 4. To the fourth he returns but an indifferent anſwer, ſaying only in general, that he was ever true to all thoſe that were his ſovereign lords, and never purpoſed treaſon or untruth againſt any of them, eſpecially king Henry V. by whom, he adds, he was ſet in a place of ſuch great truſt as that of chancellor. 5. To the fifth he ſays, that it is a mere calumny. 6. As to the words in his letter, which were—"By my trouthe "if you tary, we ſhall put this land "in adventure, with a felde, ſuch a "a brother you have here." He affirms, that he did not thereby mean, he would aſſemble people againſt the king's peace; but his meaning was, that there were like to be inſurrections in London, upon occaſion of ſome orders made by the mayor and aldermen, againſt the exceſſive wages of maſons, carpenters, and other workmen; and the duke of Glouceſter did not uſe ſo much diligence, as he ought to have done, in ſuppreſſing thoſe troubles. Therefore the duke of Bedford's coming was the more neceſſary. See a full account of this whole matter in Hall's Chron. fol. 94—99.

1426. This affair being thus happily ended, the protector reſtored John Mowbray, earl marſhal, to the title of duke of Norfolk, which his father Thomas was deprived of by Richard II. At the ſame time [k], he made forty knights, among whom was the young duke of York. Hence, doubtleſs, it is that this prince is ſaid to receive in that parliament the title of duke of York, though it is certain he bore it before, as has been obſerved.

Mowbray reſtored, and the duke of York, with forty others knighted, p. 356.

The conſtable Richemont takes Pontorſon, and beſieges Beuvron. Argentré.

Whilſt the duke of Bedford was thus employed in England, the conſtable Richemont levied an army in Bretagne. He was extremely impatient to ſhew that he was not unworthy of his poſt. By his care and credit, the army amounted to twenty thouſand men. With theſe numerous forces, which the earl of Warwick was not in condition to withſtand, he entered Normandy, and took Pontorſon about the end of February. Then he laid ſiege to St. James de Beuvron, where the Engliſh had a ſtrong garriſon. The ſiege proved more tedious and difficult than he expected. He had been promiſed a convoy of money, which came not. De Giac, who had the management of the treaſury, was in no haſte to ſend it, being glad to make him receive ſome mortification. He was afraid, if the conſtable gained reputation at that ſiege, he would grow more haughty and daring, and pretend to rule the court as he pleaſed. Mean while, the army diminiſhed every day by deſertions. Theſe diſappointments exceedingly troubled the conſtable, in a dread that his reputation would be blaſted in his firſt notable enterpriſe. In ſhort, he received falſe intelligence that the Engliſh were aſſembling all their forces to raiſe the ſiege. His fear of a diſgrace made him reſolve to ſtorm the town, though the breach was not yet ſufficiently wide or prepared. Mean while, to ſecure himſelf againſt the dreaded relief, he detached two thouſand men, with orders to poſt themſelves on the road to Avranche, and oppoſe the firſt efforts of the enemies, if they came during the aſſault. Then he cauſed the breach to be vigorouſly attacked. But the garriſon, which was very numerous, made ſo brave a reſiſtance, as gave the beſiegers but ſmall hopes of ſucceſs. Whilſt both ſides were fighting with equal ardour, the detachment hearing no news of the enemies, and imagining it diſhonourable to expect them in vain, while the reſt were engaged, haſtily returned to aſſiſt at the aſſault. Their coming threw the beſiegers into a panick. They fancied, the detachment being repulſed

He receives a great mortification. Hall.

[k] On May 4. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 357.

by the enemies, were flying for refuge to the camp, and in that belief relinquiſhed the aſſault. The conſtable did all he could to undeceive them, but the diſorder was already ſo great, that it was not poſſible to make them renew the fight. Mean time, the beſieged ſeeing the confuſion that prevailed in the camp, ſallied out, and ſuddenly falling upon troops already terrified, eaſily put them to flight. The conſtable himſelf was forced to follow them, and leave his baggage and artillery in the power of his enemies, extremely concerned to ſee all his projects confounded by this unfortunate accident. However, as he had not loſt many men, he found himſelf ſtill able, after drawing his army together, to march into Anjou, and take la Flêche and Galerand belonging to the Engliſh. 1426. P. Daniel. He takes two towns in Anjou.

The taking of theſe two places was not however capable of comforting him from his misfortune before St. James's. He openly accuſed de Giac of being the cauſe, and regardleſs of the king's reſentment, reſolved to be revenged. The moment he returned to court after the campaign, which the deſertion of his troops obliged him to end ſooner than he would, he cauſed de Giac to be ſeized in his bed, and by a ſentence as violent as irregular and raſh, ordered him to be ſtrangled, and then thrown into the Loire. After that, he boldly declared, he would ſerve in the ſame manner, any perſon whatever that ſhould endeavour to ingroſs the king's favour. The Camus of Beaulieu not being terrified with theſe threats, and accepting de Giac's place, which was offered him, was by the conſtable's means aſſaſſinated in the king's palace, and even in his ſight. His pride could not bear any perſon at court that was not his creature. By the way, this monſtrous arrogance ill agrees with the exceſſive commendations beſtowed on that prince. He cauſes de Giac to be ſtrangled, P. Daniel. and aſſaſſinates Beaulieu.

Charles was ſo provoked at theſe haughty proceedings, that he would not ſee the conſtable: nay, he could not hear him mentioned without horror. But his diſpleaſure was little regarded by a man, who had for him both the nobles and people. In the king's extremity, every one thought he did him a favour to ſerve him. Upon the leaſt diſcontent, he was threatened to be left for the Engliſh, who received with open arms thoſe that ſubmitted to their king. Beſides, the earl of Warwick had now inveſted Montargis about a month, and the king had no other way to relieve that place, but by the help of the Bretons. So, notwithſtanding the conſtable's outrageous affronts, he gave leave, at the inſtance of la Trimouille, The king refuſes to ſee him. But neceſſity obliges him to it.

1426. mouille, that this proud prince ſhould pay his reſpects to him. But his affairs were not more advanced by it.

Defeat of the Engliſh at the blockade of Montargis. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel. Hall.

Whilſt the duke of Bedford was in England, the earl of Warwick, who commanded in France, did all that lay in his power to keep the affairs of the Engliſh in a good ſtate. He found himſelf at firſt too weak to oppoſe the conſtable's entrance into Normandy, but upon news that the Bretons had diſbanded themſelves, becauſe there was no money to pay them, he thought himſelf able to make ſome attempt. With a body of five thouſand men he entered Maine, and retook ſeveral caſtles, which the Bretons had ſeized. The ſurprizing of places was then ſo frequent, that ſometimes the ſame town changed maſter twice or thrice in a year. But there would be no end, if the circumſtances of every particular action were related. The earl of Warwick, ſeeing the conſtable's defeat before St. James's, the deſertion of his troops, and the broils in Charles's court, had long diſabled the French from having an army in the field, formed a deſign to become maſter of Montargis. That place was neceſſary for the execution of the regent's project, to carry the war beyond the Loire. Indeed, the Engliſh general could not expect, with his few troops, to take Montargis by a ſiege in form; but was in hopes, the place being cloſely blocked up would be forced to ſurrender, before it could be relieved. The river Loire parting into three branches near the town, there was a neceſſity to ſeparate the troops into three different quarters; the principal of which the earl of Warwick commanded. The ſecond was intruſted with the earl of Suffolk, and the third with John de la Pole, his brother. Theſe quarters were joined by bridges of communication, and in that poſture the Engliſh patiently waited, till hunger ſhould conſtrain the beſieged to capitulate.

The blockade had now laſted three months, and king Charles had taken no care about relieving the place. At length, the beſieged acquainting him that they could no longer reſiſt without aſſiſtance, he caſt his eyes on the conſtable for that undertaking. But Richemont, who had now no army, refuſed the commiſſion, being unwilling, with new levied troops, to expoſe himſelf to a diſgrace like that of St. James. Upon his refuſal, the management of the expedition was committed to the baſtard of Orleans [1], who was returned from Avignon, where he had retired with Louvet

Monſtrelet. Hall. P. Daniel.

1 He was ſon of Lewis of France, duke of Orleans, aſſaſſinated by order of the duke of Burgundy, as is related above. See P. Daniel, [illegible] vol. p. 35.

his father-in-law. The young lord, then but twenty two years of age, had already made eight campaigns, and on ſeveral occaſions given ſignal proofs of his conduct and courage. He muſt needs have been young to take ſuch an enterpriſe upon him, with only ſixteen hundred men, againſt the earl of Warwick [m], whoſe reputation was equal to that of the greateſt generals. 1426.

The beſieged having notice that ſuccours were preparing, let go their ſluices to favour them. The Loire was ſo ſwollen thereby, that the bridges of communication between the Engliſh quarters were over-flowed. The baſtard of Orleans arriving in the mean time, thought, as there could not be a more favourable opportunity, he ought immediately to attack the enemies, before the waters were fallen. He gave half his troops to la Hire to attack Pole's quarter, and with the other half fell upon the earl of Suffolk. It was a ſtrange ſort of battle, the ſoldiers on both ſides ſtanding up to their middle in water. At laſt, after a long reſiſtance, the two quarters attacked were forced, with the loſs of fifteen hundred men on the ſide of the Engliſh; many of which were drowned in endeavouring to paſs into the other quarter, by reaſon the bridges were under water. Warwick finding it impoſſible to aſſiſt his men, choſe to retreat in good order. This action acquired the baſtard of Orleans a great reputation, being from that time conſidered as a perſon that would one day become a famous general. Monſtrelet.

Since the end of the laſt year, the dukes of Burgundy and Glouceſter had been preparing for their ſingle combat, which probably, as it was not fought at the time appointed, namely, St. George's day, was deferred by conſent. Though theſe two princes ſeemed to have nothing more to manage, and the deciſion of the affairs of Hainault was likely to depend on the ſucceſs of their combat, the duke of Burgundy did not think himſelf obliged to confound his perſonal quarrel with the duke of Brabant's affairs, or to neglect the advantages procured him by the truce, to put that prince in poſſeſſion of his wife's dominions. He no ſooner ſaw the duke of Glouceſter out of Hainault, but he began by ſecret emiſſaries, to cabal among the chief men of the country for the delivery of Jaquelina, who continued at Mons. The counteſs her mother, ever a friend to the houſe of Burgundy, came into the plot, though ſhe took care to conceal it from Continuation of the affair of Hainault. Monſtrelet. Hall.

m Wi[illegible] had three thouſand men with him. Hall ſays, ſix thouſand, fol. 34. Daniel, tom. VI. p. 102.

her

1426. her daughter. When matters were ripe, the towns of Hainault ſuddenly declared for the duke of Brabant, and the earl of St. Pol, his brother, appeared before Mons with an army. Then the magiſtrates of the city pretending a fright, and intimating, they could not alone bear the brunt of the war, entered into treaty with him. As every thing had been privately ſettled, they promiſed to deliver Jaquelina to the duke of Burgundy, till the pope would decide the difference in queſtion. All this was tranſacted unknown to Jaquelina, who heard nothing of the matter till it was too late to help it. She writ to the duke of Glouceſter, complaining of being baſely betrayed, but her complaints were in vain. On the 13th of June 1426, ſhe was forced to go from Mons, under the conduct of the prince of Orange, who guarded her as far as Gant, where ſhe was to reſide. After that, all Hainault unanimouſly received the duke of Brabant for ſovereign.

Monſtrelet.

Jaquelina given up to the duke of Burgundy. Hall.

Monſtrelet.

Jaquelina was enraged to ſee herſelf a priſoner. But perceiving, reſiſtance would but render her condition more grievous, ſhe feigned to be pleaſed that her affair was left to the pope's determination. This diſſimulation procured her a mild and honourable treatment, which ſhe knew how to improve. In September, ſhe found means to eſcape in man's clothes, and retire into Holland. She was well received by ſome of her ſubjects, whilſt others choſe rather to adhere to the duke of Burgundy, knowing how difficult it would be to ſupport her againſt ſo potent an enemy. The duke, vexed that his prey had eſcaped him, carried the war into Holland, to hinder her from fortifying herſelf in that country. This war, which is foreign to our hiſtory, laſted the year 1427, and part of 1428. I ſhall hereafter relate the ſucceſs, and in the mean time muſt return to what paſſed in France.

She makes her eſcape, and gets to Holland. Monſtrelet. Hall.

1427. The earl of Warwick's loſs before Montargis, and the neceſſity of garriſoning ſo many towns, prevented his keeping the field. Beſides, the duke of Bedford had ordered him to ſpare his troops againſt an important expedition, which it was not yet proper to diſcover. All the while, Charles was in no better condition. The advantage lately gained by his troops had not augmented his forces. Thus both ſides were forced to remain unactive, or at leaſt to content themſelves with attempts to ſurpriſe ſome places.

Weakneſs of both parties in France.

The earl of Suffolk is ſurpriſed in Mans, and relieved by Talbot.

In the beginning of this year, the earl of Foix, who had at length taken part with king Charles, ſent him a body of troops, under the command of count d'Orval, of the houſe of Albret. The general approaching Mans, where the earl of

of Suffolk was with a few ſoldiers, held intelligence with ſome of the burghers, who promiſed to deliver the city. Accordingly, he was admitted, and the earl of Suffolk forced to retire into the caſtle, where he had but three days proviſions. In that extremity he ſent to Talbot, who was at Alenſon, deſiring him to endeavour to relieve him. Talbot loſt not a moment. By the next night, he was with ſome troops at the foot of the caſtle towards the country, and entered at a poſtern gate, whilſt d'Orval thought himſelf ſafe in the city, not imagining the beſieged could be ſo ſoon relieved. At break of day, Suffolk and Talbot ſallied out of the caſtle, and taking the French unprepared, drove them before them quite out of the city. Thus the place was almoſt as ſoon recovered as loſt, by the extraordinary diligence of Talbot, one of the braveſt and moſt experienced leaders of the age. 1427. P. Daniel.

After this expedition, the two generals marched to Laval, a little town in Maine, and carried it with eaſe. Then joining the earl of Warwick, who was marching to thoſe parts, they beſieged Pontorſon, taken by the conſtable Richemont laſt year. As the ſiege was very long, I ſhall leave the generals there, in order to relate what paſſed elſewhere. Suffolk and Talbot take Laval.

The duke of Bedford was arrived from England the beginning of this year [n], according to the Engliſh writers, or ſome months ſooner, if we believe the French, with a reinforcement that rendered him formidable. The biſhop of Wincheſter came with him, who had received at Calais a cardinal's cap given with great ceremony. It appears in the collection of the publick acts, that he was generally ſtyled the cardinal of England, doubtleſs, becauſe he was of the royal family. And yet the Engliſh authors ſeem to have been ignorant of this circumſtance, ſince they always call him only the cardinal of Wincheſter. I ſhall give him the ſame title for the future, in conformity to other hiſtorians, who mention him only by that name. Shortly after, the biſhop was made the pope's legate in England, and thereby had opportunity to increaſe his riches and credit, to the great prejudice of the duke of Glouceſter his enemy. The duke of Bedford returns to France. The biſhop of Wincheſter made a cardinal. Hall. Stow. Act. Pub. X. p. 413, 414, 417, 423, 432, &c.

The ſiege of Pontorſon ſtill continued, without king Charles's being able to relieve that town. He had then much more important affairs upon his hands, and which Richemont withdraws from court. P. Daniel. Hall.

n He departed from England about February 2, and landed at Calais, February 5. Stow's Ann. fol. 368.

more

1427. more nearly concerned him. The conſtable Richemont was retired to Vannes in Bretagne, extremely diſpleaſed at the king's coldneſs. Since his receiving the conſtable's ſword, he had done nothing to anſwer the great expectation he had raiſed of his valour and abilities. On the contrary, inſtead of advancing the king's affairs, he had rendered the royal authority ſo contemptible by his pride and violent proceedings, that Charles was, as I may ſay, leſs a king than before. The princes and great men at court, after his example, took upon them to give law to their ſovereign. Since the death of Beaulieu, la Trimouille was the ſole favourite, and had ſuch an aſcendant over the king, that nothing was done but by his direction. The conſtable thought at firſt to have been a great gainer by the change, becauſe the new favourite had always profeſſed a friendſhip for him, but was quickly convinced of the contrary. His behaviour to the former miniſters making this apprehenſive of the ſame treatment, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to inflame the king's averſion for him. The whole court quickly perceived it with extreme concern. The great men could expect no preferments, unleſs the king's affairs were in a good ſituation, and were perſuaded, the conſtable alone was capable of reſtoring them. For this and ſeveral other reaſons, la Trimouille grew very odious. The hatred was carried ſo far, that at laſt a confederacy was formed againſt him, of which the earls of Clermont, and de la Marche his couſin, were the heads. They began with an attempt upon his life, after Richemont's example. Having notice that the king was gone to Loches, and had left la Trimouille at Bourges, they aſſembled ſome troops, and marched thither to ſeize the favourite. But they found he was already gone after the king. However, not to loſe their labour entirely, they reſolved to carry away la Borde and de Prie, two of his creatures, who were retired into the great Tower. De Prie was killed in defending himſelf, but la Borde held out, till the king himſelf came to reſcue him. This affair turned to a civil war, which, after laſting ſome months, was at length ended by the duke of Alenſon's mediation. This young prince, who was taken priſoner at the battle of Verneuil, was lately releaſed by the duke of Burgundy's interceſſion, who, though an enemy of king Charles, ſought all occaſions to gain the friendſhip of the French princes. But it coſt the duke of Alenſon two hundred thouſand crowns, a very conſiderable ſum at all times, but eſpecially at the time we are ſpeaking of. To procure the money, he was forced to part with his jewels, and

La Trimouille the only favourite.

A league againſt him. P. Daniel.

A civil war upon his account, ended by the duke of Alenſon.

and ſell to the duke of Bretagne the town of Fougeres at a very low rate. In return for his late ſervice to the king, Charles made him a preſent of fourſcore thouſand crowns, though he himſelf was in great want. Mean while, la Trimouille ſtill kept his poſt at court. 1427.

Whilſt Charles was employed in quelling his domeſtick enemies, the duke of Bedford was intent upon executing a deſign, formed before he left England; and that was, to reduce the duke of Bretagne to the obedience of king Henry. Ever ſince June, he had cauſed Pontorſon to be beſieged [o], a ſtrong town on the borders of Bretagne, which might have been a great obſtacle to his entrance into that dukedom, had it continued in the hands of the French. The ſiege, which had been very long, being ended [p], the duke of Bedford repaired to the army, with a reinforcement, which increaſed it to twenty thouſand men. With this powerful body, to which he knew his enemies had nothing like it to oppoſe, he prepared to enter Bretagne, threatening the country with utter deſtruction. Whether the duke of Bretagne was ſurpriſed, or was glad to have an excuſe to abandon king Charles, whom he had joined only out of condeſcenſion to the conſtable his brother, he wiſely prevented the impending danger. He was very ſenſible, Charles was not able to protect him. Beſides, he was diſpleaſed with him on the conſtable's account. For theſe reaſons, he ſent ambaſſadors to the duke of Bedford, to ſue for peace upon what terms he pleaſed.

The duke of Bedford marches againſt the duke of Bretagne. Du Tillet. Argentré.

He obliges him to abandon king Charles. Du Tillet. Hall.

Though it was in the regent's power to be revenged of the duke of Bretagne, he thought it his duty to prefer the intereſts of the king his nephew, to his own ſatisfaction. Indeed, it was much more advantageous for the king, to make of the duke of Bretagne a willing friend, by treating him civilly, than a private enemy, by uſing him rigorouſly. So, he required nothing more of him, than to ſwear to the peace of Troye, and cauſe all the ſtates to do the ſame, purſuant to his engagements with Henry V [q]. and to promiſe with an oath to do homage to young Henry when re-

Act. Pub. X. p. 378, 385. Du Tillet.

[o] During this ſiege, the lord Scales, with ſir John Harpeley, ſir William Brearton, and three thouſand men at arms, went to get a recruit of proviſions and ammunition; but in their return towards Pontorſon, they were encountered by a body of ſix thouſand of the enemies, whom they bravely engaged, and defeated; above eleven hundred of the French being ſlain and taken. Hall, fol. 101.

[p] The lord Roos, and ſir John Talbot, were made governours of this town. Ibid.

[q] The duke of Bretagne embraced and ſwore to theſe conditions, on the 8th of September. Du Tillet, p. 363.

1427. quired. This moderation made great impreſſion on the duke of Bretagne, who, ever after proved a friend to the Engliſh, even in the decline of their affairs. On the other hand, though the regent perceived, he could expect no great aſſiſtance from the duke of Bretagne, by reaſon of the influence the conſtable his brother had over him, yet he thought the gaining that prince from Charles's party was no ſmall advantage to the Engliſh.

Continuation and end of the affair of Hainault. Monſtrelet.

I left the duke of Burgundy at war with Jaquelina in Holland, under the ſpecious pretence of ſupporting the honour and intereſt of the duke of Brabant his couſin, though, as the ſequel will ſhow, in reality, it was only for his own private views. The war, as may be imagined, did not turn much to Jaquelina's advantage. There was too great a diſproportion between the two parties. The duke of Glocester was not able of himſelf to give his ducheſs the aſſiſtance ſhe wanted. To that end, he muſt have employed the publick revenues of England, or procured an extraordinary ſubſidy of the parliament. But that was not eaſily to be obtained, at a time, when the war in France was expenſive to the nation. However, in the parliament held this year, the duke had intereſt enough to procure a ſmall aid. It appears in the collection of the publick acts, that the parliament petitioned the king, to aſſign the duke of Glouceſter, the ſum of five thouſand marks out of the ſubſidy granted him, to enable him to aſſiſt his ducheſs. To that ſum, the king advanced five thouſand marks upon the ſalary annexed to the protectorſhip. With this aid the duke ſent a reinforcement of ſome Engliſh troops, under the command of Silvatier [r]. But theſe troops being defeated by the duke of Burgundy, preſently after their landing, Jaquelina found herſelf reduced to a very ſad condition. In ſhort by the duke of Bedford's interceſſion, ſhe obtained a truce, during which the duke of Glouceſter was brought to conſent that his affair with the duke of Brabant ſhould be decided by the pope. It muſt be obſerved, that the duke of Bedford had now annulled the ſingle combat, between the dukes of Burgundy and Glouceſter. Some time after, the pope publiſhed his ſentence annulling Jaquelina's marriage with the duke of Glou-

Act. Pub. X. p. 374, 375.

Monſtrelet.

Duke of Brabant dies.

r So the commander of theſe troops is called by Monſtrelet; viz. le ſeigneur de Salvatier. Vol. II. fol. 27. b. But Stow ſays, it was the lord Fitzwalter, p. 367. This reinforcement conſiſted of about five hundred men. Monſtrelet, ibid. Hall, fol. 93.

ceſter,

ceſter, and confirming her firſt marriage with the duke of Brabant [s], who ſurvived but a few months the determination, and was ſucceeded by the earl of St. Pol his brother. By the death of the duke her huſband, Jaquelina ought to have had peaceable poſſeſſion of her dominions. But the duke of Burgundy diſcovered on this occaſion, that the duke of Brabant's intereſt was not the motive of his proceedings. He ſo ordered it that Jaquelina's ſubjects refuſed to receive her, and made himſelf mediator between them. The lion in the fable was literally practiſed in this agreement. The duke obliged Jaquelina to commit to him the government of her dominions, appoint him her heir, and promiſe never to marry again [t]. 1427.

The duke of Burgundy ſecures Jaquelina's inheritance. Monſtrelet.

All the hiſtorians generally fix theſe occurrences to the year 1427. And yet it appears in the collection of the publick acts, that the affair was not ended May the 18th, 1428. At leaſt the duke of Gloceſter and Jaquelina had not yet ſubmitted to the pope's ſentence; for there, Henry VI. ſpeaking of that princeſs, calls her Jaquette, ducheſs of Gloceſter and Holland, his well-beloved aunt. Probably, the duke of Brabant's death had put them in hopes, that their marriage might be confirmed; or a diſpenſation obtained to marry again. It was alſo on that account doubtleſs, that the duke of Burgundy exacted from Jaquelina the forementioned conditions, in order to deprive the duke of Gloceſter, of all hopes of ever ſetting foot again in the low-countries. Be this as it will, the duke of Gloceſter, preſſed by his brother and the council, who ſaw how prejudicial to the king's affairs his obſtinacy was, deſiſted from his pretenſions. He relinquiſhed Jaquelina, and ſhortly after married Eleanor Cobham [u], whom he had long kept as his miſtreſs. Thus ended the quarrel, which had proved ſo fatal to England [w].

Act. Pub. X. p. 398.

Duke of Gloceſter quits Jaquelina, and marries Eleanor Cobham. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Though

[s] He alſo decreed, that if the duke of Brabant died, it ſhould not be lawful for the duke of Glouceſter to marry her. Monſtrelet, fol. 31. Hall, fol. 93.

[t] Without his conſent. Monſtrelet, fol. 36.

[u] Daughter to Reginald, lord Cobham, of Sterborough. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 199.

[w] In the mean while, a parliament being ſummoned in England, met at Weſtminſter, October 13. which granted the king tunnage and poundage for two years; and of every pariſh within the realm, ſix ſhillings and eight pence for every twenty nobles in value; and ſix ſhillings and eight pence of every perſon that held immediately by a knight's fee, or according to the rate. Cotton's Abridg. p. 587, 588. In this parliament it was enacted, that knights o. the ſhire, who, in caſe of an undue election, were, by the 11th of Henry IV, to loſe their wages; and ſheriffs, who making a falſe return,

1427. Though the Engliſh were no longer concerned in Jaquelina's affairs, it will not however be improper briefly to relate the ſucceſs, and withal ſhew the growth of the houſe of Burgundy's greatneſs. This princeſs, notwithſtanding her involuntary engagement, married afterwards Borſel, a Zealander, which obliged the duke of Burgundy to make war upon them. Borſel being made priſoner, Jaquelina was forced, in order to free him, to agree, that her children, by her late marriage, ſhould be incapable of inheriting her dominions, and to deliver all her towns to the duke of Burgundy. She lived ten years, and after her death, the duke of Burgundy was acknowledged for earl of Hainault, Holland, Zealand, and lord of Friſeland. Before Jaquelina's death, he had taken poſſeſſion of the earldoms of Zutphen and Namur, of which he had purchaſed the reverſion after the deceaſe of the earl of Namur, which happened in 1428. In 1430, he inherited the duchies of Brabant, Lothier, Limbourg, and the marquiſate of Anvers, by the death of Philip duke of Brabant his couſin, who left no iſſue. All theſe dominions joined to Flanders, Artois, the two Burgundies, and the towns on the Somme, held of the king of England, put him upon a level with the crowned heads. Let us return now to the war in France.

Continuation of Jaquelina's affairs. Monſtrelet.

Monſtrelet.

1428. The Engliſh had ſtill a great ſuperiority over king Charles. Though the diſpute about Hainault had diſordered their affairs, they were however in ſo flouriſhing a condition, as ſeemed to promiſe certain ſucceſs. The duke of Bretagne no longer gave them any uneaſineſs. The earl of Richemont his brother was at variance with king Charles, without any probability of a reconciliation. The duke of Burgundy, freed from the Holland war, could for the future powerfully aſſiſt his allies. In fine, beſides their numberleſs garriſons in the kingdom, the regent had on foot a body of twenty thouſand men, and moreover expected a ſtrong reinforcement with the earl of Saliſbury from England.

Superiority of the Engliſh in France.

The ill ſtate of king Charles. Buchanan.

On the other hand, king Charles was without allies and without reſource. It is true, in order to obtain ſuccours from Scotland, he was negotiating a marriage between the dauphin his ſon, and Margaret daughter of king James, though they were yet both in their infancy. But this was a diſtant proſpect. Beſides, the king of Scotland had no way ſhewn an inclination to break the truce with the

turn, were, by the ſame ſtatutes, to pay a hundred pounds; ſhould he admitted to have anſwer, and traverſe to inqueſts and offices before any juſtices of aſſize. Statute Book.

Engliſh. So, Charles ſeeing no appearance of ſupporting himſelf, ſeemed to have entirely given over all care of preventing the deſigns of his enemies. He lived in a ſurprizing indolence, without looſing any of his uſual diverſions. 1428.

The conſideration of the ſtate of the affairs of the two nations, made the duke of Bedford conclude, the war would ſoon end, and two or three campaigns infallibly drive Charles out of the kingdom. He reſolved therefore to exert his utmoſt, during ſo favourable an opportunity. But as he had many troops, it was neceſſary firſt to provide for their ſubſiſtence. For that purpoſe, he held an aſſembly of the chief men at Paris, to whom he propoſed a revocation of all the grants made to the church for forty years paſt. But he met with ſo ſtrong oppoſition from the clergy, that, not to alienate the affection of ſo powerful a body, he was obliged to deſiſt, and to uſe other means for the maintenance of his army.

Aſſembly of the chief men at Paris. Monſtrelet, fol. 37.

Before he began the execution of his projects, he loſt the aſſiſtance of the brave earl of Warwick, who returned into England, being appointed governour to the king. He was deſigned for that place, immediately after the death of the duke of Exeter in 1426. But as he was neceſſary in France, his patent was not drawn up till the 1ſt of June this year. Probably it was thought proper to ſtay till the earl of Saliſbury, who was to lead a ſtrong reinforcement to the duke of Bedford, was ready to depart.

The earl of Warwick made governour to the king. Act. Pub. X. p. 399.

The earl of Saliſbury arrives with five thouſand men. Ibid. p. 392. Monſtrelet.

The regent's deſign.

The earl of Saliſbury arrived in France in July, with five thouſand men [x] raiſed at his own charge, purſuant to an agreement with the council [y]. Upon his arrival at Paris, the regent gave him the command of an army of ſixteen thouſand men. This was more than ſufficient to be maſter of the field, king Charles not being able to ſet on foot any ſuch body of troops. The regent's deſign was, to drive Charles beyond the Loire, knowing, that when once that prince was at a diſtance, all his towns on this ſide the river, would ſurrender of courſe for want of ſuccours. To that

[x] He raiſed about ſix thouſand; whereof he ſent over three thouſand in May, and came over himſelf with the reſt about Midſummer. Monſtrelet, fol. 37.

[y] He was to have always with him ſix hundred men at arms, ſix knights bannerets, thirty four knights batchelors, and ſeventeen hundred archers. And for their wages, he was to have, himſelf, ſix pence, eight farthings ſterling a day: for each knight banneret, four pence ſterling: for each knight batchelor, two pence: for every man at arms, twelve pence a day: and for each archer, ſix pence. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 392.

1428. end, it was neceſſary to take from him the places, which preſerved the communication with the northern provinces, in order to deprive him of all hopes of returning.

Saliſbury marches towards the Loire. Monſtrelet.

It was with this view that the earl of Saliſbury, aſſiſted by the earl of Suffolk, Talbot, Faſtolff, and ſeveral other famous leaders, marched towards the Loire, the beginning of Auguſt. Orleans was the moſt important place in thoſe parts. It belonged to the duke of Orleans, who was priſoner in England, ever ſince the battle of Azincourt. The pretended treaty, as I obſerved, between Henry V. and the duke of Orleans concerning the neutrality of that city, is a mere chimera. It was invented to render the ſiege of Orleans odious, and make it believed, that heaven interpoſed in favour of France, to puniſh the pretended perfidiouſneſs of the Engliſh. Be this as it will, the earl of Saliſbury holding a great council of war, it was reſolved to beſiege Orleans. It appears in the collection of the publick acts, that the reſolution was taken without the duke of Bedford's knowledge and contrary to his opinion. To ſucceed in the undertaking, the neighbouring places which might annoy the beſiegers, were firſt to be ſecured. Accordingly the months of Auguſt and September were ſpent in that work. During that ſpace, the Engliſh took Jenville, Mehun, Baugence, Gergeau, Glery, Sully, and ſome other ſmall towns, and at laſt appeared before Orleans the 12th of October.

The ſiege of Orleans reſolved. Act. Pub. X. p. 408.

Monſtrelet.

The French lay in ſtores. Act. Pub. X. p. 402. Monſtrelet.

The French eaſily perceived, by all the Engliſh general's proceedings, that he intended to beſiege Orleans. So, whilſt he was elſewhere employed, they had ſent thither both men and ammunition [z]. Gaucour, a creature of the duke of Orleans, commanded there, though he was ſtill a priſoner of the Engliſh, and releaſed only upon his parole, in order to provide his ranſom. He had even been recalled ever ſince June. The baſtard of Orleans, d' Orval, la Hire, Xaintrailles, Thouars, Bouſſac, Chabannes, la Fayette, Graville, and ſeveral other officers of note, had thrown themſelves into the city, to acquire reputation in the ſervice of their ſovereign.

The Engliſh army not being ſufficiently numerous to inveſt the city on all ſides, the beſiegers received ſuccours in the beginning of the ſiege. But the earl of Saliſbury, who

[z] They pulled down all the moſt conſiderable buildings in the ſuburbs, and, among the reſt, twelve churches, and ſeveral monaſteries; that the Engliſh might not make uſe of them in carrying on the ſiege. Monſtrelet, fol. 38.

conſidered

considered this enterprise as a decisive action for the king his master, and his own reputation, omitted nothing to deprive the besieged of that advantage. He run up round the city sixty forts or redoubts, called then Bastilles. How great soever that work might be, nothing could divert him from it, since the success of the siege entirely depended upon it. In vain would he have pushed his attacks, if the enemies could continually introduce fresh supplies. Besides, the season, now far advanced, suggested to him, that he would be forced to pass the winter in the camp, and during that time, be exposed to many insults. 1428. The besiegers raise forts about the city to prevent succours. Hall.

Among the sixty forts, there were six much stronger than the rest, upon the six principal avenues of the city. The French could before with ease introduce convoys into the place, and had made frequent use of that advantage. But after these forts were built, it was with extreme difficulty, that they could, now and then, give some assistance to the besieged. Upon these six large redoubts the general erected batteries, which thundered against the walls. But as the artillery was not then in its present perfection, it must not be imagined, the cannons did the same execution as now.

It would be tedious to relate all the particulars of the siege, the attacks, sallies, and daily Skirmishes, either to introduce or repulse convoys. It may easily be judged, that one of the strongest places of France, defended by a numerous garrison, under the conduct of the bravest and most experienced general officers then in France, and assaulted by Englishmen, deemed the most undaunted warriors in the world, furnished the besiegers and besieged with frequent occasions to exercise their valour.

Charles easily perceived, the taking of Orleans would deprive him of the advantage, of continuing the war in the northern provinces of the kingdom: but, as he had neither men nor money, could not raise the siege. However, he approached it, and came to Chinon, where he convened the chief men, and obtained an aid of money. Whilst he was in that place, the constable Richemont sent him an offer of his service. But in whatever distress he might be, and however great his want was of a speedy assistance, he could not resolve to forgive him. Charles comes to Chinon. Monstrelet.

Mean while, the siege was vigorously prosecuted. The bulwark of the Tournelles [a] being much shaken by the be- The English become masters of the bulwark.

[a] The place where the parliament sits to hear criminal causes.

1428. and of the tower on the bridge.

ſiegers cannon, and the beſieged thinking it proper to ſet it on fire, the Engliſh extinguiſhed the flames, and lodged themſelves in that poſt. At the ſame time they became maſters of the tower on the bridge, from whence the whole city could be viewed. The taking of the tower proved fatal to the earl of Saliſbury. One day, as he was looking out of a window, a cannon ſhot from the city hit him on the right ſide of his head, carried away his cheek, and ſtruck out one of his eyes. He died a few days after at Mehun, were he had been removed [b]. This loſs, though very great to the Engliſh, interrupted not the ſiege. The earl of Suffolk taking the command of the army, continued the attacks as vigorouſly as before, aſſiſted by Talbot, one of the braveſt and moſt experienced captains of his age.

The earl of Saliſbury ſlain. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The garriſon and army both increaſed during the ſiege.

There was nothing every day but continual aſſaults, ſallies, ſkirmiſhes, wherein the beſieged behaved with equal bravery and conduct. Notwithſtanding the precautions uſed by the Engliſh, to prevent ſuccours from being thrown into the city, troops and convoys were from time to time introduced, though always by dint of ſword. Thus the garriſon, which at firſt conſiſted only of twelve hundred men, was become three thouſand ſtrong by the end of December. On the other hand, the army of the beſiegers was encreaſed to three and twenty thouſand by the ſupplies perpetually ſent by the regent, ſo that the ſiege daily grew more important and difficult.

1429. The battle of Herrings. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The Engliſh had now been four months before Orleans, and the ſucceſs of their enterpriſe was ſtill doubtful. The regent, who was uneaſy at the length of the ſiege, was confirmed more and more in his opinion, that it was a raſh undertaking. However to neglect nothing in his power, he ſent from Paris a convoy of ſalt-fiſh [c], the Lent ſeaſon of the year 1429 being come. He left the conduct of it to Faſtolff, one of the braveſt and moſt able generals the Engliſh then had [d], and gave him a guard of ſeventeen hundred men [e]. Charles having notice of the day, the

[b] Thomas Montacute, earl of Saliſbury, died November 3, without iſſue male, leaving only one daughter, named Alice, who was married to Richard Nevill, ſon of the earl of Weſtmoreland, who, upon Montacute's death, was ſtiled earl of Saliſbury. He was buried at Biſham, in Berkſhire. His widow was married afterwards to William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk. Dugdale's Baron. vol. I. p. 652, 653.

[c] Together with artillery, ammunition, &c. the whole in four or five hundred carts and carriages. Monſtrelet, fol. 40.

[d] Together with ſir Thomas Rampſton, and ſir Philip Hall. Hall, fol. 105.

[e] And about a thouſand people beſides. Monſtrelet. fol. 40.

convoy

convoy was to set out from Paris, resolved to way-lay it. He commissioned the earl of Clermont for that purpose, who at the head of three thousand men, attacked the convoy on the road to Orleans. February the 12th, at seven in the morning, Fastolff having heard of the approach of the French, had made an intrenchment with his carriages, behind which he had secured himself against their first charge. It was indeed very vigorous, but the English sustained it with such resolution, that, instead of being routed by the first shock, they put their enemies into extreme disorder, by the great slaughter of their men. When Fastolff saw their confusion, he ordered the carriages to be removed, and falling upon the French troops, already disheartned, entirely defeated them with great slaughter. Sixscore lords or officers of note fell that day, besides a great number of common soldiers [f]. The bastard of Orleans, who had sallied out to assist the earl of Clermont in defeating the convoy, preserving a presence of mind in the flight, found means to re-enter the city with four hundred men. This action was called the battle of Herrings. 1429.

Offer of surrendering Orleans to the duke of Burgundy. Monstrelet, Hall.

King Charles was extremely dejected upon the news of the defeat. He saw himself upon the point of losing Orleans, and was sensible of the consequences of the loss. The thoughts of seeing the English ravage the provinces beyond the Loire, and thereby disable him from continuing the war, could not but touch him sensibly. That misfortune would infallibly follow, upon their being masters of Orleans. In this distress, he devised an expedient, proper, as he thought, to rob them of that advantage, reckoning they would be so blind as not to see through his artifice. This expedient was to send to the commanding officers a power to deliver the place to the duke of Burgundy, to be kept in trust till the end of the war. Xaintrailles and others, who were appointed to treat of the affair, went to Paris, and made the duke of Bedford the offer, who laughed at the stratagem. He plainly told them, it was a great mistake to think, he would beat the bush, for another to run away with the game. Some say, the duke of Burgundy was extremely offended with the reply, and even withdrew his troops from the siege. But this is a mere invention. The duke of Burgundy had no reason to complain, that the regent refused to deliver a place of that importance to him, to please his enemies. Besides, we shall

It is rejected. Monstrelet.

Monstrelet, fol. 45, 46.

[f] Between five and six hundred. Ibid. fol. 41.

1429. ſee preſently, the regent was very well ſatisfied with the duke of Burgundy, as well during the ſiege as after.

Charles thinks of retiring into Dauphiné.

Charles not ſucceeding in his project, and ſeeing no other way to ſave Orleans, began to think of retiring into Dauphiné, when a very extraordinary accident gave a ſudden turn to the affairs of the two contending nations. We are going to ſee the ſtrangeſt and moſt unexpected revolution, ever mentioned in hiſtory. The French from vanquiſhed, are going to be on a ſudden victorious, and the Engliſh, hitherto deemed invincible, are going to be every where defeated, and at laſt driven out of the kingdom. And what is more ſurprizing in this revolution, is the inſtrument by which it was wrought. But before I enter upon particulars, I muſt warn the reader, that in what I am going to relate concerning the ſtrange event, I follow the French authors, without however warranting the truth of their aſſertions.

A ſtrange accident changes the face of affairs.

An account of the maid of Orleans. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel. Hall.

About the end of February 1429, a country girl, called Joan of Arc, a village in Domremy [g] in Lorrain, came to Robert de Baudricourt, governor of Vaucouleurs, and told him, ſhe had received expreſs orders from God to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and crown king Charles at Rheims. Baudricourt at firſt conſidered the girl as a viſionary, but afterwards ſhe talked very ſenſibly in the reſt of her diſcourſes, he thought fit to ſend her to the king, who was ſtill at Chinon. Charles being imformed that Joan of Arc was coming, declared that Maria d'Avignon a nun, had formerly told him, heaven would arm one of her ſex in defence of France. Adding, that perhaps this girl was the perſon deſigned by heaven. This was ſufficient to ſatisfy the court beforehand, that Joan of Arc's calling was miraculous. The ſupernatural miſſion perfectly ſquared with the ſentiments of the queen, of Agnes Sorrel the king's miſtreſs, and of the principal courtiers, who uſed all poſſible endeavours to diſſuade the king from his purpoſe to retire into Dauphiné. So, nothing was more proper to divert him from that retreat, than the hopes of a change in his fortune. However this be, in theſe diſpoſitions was Joan of Arc expected. The firſt time ſhe appeared at court, ſhe addreſſed herſelf directly to the king, diſcovering him among all his courtiers, though ſhe had never ſeen him, and he had taken care to have nothing about him to diſtinguiſh him.

P. Daniel.

g She was born in 1407, in the pariſh of Greux, upon the Meuſe, in Domremy. Vit. MSS.

He

He ſeemed at firſt to make no great account of the girl. But as ſhe earneſtly preſſed him to credit her words, which were the ſame ſhe had ſpoken to Baudricourt, he reſolved to have her examined. The divines, her examiners, declared, upon what ground I know not, that her miſſion was divine. Then ſhe was ſent to the parliament at Poictiers, who were of the ſame opinion. Laſtly, to confirm that belief, the king declared, ſhe had told him ſecrets, which no mortal knew but himſelf. 1429.

Every one being now prepoſſeſſed, that Joan of Arc, commonly called la Pucelle, [or the maid] was ſent from God to ſave France, ſhe was looked upon with eyes of admiration. All her actions, words, and geſtures were conſtrued to her advantage. There was diſcovered in her, a fine genius, ſolid judgment, greatneſs of ſoul, and a knowledge very unuſual in one of her ſex and condition. This was the common effect of prejudice. Thus far there is nothing that ſhould ſeem very ſtrange. It is eaſy to conceive, that this might be a contrivance to revive the courage of the French, and perhaps of the king himſelf, diſmayed at ſo many loſſes, and beholding the kingdom ready to fall under the dominion of foreigners. But that this contrivance, if it be one, ſhould ſucceed according to the deſign of the authors, is what may indeed be juſt cauſe of admiration, and afford ample matter for moral and political reflections. P. Daniel.

Mean while, the ſiege of Orleans being vigorouſly proſecuted, Charles reſolved to throw a convoy into the city. Joan deſiring to be of the party, and to have arms and a man's habit, eaſily obtained her requeſt [h]. To render herſelf more remarkable, ſhe would have a certain ſword which ſhe ſent for, from the tomb of a knight buried in the church of St. Catherine de Fierbois. The convoy deſigned for Orleans departed April the 25th. Several French writers affirm, that Joan commanded the guard, and conducted the convoy into the city, but Monſtrelet, a cotemporary author ſays the contrary. The convoy being arrived on the 29th in the morning, near the Burgundian gate, the baſtard of Orleans made a ſally to favour their paſſage. A fierce and bloody battle enſued, wherein, after a long reſiſtance, the Engliſh were defeated, and forced to let the convoy go in [i]. Joan made her entry into Orleans, amidſt the ge- Joan marches with a convoy to Orleans. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel. Monſtrelet.

[h] After ſhe had been about two months with the king at Chinon. Monſtrelet, fol. 41.

[i] In the dead time of the night, and in a great ſtorm of rain and thunder. Hall, fol. 107.

nerals,

1429. nerals, and acclamations of the people, who aſcribed to her the good ſucceſs of that day.

Joan enters Orleans in triumph. She takes four of the beſiegers forts. Monſtrelet. Hall.

On the 4th of May, Joan at the head of a detachment of the garriſon, attacked ſword in hand, the fort of St. Loup, one of the ſix largeſt before-mentioned. After a conflict of four hours, the fort was carried, and of the twelve hundred Engliſh who defended it [k], four hundred were killed on the ſpot. Two days afte, ſhe aſſaulted likewiſe the fort of St. John, but as it was almoſt abandoned by the Engliſh, ſhe met with little reſiſtance. Preſently after, without giving her troops any reſpite, ſhe led them againſt the fort called London, the moſt conſiderable of the ſix, built upon the ruins of the church of the Auguſtines. Notwithſtanding the gallant reſiſtance of the Engliſh, this was alſo taken with great loſs on their ſide. Joan's troops thought of reſting themſelves after ſo hard duty, but ſhe immediately marched them to the fort of the Tournelles. But as ſhe could not attack it that evening for want of daylight, ſhe kept it inveſted all night. On the morrow, at break of day, the aſſault began, and laſted fourteen hours without intermiſſion. The French were repulſed four ſeveral times, and as often renewed the charge, Joan animating them by her words and actions, though wounded with an arrow between the neck and ſhoulders. At length, about eight at night, the fort was carried like the reſt, and ſix hundred Engliſh cut in pieces. In all theſe actions, Joan ſhewed a valour and reſolution very uncommon in perſons of her ſex [l].

The Engliſh raiſe the ſiege. Monſtrelet. Hall.

It may eaſily be gueſſed, how great was the conſternation of the Engliſh, after the ill ſucceſs of that day. The loſs of four of their largeſt forts not permitting them to continue the ſiege, they raiſed it the 12th of May, after having been before the place ſeven whole months.

Act. Pub. X. p. 408.

Here is a fragment of the duke of Bedford's letter to the king his nephew, after the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, which ſhows how much the Engliſh, and the duke of Bedford himſelf, were diſcouraged by this unexpected event.

k Among the reſt were ſlain William Gladdiſdale, the captain, and the lords Molyns, and Poynings. Hall, fol. 107. Stow's Ann. p. 370.

l But Monſtrelet obſerves, that though Joan was at the head of theſe ſeveral actions, and had the glory of them, yet they were chiefly performed by thoſe noble knights and captains, who had ſo bravely defended Orleans, fol. 43. In theſe attacks, the Engliſh loſt near eight thouſand men, and the French not above a hundred and

And

" And alle thing there proſpered for you, till the tyme 1429.
" of the ſiege of Orleans taken in hand, God knoweth by
" what advis. At the whiche tyme, after the adventure
" fallen to the perſone of my couſin of Salyſbury, whom
" God aſſoile, there felle, by the hand of God as it ſeemeth,
" a greet ſtrook upon your peuple that was aſſembled
" there in grete nombre, cauſed in grete partie, as y trowe,
" of lakke of ſadde beleve, and of unlevefulle doubte, that
" thei hadde of a diſciple and lyme of the feende, called
" the Pucelle, that uſed ſals enchauntments and ſorceric.
" The whiche ſtrooke and diſcomfiture nought oonly leſſed
" in grete partie the nombre of youre peuple there, but as well
" withdrowe the courage of the remenant in merveillous
" wyſe, and couraiged your adverſe partie and ennemys to
" aſſemble hem forthwith in grete nombre &c. [m].

The great alteration of the French and Engliſh.

The raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans uſhered in the decline of the Engliſh affairs. From that time the French and Engliſh ſeemed to have mutually changed tempers and characters. The Engliſh were ſeized with a ſpirit of fear and amazement, whilſt the French were filled with a courage, almoſt entirely loſt ſince the battles of Azincourt and Vernueil. Though, after the raiſing of the ſiege, the French exceeded not ſix thouſand, they fearleſly and briſkly purſued the Engliſh, who, though they were ſtill ſuperior in number, retreated in a ſtrange diſorder. Their conſternation was ſuch, that they knew not what they did. Inſtead of keeping together, to withſtand their enemies, they amuſed themſelves with throwing numerous garriſons into the places, conquered before the ſiege about the Loire. By that means they ſo weakened themſelves, that they were no longer able to face their enemies who were cloſely purſuing them. As they dreaded a battle, as much as they were wont to deſire it, they retired at a diſtance, and gave the French time to retake the places one after another. The earl of Suffolk was made priſoner in Gergeau, where he had imprudently ſhut himſelf up, with four hundred men only [n], which muſt have proceeded from his conſternation at the defeat of his troops. Of all the places in thoſe parts, Baugenci held out the longeſt, but could not help undergoing the ſame

The Engliſh retreat in diſorder. Monſtrelet.

Earl of Suffolk made priſoner. Monſtrelet. Hall.

[m] This fragment, which is without date, is placed wrong in the Collection of the Publick Acts, among the records of the year 1428. Rapin.

[n] About three hundred of them were ſlain at the taking of the place. Monſtrelet, fol. 44. Two hundred, ſays Hall, and among them ſir Alexander de la Pole, the earl of Suffolk's brother, fol. 108.

fate

1429. fate with the reſt. In ſhort, diſorder and confuſion had ſo poſſeſſed the Engliſh, that Charles by Joan's advice, reſolved to be crowned at Rheims. And yet the city was ſtill in the hands of the Engliſh. Beſides there was a neceſſity, of traverſing above one hundred and twenty miles of the enemies country, and of taking ſeveral places which at any other time he would not have ventured to approach. Strange effect of the terror ſtruck into the Engliſh by a woman, and of the confidence inſtilled into their enemies by the ſame!

Charles reſolves to be crowned at Rheims.

The conſtable brings him troops. Hall.

The conſtable Richemont, ſeeing the proſperity of the king's affairs, began to abate of his haughtineſs. Hitherto he imagined himſelf neceſſary, but the late events made him ſenſible he might be entirely forgot, and loſe his ſhare of the glory, the king was probably going to acquire. In this belief, he aſſembled all his friends, and forming a body of twelve hundred horſe and twelve thouſand foot, he marched to join the king who was then before Baugenci. The duke of Bretagne, doubtleſs connived at that levy in his country, the late revolution cauſing him to alter his meaſures. Whilſt the conſtable was upon his march, la Trimouille, who deſired not his company at court, artfully perſuaded the king, he was coming with a numerous army, to have his perſon in his power. This firſt impreſſion ſo affected the king, that he was going to raiſe the ſiege of Baugenci, and give the conſtable battle, but upon better information, was pleaſed to receive him with his ſuccours. It was however upon very mortifying terms to a prince of his character. It was required of him, that he ſhould not pretend to govern the king, nor be preſent at the coronation, where la Trimouille was unwilling to be out-ſhone.

The battle of Patay, wherein the Engliſh are defeated. Monſtrelet. Hall. Stow.

Baugenci being taken, the king had intelligence, that the Engliſh were aſſembling in Beauce. Whereupon Charles holding a council of war, it was unanimouſly reſolved to give them battle. Indeed, there was no probability of going to Rheims, with the enemies in the rear. Charles's army was then ten thouſand ſtrong ° including the Bretons, brought by the conſtable. But of the twenty two thouſand Engliſh lately before Orleans, there was left but ſix thouſand with

° Here muſt be ſome miſtake either in the author or in the printer, ſince Rapin ſays above, the Bretons alone were thirteen thouſand two hundred. Probably the Bretons were not ſo numerous, as is ſaid above. P. Daniel ſays, they did not exceed twelve hundred. Tom. VI. p. 69. Hall, fol. 108. Stow and Hall ſay, the French army conſiſted of twenty three thouſand men, fol. 108. p. 370.

Talbot, who had taken the command of the army, after Suffolk was priſoner. By an effect of the great amazement of the Engliſh, ſince the affair of Orleans, they ſuffered themſelves to be ſurpriſed near Patay by the French, who appeared in ſight before they had heard any thing of them. They had ſcarce time to draw up, which was done in ſuch confuſion, that they made but a very faint reſiſtance. Talbot alone maintained the fight, by his valour and conduct, but at laſt, the general being taken priſoner, the Engliſh army was routed with the loſs of two thouſand five hundred men [p]. Faſtolff run away with the flying troops, ſeized by one of thoſe ſudden terrors, which for the time, deprive a man of the uſe of his reaſon, and may happen to the moſt couragious [q]. 1429.

and Talbot made priſoner.

Monſtrelet.

If the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans was a great check to the affairs of the Engliſh, the defeat of Patay was a no leſs grievous and fatal blow to them. The regent ſaw himſelf forced to keep within the walls of Paris, being unable to appear in the field, to oppoſe the progreſs of his enemies. Mean while, Charles improved his advantages. Lewis III. duke of Anjou, and king of Sicily, his brother-in-law, being returned from Naples, where he had made a long ſtay, brought him immediately after the battle of Patay, a ſupply of ſeveral brave officers, who had attended him into Italy, and were come back with him into France.

The duke of Bedford ſhuts himſelf up in Paris.

The king of Sicily joins Charles.

King Charles's adherents increaſing, as his affairs became more proſperous, he reviewed his troops at Gien, and found them augmented to fifteen thouſand men. He gave a part to the conſtable, to make a diverſion in Normandy, or rather, under that honorable pretence, to remove him, that he might not aſſiſt at the coronation, according to agreement. The earl of Perdriac had another part, to carry the war into Guienne. Theſe two detachments were but five thouſand men. With the remaining ten thouſand, Charles took the road to Rheims, knowing there was no army in the

Charles marches to Rheims.

Monſtrelet. Hall.

Several towns ſurrender to him.

Hall.

[p] Monſtrelet ſays, there were about eighteen hundred Engliſh killed, and between a hundred and ſixſcore taken priſoners; the chief of whom were the lords Scales, Talbot, Hungerford, ſir Thomas Rampſton, &c. fol. 45. According to Hall, about twelve hundred were ſlain, and forty taken priſoners, fol. 108.

[q] The Engliſh could not agree about the place and manner of fighting, whether it ſhould be on foot or on horſeback; which was the chief cauſe of their defeat. Beſides, they had neglected to provide themſelves with ſharp ſtakes, which uſed to be their main defence againſt the enemies cavalry. Monſtrelet, fol. 45. Sir John Faſtolff had the garter, of which he was a knight, taken from him by the regent, for running away, but it was reſtored to him again. Hall. fol. 108.

the

1429. field to oppoſe him. In paſſing through Burgundy, he ſummoned Auxerre, which promiſed to follow the example of the principal towns of Champagne. Troye and Châlon ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons. A few days after, the inhabitants of Rheims drove the Engliſh garriſon out of the city, and ſent deputies to the king, to preſent to him the keys of their gates. Thus every thing ſucceeding to his wiſh, Charles entered Rheims [r] in triumph, and was crowned preſently after [s]. The ceremony being ended, Joan would have retired, affirming, ſhe had nothing more to do, after executing what God had commanded. But the king preſſed her ſo earneſtly, that at laſt he prevailed with her to ſtay.

He enters Rheims, and is crowned. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The duke of Glouceſter mortifies the cardinal of Wincheſter.

It is now time to ſee what was tranſacting in England, during the late fatal revolution in France. The quarrel ſtill ſubſiſted between the duke of Gloceſter and the biſhop of Wincheſter, who was returned to London. As the prelate's new dignity rendered him more haughty than ever, the duke of Gloceſter took occaſion from that dignity to give him a ſenſible mortification. St. George's day, patron of the moſt noble order of the garter, being at hand, the cardinal was to officiate as biſhop of Wincheſter. But the duke of Gloceſter, and his friends, oppoſed it, affirming, he could not hold the biſhoprick of Wincheſter, with the dignity of cardinal [t], without the king's expreſs licenſe. The affair being brought before the council, it was reſolved that the cardinal ſhould not officiate as biſhop of Wincheſter, and two lords were ſent to give him notice thereof. Next day, he came himſelf to the board, and demanded upon what foundation he was deprived of his right. He was told, it was for fear of prejudicing the prerogatives of the crown and the council perſiſted in their reſolution. Hence the cardinal perceived, his adverſary's intereſt to be ſtill much greater than his.

Act. Pub. X. p. 414.

The cardinal is made general of a cruſade.

Shortly after, the prelate received the pope's bull, appointing him his legate in Germany, and general of the cruſade againſt the Bohemian hereticks. The pope's view was to draw a powerful aid from England againſt the Huſſites [u]: nay, it is not unlikely, that as he greatly favoured king

Act. Pub. X. p. 422, 423.

[r] July 6. Monſtrelet, fol. 47.

[s] July 8. Ibid. P. Daniel ſays, it was the 17th. Tom. VI. p. 71.

[t] —Quia erat res inviſa ille cardinalem, & ſimiliter retinere in Anglia epiſcopatum Wyntonienſem. —Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 414.

[u] There will be a large account of theſe people in the hiſtory of the council of Baſil, in the ſtate of the church, at the end of the reign of Henry VII.

Charles,

Charles, his deſign was to weaken England, by draining the kingdom of men and money, under colour of the cruſade. However, the cardinal receiving the bull the beginning of June this year, though it was dated March the 18th, 1427-8, preſented to the king and council a petition, deſiring leave to publiſh the cruſade. He prayed likewiſe, that he might have power to levy in England five hundred lances, and five thouſand archers, and to appoint the generals and officers of the army. His petition being examined in council, it was reſolved to grant it in part, under the following reſtrictions: 1429.

He petitions to publiſh the cruſade. Act. Pub. X. p. 419, 423.

p. 420.

That no perſon ſhould be obliged to contribute money for the cruſade, but every one give what he pleaſed. That the ſums thus voluntarily furniſhed ſhould be put into ſuch hands as the council ſhould nominate. That the gold or ſilver ſhould not be conveyed beyond ſea, but expended in the kingdom *.

That the cardinal ſhould be empowered to levy only two hundred and fifty lances, and two thouſand five hundred archers: that even this ſhould be granted, only on condition, that the pope, out of regard to the king and kingdom, ſhould not impoſe any tax on the laity or clergy.

That no ſoldiers ſerving in France ſhould be liſted or received among the troops of the cruſade.

That the cardinal ſhould give the council ſufficient ſecurity for the return of the troops.

That he ſhould effectually uſe his intereſt to induce the king of Scotland to leave England in quiet, and obſerve the truce.

That in publiſhing the cruſade, it ſhould expreſsly be ſaid, that it was with the king's aſſent and licence.

That the officers ſhould be nominated by the cardinal, but commiſſioned by the king.

That it ſhould be the ſame with regard to the conſtable, or commander in chief of the army.

That if the cruſade did not take place, the money furniſhed by private perſons ſhould not be employed without the king's approbation.

By theſe reſtrictions may be ſeen, how careful the council was to hinder the pope's exerciſing in the kingdom, an authority but too much abuſed by his predeceſſors. New levies for France.

* That is, be laid out upon merchandiſes, which were to be delivered to thoſe that engaged in the cruſade, and by them exported. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 420.

Mean

1429. Mean while, the news of the battle of Patay flying into England, cauſed a great conſternation, and made it eaſily judged that the regent wanted a ſudden and powerful aid. And therefore, without loſing a moment, the council ordered new levies, the command whereof was deſigned for Sir John Ratcliffe. But, as in the preſent poſture of affairs in France, it would have been very imprudent to ſend troops into Bohemia, the council reſolved to make ſome alteration in what was granted to the cardinal of Wincheſter. Upon this urgent occaſion, a new agreement was made [x] with him, whereby he engaged to ſerve in France under the duke of Bedford, till the end of December, with the troops of the cruſade, provided they were not employed in any ſiege.

The cardinal is to ſerve in France till December. July. Act. Pub. X. p. 422. Monſtrelet. Hall.

A few days after [y] arrived from France garter king at arms [z], with inſtructions from the regent, to inform the council of the ſtate of affairs in that kingdom. The ſubſtance of his inſtructions was as follows:

The duke of Bedford's inſtructions to garter. Act. Pub. X. p. 433.

I. That it was neceſſary to haſten the departure of Ratcliffe's and the cardinal's troops, and inform the regent of the preciſe time of their imbarkation.

II. The dauphin (for ſo the regent called king Charles) was maſter of Troye, Châlon, and ſeveral other places, ſome of which had voluntarily ſurrendered. That he was to enter that very day, July the 16th, the city of Rheims, where he would be crowned, and afterwards intended to exert his utmoſt to take Paris, but ſhould find it more difficult than he imagined.

x At Rocheſter, on July 1. Ibid. p. 424.

y July 16. Ibid. p. 432.

z There are three kings at arms in England; namely, garter, clarencieux, and norroy. Garter is the principal, inſtituted by Henry V. as is related above, p. 293. note s. His buſineſs is to attend knights of the garter at their ſolemnity, and to marſhal the funerals of the greater nobility. Clarencieux was created by Edward IV. who, upon attaining the dukedom of Clarence by the death of his brother, made the herald belonging to the duke of Clarence, a king at arms, and called him clarentius. His proper office is to marſhal the funerals of the leſſer nobility, or gentry, on the ſouth ſide of the Trent. Norroy's office is the ſame on the north ſide of the Trent, as appears by his name, the northern king. The buſineſs of the heralds is likewiſe to denounce war, to proclaim peace, or to be employed in the king's martial meſſages. They are judges alſo of gentlemens arms, marſhal all the ſolemnities at the coronation of princes, &c. Verſtegan derives the word herald, from here, an army, and healt, a champion, as much as to ſay, the champion of the army. Beſides the three kings, there are ſix other properly called heralds, as they were created to attend dukes, &c. viz. York, Lancaſter, Somerſet, Richmond, Cheſter, and Windſor. There are four more called marſhal or purſuivants at arms, who commonly ſucceed in the places of heralds; namely, blue mantle, rouge croſs, rouge dragon, and porte cullis.

III. That

III. That the duke of Burgundy [a] had fully discharged his duty, and the city of Paris, had it not been for him, would have been loſt before now. That he was departed that day for Arras, to haſten his troops, and join them with the Engliſh army. 1429.

IV. That the regent was to ſet out within two days for Normandy and Picardy, where he would draw the garriſons together, and expect the troops that were to come from England.

V. Laſtly, The council of France moſt humbly beſought the king to come and be crowned at Paris.

Upon this laſt article it was reſolved that the young king, now eight years old, ſhould go into France and be crowned; but ſhould firſt be crowned in England [b].

In purſuance of this reſolution, the ceremony of the coronation was performed on the 6th of November, ſix days after, the parliament then aſſembled, ordered the dignity of protector and defender of the church to be ſuppreſſed, but that the duke of Glouceſter ſhould keep that of firſt counſellor to the king. This was a very great as well as unexpected mortification to that prince. Indeed, as the king's coronation increaſed not his capacity, the kingdom ſeemed ſtill to require a protector. But it was pretended, the protectorſhip was inconſiſtent with the dignity of a crowned head. We ſhall ſee hereafter, this rule was not always obſerved. The duke however ſubmitted to the ordinance as far as it concerned him, the rights of his brother the duke of Bedford remaining entire.

Henry crowned at London. The protectorſhip ſuppreſſed. Act. Pub. X. p. 434, 435, 436. Cotton's Abridg. Hall.

[a] Rapin, by miſtake, ſays Bretagne.

[b] Between theſe tranſactions and the king's coronation, a parliament met at Weſtminſter, on September 22, which granted the king a tenth and a fifteenth; and continued the ſubſidy of wools, and tunnage and poundage as before. Cotton's Abridg. p. 591, 592, &c.—In this parliament it was enacted, that every city, borough, and town in the kingdom, ſhould have, at their own charge, a common balance, and weights ſealed, according to the ſtandard of the exchequer, in the keeping of the mayor, or conſtable; at which balance, all the inhabitants of the ſame city or town were to weigh without paying any thing; but ſtrangers were to pay.—It was alſo enacted, that whereas knights of the ſhires had of late been choſen by outrageous and exceſſive numbers of people, and of ſmall ſubſtance; for the future, the ſaid knights ſhall be elected in every county, by people dwelling and reſident in the ſame counties, whereof every one ſhall have land or tenement, to the value of forty ſhillings by the year, at the leaſt, above all charges; and that they which ſhall be ſo choſen, ſhall be dwelling and reſident within the ſame counties. Statute 8 Hen. VI. cap. 5. 7. In the parliament 10 Henry VI. anno 1432. it was declared, that the ſaid forty ſhillings per annum muſt be freehold.

1429. Whilſt the preparations were making in England for the coronation, Charles continued his conqueſts with great rapidity. However, his coronation had detained him eleven days at Rheims. If the regent had then been provided with an army, he might eaſily have incloſed him in that corner of France, where he had but few places, ſurrounded with the enemies garriſons. But the duke was then in Picardy with few troops, expecting thoſe that were to come from England. Charles therefore improved the advantage procured by that prince's diſtance. The inhabitants of the Engliſh towns being for the moſt part well inclined to him, nothing hindered them from ſhowing him marks of their affection, ſince the duke of Bedford had been forced to weaken the garriſons to compoſe an army. Hence it was, that in a very ſhort ſpace, Charles became maſter of Soiſſons, Provins, Chateau-Thierry, Crepi, and ſome other places, even before they were attacked, the Engliſh garriſons not being ſtrong enough to prevent the burghers from following their inclination.

Charles continues his conqueſts. Hall.

Several places ſurrender of their own accord.

Mean time the duke of Bedford, having at laſt received the expected ſupplies, began to march [c] in order to ſtop the progreſs of his enemy [d]. At Crepi, Charles heard, the duke was advancing to give him battle. A few days after, the two armies were very near one another on a large plain, where nothing hindered their engaging. The number of the troops on both ſides was nearly equal, but as the king had more horſe, the regent was unwilling to attack him. Beſides, the ſituation of his affairs required that he ſhould not fight without advantage, and therefore, he ordered his camp to be ſtrongly intrenched. He hoped, the impetuous humour of the French would cauſe them to commit the ſame fault as at Verneuil, and on many other occaſions, and that they would endeavour to force his intrenchments, in which caſe he promiſed himſelf certain victory. But for once he was deceived in his expectation. Charles, grown wiſe by ſo many former inſtances, was content with facing him [e], and trying to draw him out of lines without venturing an attack, the ſucceſs whereof appeared very doubtful. At laſt, finding the Engliſh kept their ſtation, he left his, in order to purſue his conqueſts, knowing that moſt of the towns were ready to receive him. The regent followed him cloſe, but as he would

The regent marches towards him. Monſtrelet. The two armies are very near one another.

Monſtrelet. Hall. Stow.

and part without fighting.

[c] With about ten thouſand men. Monſtrelet, fol. 47.

[d] And ſent Charles a challenge, from Monſtereau-faut Yonne, dated Auguſt 7. Idem, fol. 48. Hall, fol. 109.

[e] For two days. Monſtrelet, fol. 49. Hall, fol. 109.

run

run no hazard without an apparent advantage, he had the mortification to see him enter Senlis, Beauvais, Compiegne, Creil, Pont St. Maxence, Lagni, Bray, Gournay, Melun, Sens. All these places opened their gates to the king, being no longer awed by the garrisons which the regent had been forced to draw out. 1429. Several Towns surrender to Charles. Monstrelet. Hall.

On the other hand, the constable Richemont, who was in Normandy, having found means to augment his troops to the number of eight thousand, had taken Evreux, and threatened the whole province. The duke of Bedford, fearing he would make greater progress, hastened thither, not being able to bear the thoughts of losing a country, from whence flowed in a great measure his subsistence. The Regent marches to the relief of Normandy. Hall.

Whilst the duke of Bedford was employed in Normandy, Charles, master of the field in the isle of France, approached Paris, and encamped at Montmartre. He immediately published a general pardon for the Parisians, imagining that terrified at his conquests, they would take up arms, and drive the English out of the city. But the regent had so ordered matters, that not a man stirred. At last, finding he could expect nothing from the citizens, he attacked the suburbs of St. Honorius, but his troops were repulsed with great loss. Joan, who had greatly exposed herself in that assault, was wounded and thrown into the ditch. She was thought to be dead, but being drawn out in the night, she recovered of her wounds. Charles makes an Attempt upon Paris. Monstrelet. Hall. The Maid is wounded.

The season not permitting the two armies to keep the field any longer, Charles retired, and passed the winter at Bourges. The regent likewise, after driving the constable out of Normandy, returned to Paris. During the winter, he carried by scalade, St. Dennis and Lagni, which very much annoyed the Parisians. Lagni and S. Dennis taken by the English.

Before we close the occurrences of this year, it must not be forgot to shew, how the duke of Burgundy stood affected since the revolution in the English affairs. However prosperous Charles might be, he was sensible it was not sufficient, unless he could gain so potent an enemy as the duke of Burgundy. The truth is, if that prince had thought fit to assist the English with all his forces, he would have doubtless prevented the revolution. Nay, if after the raising of the siege of Orleans, he had been willing to aid them in proportion to his power, he would still have turned the scale on their side. But he had been, for some time, taking other measures. His policy suggested to him, that by too powerfully assisting the English, he should procure himself troublesome masters, as Disposition of the duke of Burgundy since the return of affairs. Monstrelet.

1429. he had already experienced in the affair of Hainault. And therefore, ſince he was to have a ſovereign, he choſe much rather to ſee a prince of his blood on the throne of France, than a foreigner. But he carefully concealed his ſentiments, leſt both parties ſhould take the advantage of them againſt him. It was manifeſt, that in openly ſhewing his inclination to abandon the Engliſh, he would have done himſelf great prejudice. King Charles would become leſs eager to agree with him, and perhaps the duke of Bedford would have endeavoured to prevent him, by making a ſeparate peace with the French, excluſive of him. This was at leaſt what the duke of Burgundy had reaſon to fear, conſidering the poſture of the affairs of the Engliſh, ſince the battle of Patay. He reſolved therefore to continue to aſſiſt the Engliſh [f], but ſo as to give Charles ſome hopes, his reſentment was abated. He rightly judged, that in taking this courſe he ſhould procure better terms, or at worſt, might remain in his preſent ſituation, till what he deſired was offered. Charles having had ſome intimation of the duke of Burgundy's diſpoſition, diſpatched ſecret agents to treat with him; but the duke thought it not yet time to diſcover himſelf. He was apprehenſive that if the duke of Bedford ſhould know it, he would without him agree with king Charles; whereas his intent was, to make his own peace at the expence of the Engliſh. The ſequel manifeſtly ſhewed this to be his deſign. Moſt certain it is, he was now determined, though he did not think fit to begin the negotiation ſo early. A remarkable inſtance this, of the inſtability of ſeemingly the ſtrongeſt alliances. Sad effect of inſincerity too common among men, and from which, princes in particular are not free. As, notwithſtanding their treaties, they cannot truſt one another, they live in continual fear of being deceived by their allies. And therefore, taking for granted they may by them be abandoned, they endeavour to prevent them, and without ſcruple break their engagements upon the proſpect of any conſiderable advantage. Let a man run over all the hiſtories, as well ancient as modern, and he will ſcarce find any one alliance of moment, but what was violated by ſome notorious deceit.

1430. It would be difficult to deſcribe the concern, trouble, complaints and murmurings in England upon the turn of affairs in France. Some blamed the generals for not diſcharging

Murmurings in England.

[f] The duke of Bedford had then with him near eight hundred men belonging to the duke of Burgundy. Monſtrelet, fol. 48.

their

their duty. Others, perceiving no natural cauſe of ſo ſurpriſing a change, affirmed, it muſt have happened by the malice of the devil, who had made uſe of Joan for his inſtrument, and boldly aſſerted ſhe was a witch. In ſhort, ſome threw all the blame on the council and the duke of Glouceſter. They juſtly taxed them with unſeaſonably proſecuting the affair of Hainault, when, if all the forces of England had been united againſt France, they would have infallibly finiſhed the conqueſt of that kingdom. In a word, nothing but complaints were heard from all parts, every one ſeeking in the faults of the miniſtry for a cauſe of ſo fatal a revolution. Among all the reflections caſt on the government, the council took particular notice of their reaſoning, who ſaid, "It was a very great error to keep the French "princes, and particularly the dukes of Orleans and Bour- "bon, ſo long priſoners in England. That none could be "ignorant, what great advantages were reaped by the late "king from the diſſenſions of the French. That conſe- "quently, the priſoners ſhould have been ſent home, where "probably they would have renewed their old quarrels: "whereas detaining them captive had procured France a "tranquillity deſtructive to England. That at leaſt, if the "dukes of Orleans and Bourbon had been in France with "king Charles, the Engliſh would have had more conſide- "rable aids from the duke of Burgundy than what he had "hitherto furniſhed. In ſhort, it was not yet too late to re- "leaſe theſe two princes, and as England was drained by "the continuance of ſo tedious a war, their ranſoms might "ſerve to put things upon a better foot." Theſe reaſons ſeemed very plauſible. But, on the other hand, the late king's orders concerning the priſoners, were to the duke of Glouceſter and the council, a law which they durſt not pretend to violate [g].

1430.

Several find fault that the French priſoners had not been releaſed.

g In the beginning of this year, namely, on January 12, a parliament met at Weſtminſter, which continued tunnage and poundage for two years, and ordered, over and above the ſaid tunnage, a ſubſidy of like value of all merchant ſtrangers. They alſo gave one tenth and one fifteenth, and a third of both; and moreover granted, that every lay perſon, holding by a whole knight's fee, ſhould pay to the king twenty ſhillings, and ſo according to the value, under or over; and the clergy ſhould pay the ſame, for lands purchaſed ſince the 20th of Edward I. And that all other perſons having any hereditaments, to the value of twenty pounds over all repriſes, not holden as above, ſhould pay unto the king twenty ſhillings. Cotton's Abridg. p. 597, 598.—In this parliament it was enacted, that every wey of cheeſe ſhould contain thirty cloves, and every clove ſeven pounds. Statut. 9 Hen. VI. c. 8.

1430. There were, however, as to the duke of Bourbon in particular, reaſons which might have induced the council to overlook the late king's orders. In 1421, that prince made a treaty with Henry V. promiſing to ſwear to the peace of Troye, to pay ſuch a ſum for his ranſom, and deliver two of his ſons and his fortified towns in hoſtage, till his engagements were fully performed. Henry V. dying before the treaty was executed, it was renewed with ſome alteration in 1428, and young Henry had received as king of France the duke's homage. There was nothing wanting but the ratification, which was deferred only for fear the people would not approve of the proceeding. In ſhort, this year 1430, all difficulties were ſurmounted, and the treaty was ratified. But ſome obſtacles occurred in the execution, which hindered the duke from being ſet at liberty. He died at laſt in England in 1433 [h], after an eighteen years captivity.

Articles for releaſing the duke of Bourbon. Act. Pub. X. p. 426, 434.

They are not put in execution. p. 438, p. 478.

He dies. p. 602.

Another reaſon, inducing the council to treat with the duke of Bourbon, was the hopes, his ranſom would help to defray the charges of the king's journey, who was ready to depart for France. That means failing, there was a neceſſity of having recourſe to loans, which plainly diſcovered the low condition of the treaſury, and with what difficulty ſufficient funds, for carrying on the war were found [i].

p. 413. p. 461.

Henry, departed at length, on the 24th of April, attended by great numbers of the nobility, and particularly the cardinal of Wincheſter, who was appointed chief counſellor of the king, with a large ſalary [k]. This honourable pretence was uſed, to keep him out of the realm, leſt in the king's abſence, and under the duke of Glouceſter's regency, who was made guardian, their diſſenſions might breed diſturbances. Henry being arrived at Calais, made but a ſhort ſtay there. He proceeded immediately to Roan, where he ſpent almoſt all the reſt of the year, whilſt preparations were making at Paris for his coronation, which could not be finiſhed till December. About the middle of the month, he came to the metropolis, where he was crowned [l] on the 17th, with all the ſolemnity, the circumſtances of the time would permit.

Henry goes to France, p. 452, 455, 456, p. 458,

and is crowned at Paris. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Whilſt the king was at Roan, the duke of Bedford uſed all his endeavours to reſtore his affairs. He had foreſeen the

h He died January 5. 1434. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 602.

i Orders were alſo iſſued out, for all that were worth forty pounds per annum, to come and take upon them the order of knighthood. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 449.

k Four thouſand pounds a year. Ibid. p. 456.

l By the cardinal of Wincheſter.

duke

duke of Burgundy's deſigns, and, as he was ſenſible of the conſequences, neglected nothing to prevent them. It coſt him Champagne and la Brie, or at leaſt the places he ſtill had in thoſe provinces, which he was forced to deliver to him, to ſecure him in the alliance of England. But withal, he was enabled by that means, to ſtop the progreſs of Charles, who had carried on his conqueſts with a wonderful rapidity. 1430. The duke of Bedford ſecures the duke of Burgundy to England. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Another inducement to keep for ſome time, the duke of Burgundy in the intereſt of the Engliſh, was, his third marriage with Iſabella of Portugal [m], near relation to the king of England [n], and who had not the ſame affinity with king Charles, as Bona of Artois, his former wife. So, the duke of Bedford, receiving an aid from the duke of Burgundy [o], took the field, and became maſter, in the iſle of France, of ſeveral places, which though of little conſequence in themſelves, were of great importance, as they were incommodious to Paris. The duke of Burgundy's third marriage. Monſtrelet. Hall. The regent makes ſome conqueſts.

Shortly after, the duke of Burgundy himſelf entered France, at the head of a powerful army. He retook firſt Torſy and Soiſſons, and then beſieged Compiegne. Flavy commanded in that place, with a numerous garriſon, and ſix months proviſions. Upon the firſt news of the ſiege, the maid of Orleans, and Xaintrailles, threw themſelves into the town, not without the governor's ſecret indignation, who eaſily ſaw, they were come to rob him of the honour of the defence. The duke of Burgundy beſieges Compiegne. The maid goes thither. Monſtrelet.

On the 25th of May, Joan, made a ſally, and fought with great conduct and reſolution. At length, being forced to retreat, ſhe put herſelf in the rear, and now and then made a ſtand, to ſtop the enemies, by whom ſhe was preſſed. In that manner, ſhe ſecured all her men, but, when ſhe would have entered the town, found the gate ſhut, and the draw bridge up. It is ſaid, this was done by the governor's order, who was glad to deſtroy her, pretending he did not know ſhe was ſtill without. But that circumſtance is not well proved [p]. However it be, Joan finding no way to eſcape her purſuers, ſurrendered herſelf priſoner to the baſtard of Vendôme, who She makes a ſally, and is taken priſoner. Monſtrelet. Hall. P. Daniel.

[m] In honour of this marriage, he inſtituted the order of the golden Fleece, of which ſee an account above, vol. III. p. 475, note ‖; and in Monſtrelet, fol. 54, 55.

[n] She was daughter of John I. king of Portugal, by Phillippa, eldeſt daughter of John of Gaunt,

[o] Fifteen hundred men, for which he was to receive fifty thouſand ſalutes of gold. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 454. 455.

[p] Monſtrelet ſays, ſhe was pulled off her horſe by an archer, fol. 58.

1430. immediately delivered her to the earl of Ligny [q], the duke of Burgundy's general. The duke of Bedford over-joyed, that Joan was in the hands of his allies, demanded her ſo earneſtly of the earl of Ligny, that the general could not deny him. He required however, a reward ſuitable to the importance of ſuch a priſoner. Some time after, the town was relieved by the earl of Vendôme [r], who introduced troops and ammunition, when it was almoſt reduced to extremity. Whereupon, the earl of Ligny, commander in chief, ſeeing no likelihood of ſucceeding, raiſed the ſiege, and the duke of Burgundy, who had remained at Noyan, retired into Artois.

She is delivered to the duke of Bedford.

The ſiege is raiſed. Hall.

I paſs over in ſilence numberleſs attempts on both ſides, and divers ſkirmiſhes, which contributed but little to the deciſion of the general affair. It will however be proper to obſerve, that Joan's pretended inſpiration, had made ſo deep an impreſſion in the minds of the French, that marſhal Bouſſac and Xaintrailles, ſuffered themſelves to be deceived by an artifice, which, doubtleſs, would not have produced its effect, had it not been ſupported by that prepoſſeſſion. A ſhepherd living near Roan, came and told the marſhal, that heaven had revealed to him a certain private way, by which, he would lead him into the city of Roan. Bouſſac, imparting the ſecret to Xaintrailles, they were both of opinion, the opportunity ſhould not be neglected. So, perſuaded as they were, that they had God himſelf for their guide, they marched with a body of choſen troops after the ſhepherd, who led them into an ambuſh, where Talbot expected them. Their troops were cut in pieces, and Xaintrailles remained a priſoner, in the hands of the Engliſh.

Bouſſac and Xaintrailles deceived by a ſhepherd. Monſtrelet. Hall.

They are defeated, and Xaintrailles made priſoner.

Theſe are the moſt remarkable events in France, during the year 1430, with regard to the war. We muſt now ſee what paſſed in England.

The cardinal receives a freſh mortification. Act. Pub. X. p. 472.

During the cardinal of Wincheſter's abſence, the duke of Glouceſter created him troubles, which gave him no ſmall uneaſineſs. The duke told the council, that the cardinal intended to leave the king, and return to his place in the council, with deſign to raiſe diſturbances in the kingdom; that his intention was the more criminal, as he meant to uſe the pope's authority, to free himſelf from the obligation to aſſiſt the king in France, which was viſibly ſubjecting the or-

[q] John de Luxemburg.

[r] Hall ſays, the duke of Burgundy withdrew his troops, to go and take poſſeſſion of Brabant, fallen to him by the death of the duke; whereupon the Engliſh, deprived of this aſſiſtance, were forced to raiſe the ſiege, fol. 115.

ders

ders and regulations of the council, to a foreign power. Upon theſe complaints, the council iſſued out a proclamation, prohibiting all the king's ſubjects, of what rank ſoever, on pain of impriſonment, to attend the cardinal, if he left the king without leave. 1430.

On the 8th of November, a truce of one year was concluded at London with the king of Caſtile, to commence May the 1ſt, 1431. Truce with Caſtile, p. 473.

About the middle of December, the ambaſſadors of England, ſigned at Edinburgh, a five years truce with Scotland, to begin the ſame day, with that made with Caſtile. and Scotland, p. 482—487.

Joan having been in the hands of the Engliſh, ever ſince the ſiege of Compiegne, the duke of Bedford had ordered her to be carried to Roan, where he intended to ſacrifice her, to the vengeance, he believed due to the Engliſh nation. There was, doubtleſs great policy in that reſolution. All France was poſſeſſed with the notion, that ſhe was ſent from God, and the Engliſh ſoldiers imagined, that in fighting againſt her, they had to deal with the devil. Wherever ſhe appeared, they deemed the French troops invincible. At leaſt, the terror that had ſeized their ſouls, and the ſtrange alteration thereby wrought in them, cannot be aſcribed to any other cauſe. It was therefore of the utmoſt importance to undeceive them. The taking of Joan, had already begun to produce that effect. It was very naturally inferred, that had ſhe acted by God's command, there was no probability of her falling into ſuch a misfortune. But, to confirm this firſt impreſſion, it was not improper to inſinuate to the terrified Engliſh, that ſhe had done nothing, but by way of witchcraft and ſorcery. Perhaps the duke of Bedford, was himſelf of that opinion, as may be concluded from his expreſſions, in the fore-mentioned letter to the king. However that be (for I do not pretend, either to blame, or juſtify the duke, that it was out of policy or vengeance) he ſo managed, that the king by the advice of his council of France, ordered Joan to be tried for a witch. Purſuant to the order, ſhe was delivered over to eccleſiaſtical judges *, who after a long examination, condemned her as a heretick, to do penance upon bread and water all the days of her life. Some time after, under colour of a relapſe into her former errors, ſhe was tried again by the ſame judges, who delivered her over to the ſecular arm to be burnt alive. The 1431. The duke of Bedford reſolves to have the maid tried for her life. Monſtrelet. She is condemned to impriſonment, and afterwards to be burnt. Monſtrelet.

* She was tried by the biſhop of Beauvais, in whoſe dioceſe ſhe was taken. Monſtrelet, fol. 70.

1431. ſentence was executed in the old market place at Roan, the 30th of May, 1431 [t].

Various opinions about her.

Thus far the French and Engliſh agree. It cannot be denied, that Joan performed great exploits, and inſpired the French with courage, and the Engliſh with terror. But the French aſcribe what appears wonderful in her, to the immediate power of God, and the Engliſh to the artifices of the devil. What then ſhall we believe? perhaps neither are in the right, and indeed there is a third opinion, which wants not plauſible reaſons. As the examination of theſe three opinions would be a too long digreſſion, I ſhall not ſtay to diſcuſs them here. They who deſire to be more fully informed concerning the matter, may read a diſſertation, inſerted at the end of this reign, wherein I ſhall endeavour to give the affair all the light it is capable of.

The extreme weakneſs of the two kings.

Notwithſtanding his advantages, king Charles ſaw himſelf little able to continue the war. Moſt of the places he had taken were ruined, and conſequently incapable of giving him much aſſiſtance. Beſides, as they had voluntarily ſurrendered, he was unwilling to preſs them, for fear they ſhould return to the Engliſh. They might have done it with the ſame eaſe, ſince it was not in his power to place garriſons ſtrong enough to keep them in awe. On the other hand, the Engliſh, humbled by ſo many loſſes, were no better able to keep armies in the field. So, during the reſt of the year, the war was continued only by parties, and the ſurpriſing of places, moſt of which were but weakly guarded.

The French ſurpriſe Chartres. Monſtrelet. Hall.

In this manner it was that the French became maſters of Chartres, by means of a cart laden with wine, which they cauſed to be overturned under the port-cullis. On the other hand, the Engliſh took Montargis. by holding intelligence with a young woman, who perſuaded a barber, her lover, to introduce them into the town.

[t] She and her whole family were ennobled in 1429: and ſhe had a coat of arms given her, which was, azure, two fleurs de lys, or, with a ſword argent, erect, and going through a crown, Ibid. P. Daniel, tom. VI. p. 83. There are ſtill in France ſeveral deſcendants from her family, which took the ſurname of Du Lis. Ibid. ‡ There appeared ſuch another extraordinary maid in the laſt century, in Muſcovy. After the ſuppreſſion of a rebellion againſt Alexis, father of Peter the great; amongſt the priſoners brought to the general there was a nun, who wore a man's habit, over that of her order.—She had commanded 7000 men, and ſhown great bravery on all occaſions. Death did not terrify her, though ſhe was condemned to be burnt, for leaving her monaſtery, and when ſhe went to the place of execution, ſhe ſaid, if every one had behaved as valiantly as herſelf, the general and his whole army would have been cut to pieces. Mem. of the reign of Peter the great.

Loré,

Loré, a French captain, made an inroad to the very gates of Caen, upon a fair day, and carried away two thouſand perſons, with a very great booty. After that, he retired to Silley, a ſmall town in Maine, where he was beſieged by the earl of Arundel. But the duke of Alenſon, ſuddenly coming to his relief, obliged the Engliſh to retire. 1431. The fair of Caen plundered. J Chartier.

This is all that paſſed worth notice in France, between the two parties. But a more important affair happened in Lorrain, wherein king Charles and the duke of Burgundy were concerned, and which therefore it will not be amiſs briefly to mention. Other exploits of the two parties. Monſtrelet.

Lewis, cardinal of Bar, and marquis of Pont-a-Mouſon, being the laſt male of the houſe of Bar, the children of Violante his ſiſter, queen of Arragon, were to be his heirs. Among theſe children, Violante of Arragon had married Lewis II. king of Sicily, and duke of Anjou, and by him had three ſons, Lewis, René, and Charles. Of theſe princes, the cardinal duke of Bar, choſe René for his heir, and married him to Iſabella, third daughter of Charles, duke of Lorrain, who had no iſſue male. It is ſaid, Iſabella's two eldeſt ſiſters had renounced the ſucceſſion of the duke their father. René being duke of Bar, by the death of the cardinal his uncle, would likewiſe have taken poſſeſſion of Lorrain, upon the deceaſe of the duke his father-in-law, but Anthony, earl of Vaudemont, ſon of Frederic, younger brother of duke Charles, diſputed the ſucceſſion with him. This occaſioned a war between theſe two princes, wherein king Charles ſupported René his brother-in-law, and the duke of Burgundy, the earl of Vaudemont. On the 2d of July this year, the two competitors fought at Bulegneville a bloody battle, wherein René was vanquiſhed, taken priſoner, and carried to Dijon. There were twelve hundred French ſlain in the action. This loſs, no doubt, helped to hinder king Charles from continuing his progreſs. War of Lorrain. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The affair concerning the ſee of Wincheſter, of which the duke of Glouceſter would have deprived the cardinal, was rather ſuſpended, than determined in 1429, by an order of council to the prelate, to forbear, for that time officiating as biſhop on St. George's day. The duke, willing to take advantage of the cardinal's abſence, who was with the king at Paris, cauſed, about the end of this year, the affair to be reſumed. On the 6th of November, the attorney general appearing before the council, required, that the cardinal ſhould be deprived of his ſee; affirming, that by the laws of the land, the ſame perſon could not be cardinal and biſhop An attempt to take the ſee from the biſhop of Wincheſter. Act. Pub. X. p. 497.

1431. in England. He ſupported his aſſertion with the examples of Simon Langham, and Robert Kilwarby, formerly archbiſhops of Canterbury, who, upon their being made cardinals, reſigned the archbiſhoprick. When he had done ſpeaking, the duke of Glouceſter, addreſſing himſelf to the biſhop of Worceſter, required him to ſay, upon his oath of allegiance to the king, whether it was not true, that the cardinal had obtained of the pope, an exemption from the juriſdiction of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, for himſelf, for the city, and for the whole dioceſe of Wincheſter. His aim was to ſhow, how inconvenient it was, to ſuffer a cardinal to hold a biſhoprick in England. The biſhop of Worceſter replied, after ſome intreaty, that the biſhop of Litchfield being at Rome, had ſued for, and obtained that exemption for the cardinal, who had reimburſed all the charges; and that he had this from that prelate's own mouth. The affair having been long debated, by reaſon of the two parties in the council, it was at length reſolved, that, before any deciſion, the cardinal ſhould be heard, and the judges conſulted. Thus it was not yet poſſible for the duke of Glouceſter to compaſs his ends.

Conference about a peace. Monſtrelet.

Whilſt Henry was in France, pope Eugenius II. ſucceſſor of Martin V. ſent thither the cardinal of Santa Cruz, to perſuade the two kings to a peace. The legate prevailed with them at laſt, to ſend their ambaſſadors to Auxerre, but the congreſs was fruitleſs. They did not ſo much as enter into a conference, becauſe, if we may believe the French authors, the ambaſſadors of England refuſed to acknowledge king Charles's for ambaſſadors of France. The 31ſt of March, the next year, was however fixed for their meeting, but it was in vain, ſince there was no place appointed for holding the congreſs. The court of England had named for plenipotentiaries, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and ſome others [u].

Act. Pub. X. p. 500, 514, 530.

1432. Henry returned into England the beginning of the year 1432, being full ten years of age. As his journey into France, had produced no great effects, his return made no alteration in his affairs. They were ſtill managed by the duke of Bedford in France, and by the duke of Glouceſter in England. The government of two kingdoms was no light burden for theſe princes, at a time when the king's affairs were manifeſtly going to decay. The duke of Bedford was obliged to be always on his guard, to reſiſt enemies, now grown very formidable. But that was nothing, in compari-

Henry returns to England.

Ill ſtate of the duke of Bedford in France.

[u] Sir John Faſtolffe, &c. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 530.

ſon

ſon of the trouble, occaſioned by his perpetual diſtruſt of his own friends, or thoſe who pretended to be well-affected to him. The duke of Burgundy's ambiguous proceedings, juſtly made him uneaſy. The duke of Bretagne was no ſurer friend. In ſhort, ſince the decline of the affairs of the Engliſh, the towns which ſeemed to ſide with them, were faithful, only in proportion to the ſtrength of their garriſons. The regent, by ſad experience, had been convinced of this truth. Paris herſelf, the metropolis, on which, as I may ſay, all depended, was not ſo well diſpoſed, as that her fidelity could be relied on, or at leaſt her attachment to the intereſt of England, wholly depended on the duke of Burgundy's. Add to this the inconſiderable aids of men and money, received by the duke of Bedford from England, at a time when they were moſt wanted. To complete his misfortune, the regent found himſelf almoſt alone, burdened with the weight of the publick affairs, as well military as civil, thoſe who had aſſiſted him in the beginning of his regency, being for the moſt part either dead, or priſoners in the hands of the enemy. In this perplexity, he reſolved to propoſe to king Charles, the exchange of Talbot for Xaintrailles, and his offer was excepted. As he durſt not leave Paris, and the war was carrying on in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, he could not be without ſuch a general as Talbot, though to procure him, he was forced to give his equal to the enemy [w]. 1432.

Exchange of Talbot for Xaintrailles. Act. Pub. X. p. 507, 514, 536.

If the affairs of the Engliſh were upon an ill foot in France, they were upon no better terms in England. Subſidies were granted by the parliament with great reluctance, for continuing ſo deſtructive a war, which began to be tireſome, ſince it proſpered not as formerly. On the other hand, the quarrel between the duke of Glouceſter, and the cardinal ſtill continued, with greater animoſity than ever, and began to turn to the duke's diſadvantage. In the laſt year's parliament [x], the cardinal had found means to gain the commons to his intereſt, and give his adverſary a grievous mortification. The houſe, willing to ſhew him marks of their favour, preſented a petition to the king, praying him, in conſideration of the cardinal's great ſervices to the ſtate, to give him a full pardon for whatever he had done, contrary to the laws, particularly with regard to the ſtatute of præ-

Continuation of the quarrel between the duke of Glouceſter and the cardinal.

The cardinal gains ground upon his enemy. Act Pub. X. p. 516.

[w] John lord Talbot was not releaſed till the beginning of the year 1433. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 536.

[x] By the laſt year's parliament, Rapin muſt mean the laſt parliament; namely, that held in 1430, or rather that in 1429; for it does not appear there was one in 1431.

Mainire.

1432. munire. This was a great advantage for the cardinal, ſince the commons petition being granted, he was ſcreened from all proſecution. However, the duke of Glouceſter did not deſiſt. He pretended, that, he had ſufficient evidence to prove the cardinal guilty of high treaſon, a crime which could not be ſuppoſed to be included in the letters of pardon. The cardinal, who was then in Flanders upon the king's affairs, ſpeedily repaired to London, without aſking leave, and thereby gave his enemy a pretence to ſeize his baggage [y]. The next day after his arrival, he went to the houſe of lords, and ſaid, he was come to clear himſelf of the crimes, pretended to be laid to his charge, and vindicate his innocence, againſt whoever ſhould offer to be his accuſer... The duke of Glouceſter, not thinking proper to ſupport what he had advanced, the prelate was anſwered, that as none appeared to accuſe him, he was acknowledged for a loyal ſubject. He thanked the houſe for that declaration, and deſired it might be drawn up in form, which was granted. Then he complained, that at his arrival at Sandwich, his baggage was ſeized, and petitioned the reſtitution. He maintained, that the ſeizure was made without cauſe, and offered to lend the king, ſix thouſand pounds for ſix years, on condition, that if, in that time, the ſeizure appeared to be lawful, the money lent, ſhould be forfeited to the king's uſe. He offered moreover to lend him the like ſum, and to defer the demand of the thirteen thouſand marks, due to him on another account, provided the payment of the whole ſhould be aſſigned out of the next ſubſidy granted to the king. His aim was, to ſhew his regard for the king's and the people's wants. His offers were accepted, and the ſeizure reſtored. Thus the duke of Glouceſter, inſtead of hurting his enemy, had the mortification, to ſee him receive the applauſes of both houſes. Mean while, this diſcord produced very ill effects. As the duke of Glouceſter had friends and adherents in the council, the oppoſition between the two parties, could not but be very prejudicial to the king's affairs. Whilſt the duke and the cardinal thought only of their own private concerns, the war in France was neglected, though it was

p. 517. Cotton's Abridg. Act. Pub. X. p. 518, 591, 593.

y The duke of Glouceſter only ſeized, at Sandwich, ſome of the king's jewels, which were mortgaged to the cardinal, and which he intended to carry over; whereupon the cardinal came back in great haſte and fury, for the recovery of them. But an order was made, that before they were reſtored to him, he ſhould pay the king ſix thouſand pounds more for them, and lend him ten thouſand marks; which was accordingly done. Cotton's Abridg. p. 603. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 517, 518, 519. See an account of all theſe jewels, p. 593, &c.

more

more neceſſary than ever, to ſupport it with the greateſt efforts. 1432.

If England had known how to improve her advantages, ſhe had a very favourable opportunity to repair ſome of her loſſes. King Charles languiſhed in the arms of Agnes Sorrel, his miſtreſs, and left to the care of his miniſters and generals, his moſt important affairs. Nothing affected him but his pleaſures. It was with extreme reluctance, that he beſtowed a few moments upon the war, and the affairs of ſtate. So impatient was he to return to his pleaſures, interrupted by theſe troubleſome cares, that he only ſought to intruſt with others, whatever might embarraſs him. La Trimouille, his favourite, was generally accuſed of ſoothing him in this indolence. But it was perceived by perſons of penetration, that the king began to grow weary of him, and was uneaſy under a yoke he had impoſed upon himſelf. The conſtable though abſent, was ſoon informed of it. His ſpies at court were too watchful, for ſo important a thing to be long concealed from him. As he was of a haughty and violent ſpirit, he could not bear, without indignation, to be ſurpaſſed by La Trimouille; and had formed a deſign to ſerve him, as he had done Louvet, De Giac, and Beaulieu. When he knew, the king no longer looked upon La Trimouille with the ſame eye as before, he immediately reſolved to work his downfal. But as in ruining La Trimouille, he did not think himſelf ſo far in the king's favour, that he could hope for his place, he projected to introduce Charles of Anjou, the queen's brother, into that poſt. Strange project, to attempt to take from a prince one favourite, and give him another againſt his will, or at leaſt without conſulting him! as ſoon as the conſtable had made all his cabals at court, and matters were ripe for execution, La Trimouille was ſeized in his bed, in the king's own houſe, who was then at Chinon, and carried to priſon at Montreſor. Charles was enraged at the news, and would immediately have taken vengeance, but when he ſaw all the princes of the blood, and the great men at court, declare againſt Trimouille, he durſt not venture to proceed. He remembered, with dread, the confederacy formed againſt him, when he would have ſcreened Louvet, and was afraid of the like. Beſides, his diſguſt for the favourite, who was only ſo in name, being added to that political reaſon, he abandoned him without much concern. Charles of Anjou, came to comfort him, and ſucceeded ſo well, that, according to the conſtable's project, he became the favourite, and La Trimouille was forgot.

Indolence of king Charles.

Troubles in his court. Monſtrelet.

La Trimouille is removed. Monſtrelet.

and Charles of Anjou becomes favourite.

It

1432. It is eaſy to judge, that a prince of Charles's character, who had an averſion for war, would not have been very formidable to the duke of Bedford, if the ſupplies from England had been ſufficient to enable him to make ſome conſiderable attempt. But he had not for ſome time been able to bring an army into the field, without diſgarniſhing his towns, and expoſing them either to be ſurpriſed, or tempted to follow the example of thoſe, that had voluntarily ſurrendered to king Charles.

Lagni taken by the French. Monſtrelet. J. Chartier.

About the end of the laſt year, Foucaut had taken for him, Lagni, a place which the neighbourhood of Paris rendered extremely important. A little after, the regent unſucceſſfully attempted to retake it. In the beginning of this year, the marſhal de l'Iſle-Adam, and the earl of Arundel [z], attacked it in vain, being forced, by a vigorous ſally from the town, to abandon their enterpriſe. At laſt in the beginning of Auguſt, the duke of Bedford beſieged it himſelf, with an army of ſix thouſand men. But, on the 10th of the ſame month, the baſtard of Orleans, in ſpite of the duke's precautions and vigilance, introduced a convoy [a], and then paſſed the Marne. The duke, fearing by that march, that he held ſome intelligence in Paris, ſuddenly raiſed the ſiege, to prevent his deſigns. Thus Lagni was beſieged three times in vain, within the ſpace of ſeven or eight months.

The Engliſh endeavour in vain to retake it. Hall.

The French ſurpriſe Montargis, and quit it again. J. Chartier.

On the other hand, a ſmall body of French, drawn out of the garriſons near the Loire, ſurpriſed Montargis. But as the caſtle made a vigorous defence, the French not being able either to force it, or keep the town, were obliged to retire. In Normandy twelve hundred Engliſh inveſted la Hire in Louviers, and after a three months blockade, conſtrained the place to capitulate.

Death of the ducheſs of Bedford. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Theſe were events of little importance. But, on the 13th of November, there happened one of much greater conſequence, namely, the death of Ann of Burgundy, ducheſs of Bedford [b]. This loſs was not peculiar to the duke her ſpouſe, but common to all the Engliſh, ſince it broke the bond of union, between the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, and by the coldneſs which ſucceeded, proved very fatal to England.

[z] John Fitzalan.

[a] But not without a great ſlaughter on both ſides. Monſtrelet, fol. 82.

[b] He buried her at the Celeſtine's in Paris, within the chapel of Orleans, where a noble tomb of black marble, with her effigies, as a princeſs, placed thereon, is ſtill to be ſeen. Her epitaph ſays, ſhe died November the 14th, 1432. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 201. Sandford's Geneal. p. 313.

The

The council of Baſil had been aſſembled ſince the laſt year, but England had ſent no ambaſſadors. About the end of the year, the pope and council, who were diſputing concerning pre-eminence, ſending each a-part, legates to the king, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Rocheſter, the earl of Huntington, and ſeveral others, were appointed to go to the council. 1432. Embaſſy to the council of Baſil. Act. Pub. X. p. 515, 519, 525, 534.

In the beginning of the year 1433, there was a dangerous inſurrection in Normandy, which would have been no leſs fatal to the Engliſh, than the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, if by their diligence they had not timely prevented part of the miſchief, which might have enſued. Sixty thouſand peaſants of that province, having taken up arms, divided themſelves in two bodies, one whereof conſiſting of forty thouſand men, marched into Vexin, and the other towards Caen. Had Charles's army been near enough to ſupport them, he would doubtleſs have conquered all Normandy. The rebels ſoon became maſters of Caen, Harfleur, Dieppe, and Lillebonne. Probably they would have made a much greater progreſs, if the earl of Arundel [c] had not, with the utmoſt expedition, marched againſt thoſe that were aſſembled at Vexin. As theſe men had no eminent leader, they ſuffered themſelves to be ſurpriſed in the night, and eaſily yielded him a victory, more advantageous to his maſter than glorious for him. Thoſe of Caen, though not ſo numerous, would have given him more trouble, becauſe the marſhal of Rieux was at their head. But terrified at the news of the defeat of their companions, they retired to their homes. The marſhal ſeeing himſelf thus deſerted, took with him ſome of the moſt courageous, and threw himſelf into Dieppe. Mean while, Arundel, taking advantage of their conſternation, found means to recover Caen and Lillebonne. But Dieppe and Harfleur, places of very great importance, remained in the hands of the French. 1433. Inſurrection in Normandy. Monſtrelet. J. Chartier.

This ſame year, another event helped to diſconcert the affairs of the Engliſh. The duke of Bedford being a widower, married in March, Jaquelina of Luxemburgh [d], daughter of Peter of Luxemburgh [e], earl of St. Pol. The duke of Burgundy was extremely offended, that the marriage The duke of Bedford marries Jaquelina of Luxemburg. The duke of Burgundy is offended at it.

[c] And the lord Willoughby, with ſix thouſand archers. Hall, fol. 124.

[d] She was but about ſeventeen years old. Monſtrelet, fol. 87. Hall, fol. 121. She and the duke her ſpouſe came to London about Midſummer, where they remained till the latter end of Auguſt, when they went to Paris. Hall, ibid. Stow, p. 373.

[e] Rapin, by miſtake, calls him James. See Monſtrelet, fol. 87.

1433. was made without his knowledge. He thought the duke of Bedford ſhould have ſhown him more reſpect, ſince, beſides the conſideration of the many ties by which they were united, he married the daughter of one of his vaſſals. The duke of Bedford, who was very prudent and circumſpect, had doubtleſs his reaſons for haſtening his marriage, without imparting it to the duke of Burgundy. However, as it greatly concerned him not to diſpleaſe that prince, he paid him ſome compliments by the cardinal of Wincheſter, who even procured an interview at St. Omer, where the two princes met in April. But an unhappy diſpute about predecency hindered their reconciliation, and eauſed them to part extremely incenſed with each other. Theſe two princes had frequently met without any conteſt upon that account. But the duke of Burgundy was obliged to raiſe ſome diſpute now, for a cloak to the ſteps he intended to make. He owned Henry for king of France, and the duke of Bedford for regent, and uncle of the reigning king, how therefore could he pretend to take place of him?

Monſtrelet. Hall.

The duke of Burgundy takes ſome places from the French. Monſtrelet. Hall.

During this year, nothing of moment paſſed, with regard to the war. Charles ſeemed to have wholly relinquiſhed all care of his affairs, the better to reliſh the pleaſures of love and eaſe. The duke of Bedford was weak, and as he received no farther ſupplies from England, thought more of keeping what he had, than of making new conqueſts. Mean while, though the duke of Burgundy was now deſigning a ſeparate peace with Charles, he believed it would be the more advantageous, if he could do it with full hands. To that end, he made himſelf maſter of St. Valery, which Gaucour had taken by ſurpriſe. The town of Ham, defended by the baſtard of Orleans and Xaintrailles, with Laon and Provins, were alſo taken by him. On the other hand, the earl of Arundel, beſieging Silley-le-Guillaume in Maine, the conſtable Richemont obliged him to raiſe the ſiege, but the French were ſcarce gone when the earl returned, and took the town [f].

The duke of Orleans offers to mediate a peace.

Mean time, the council of England were more intent, how to procure a peace, than to recover what the king had loſt in France. The duke of Orleans, ſtill a priſoner, at

[f] This year, on July 8, a parliament met at Weſtminſter, which granted the king one tenth, and one fifteenth to be levied on the laity. As alſo three ſhillings on every tun of wine, imported or exported; twelve pence in the pound of all merchandiſes ſold, for two years; and a ſubſidy of fifty three ſhillings and four-pence of every ſack of wool for three years. This parliament was adjourned from Auguſt 13, till October 13, by reaſon of the plague. Cotton's Abridg. p. 607, 609.

London,

London, had made the firſt overtures, and offered to uſe his utmoſt endeavours, to finiſh an affair, on which depended his freedom. To compaſs his ends, he had propoſed to bring to Calais, or any other place the council ſhould name, the queen dowager of Sicily, Charles of Anjou, her ſon, the duke of Bretagne, with the earls of Richemont, and St. Giles, his brothers, the duke of Alenſon, the earls of Armagnac, Foix, Perdriac, Clermont, and the archbiſhop of Rheims, to treat with the ambaſſadors of England. He deſired likewiſe permiſſion to be at the congreſs, to promote, to the utmoſt of his power, the concluſion of a peace. As his aim was, to engage the court of England to enter into negotiation, he demonſtrated, that the Engliſh would reap great advantages, whether the treaty broke off, or ſucceeded. Theſe are the two articles he propoſed to the council concerning himſelf. 1433. Act. Pub. X. p. 549, 556.

I. In caſe a peace was concluded between Henry, and the dauphin (for ſo he called king Charles) he promiſed to do homage to Henry, whenever required, and never to own any other king of France, than him, or his lawful ſucceſſors. His offers. Ib. p. 556.

II. He promiſed the ſame thing for all his vaſſals, for the duke of Alenſon, for the earls of Armagnac, Perdriac, Angoulême, and the dukes of Milan and Savoy.

In another article, he ſuppoſed the dauphin would be contented with an honourable and conſiderable appennage, which was the very thing the Engliſh aimed at in the negotiation.

But, as a peace might happen not to be concluded, in that caſe, the duke engaged to acknowledge Henry, for ſole and true king of France. He promiſed moreover to deliver to him, Blois, Orleans, and all his demeſn towns, with Rochelle, Mont St. Michael, Limoges, Bourges, Chinon, Poictiers, Tournay, Beziers, Saintes, and Loches, or what other places he pleaſed inſtead of theſe, except Rochelle and Mont St. Michael, which were not to be changed.

That if the king ſhould grant him any demeſns in England, he would own him as king of England, for his liege-lord, and as ſuch, ſwear fealty to him.

That he would do his utmoſt, to put the king in poſſeſſion of the countries and cities of France, which did not yet acknowledge him, and would ſerve him at his own expence.

1433. That in caſe the treaty did not ſucceed, he promiſed to return a priſoner to England, till all the articles were performed on his part, on condition he ſhould afterwards be releaſed without ranſom [g].

They are accepted. Act. Pub. X. p. 561.

Theſe articles, which had been before concerted, between the king's commiſſioners and the duke, being approved by the council, the duke ſigned and ſealed them, and ſwore to obſerve them. Then paſſports were prepared [h] for the queen dowager of Sicily, and the reſt mentioned in the firſt article, that they might repair to Calais, in October. The council appointed alſo plenipotentiaries, to treat with the French.

Reaſons why the duke of Orleans acted not ſincerely.

When the engagements entered into by the duke of Orleans are conſidered, they are a clear evidence of his joining with the court of France, to impoſe upon the court of England. This plainly appears, in the hopes he gave that Charles would be ſatisfied with a bare appennage: a thing moſt certainly far enough from that prince's thoughts, and which was inſinuated, only to cauſe the Engliſh the more readily to fall into the ſnare. Moreover, in promiſing to bring to Calais, the queen of Sicily, and the other French princes and lords, he intimated, that it was their intention to conclude a peace upon that foot; which was however, as afterwards appeared, directly contrary to their deſign. In the next place, the duke's ſervile expreſſions to the king of England, calling him, in the articles, his king and ſovereign lord, manifeſtly ſhows, he flattered him only to deceive him. In ſhort, he promiſed things that were beyond his power: for inſtance, to deliver places which belonged not to him. But this was preciſely wherein conſiſted the fraud, becauſe his aim was to intimate, that he was impowered, though the court of France did not think proper to diſcover themſelves openly. Theſe are not bare conjectures. The ſequel of the negotiation will plainly ſhow, the duke did not act with ſincerity. This however is the ſame duke of Orleans, whom the French would repreſent as a ſaint, and upon whoſe account Joan pretended to have ſeveral revelations.

1434. It is very eaſy to perceive, the duke of Orleans acted in concert with the court of France, when it is conſidered, that Charles was now reconciled with the duke of Burgundy, who only wanted a pretence to break with England. The conſtable Richemont, had finiſhed the ſeparate treaty, in a con-

Hiſt. de Charles VII. par B. I.

[g] Or rather, unleſs king Henry, or his heirs, ſhould think proper to give him leave to depart from England. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 559.

[h] On Auguſt 15. Ibid. p. 561, 562.

ference

ference with the duke at Nevers. He repaired to that city, under colour of adjuſting a difference between the duke of Burgundy, and the earl of Clermont. Here all the articles of the ſeparate peace were ſettled with the duke. All he wanted, was to furniſh an occaſion to take that ſtep, and to this the project of a conference for a general peace was made ſubſervient. It was well known, the Engliſh would not agree to the terms that ſhould be offered to them, and their refuſal was to be the duke of Burgundy's pretence to make a ſeparate peace. This was the real motive of the duke of Orleans's large offers to the king of England, in caſe a peace was not concluded. The intent was, to engage Henry's council in the negotiation, by putting them in hopes, that, whether the conference ended in a peace, or came to nothing, England would ſtill be a great gainer. The duke of Bedford and the council of England, who knew nothing of what had paſſed between king Charles, and the duke of Burgundy, fell into the ſnare. As ſoon as they had conſented to the propoſed negotiation, the duke of Burgundy pretending to be ſtill ſtrictly united with the Engliſh, ſo ordered it, that inſtead of Calais, the city of Arras was appointed for the place of congreſs, where all the parties concerned were to ſend their ambaſſadors. We ſhall ſee preſently what paſſed in that aſſembly. 1434.

The Engliſh are impoſed upon.

The congreſs is to be held at Arras.

Mean while, the war in France degenerated into real plundering and robbing. Both kings being too weak to keep great armies on foot, only ſmall bodies and parties acted on each ſide. The moſt remarkable occurrences of this year were theſe. The French having ſurpriſed Rue in Picardy [i], the earl of Arundel haſtened thither to retake the town. Whilſt he was upon the march he heard, the French were fortifying Herberoy near Beauvais, and thought to drive them from thence, before their works were finiſhed. Accordingly he appeared before that place, but upon notice that Vignoles and Xaintrailles were approaching with twelve hundred men, raiſed the ſiege, to go and meet them. A bloody battle enſued, where the earl of Arundel was mortally wounded and made priſoner. He died within a few days, to the great grief of the duke of Bedford [k].

Continuation of the war in France. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Death of the earl of Arundel. May 13. Monſtrelet. Hall.

About the ſame time the earl of Clermont, now duke of Bourbon by his father's death, became maſter of Corbeil

i With eight hundred men. Idem. fol. 101.

k John Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, died in May (the 12th, ſays Dugdale Baron. vol. I. p. 322.) and was buried in the Cordeliers church at Beauvais. Monſtrelet, fol. 102.

1434. and Brie Compte Roberte, which were ſold him by the governors. A Scotch officer found likewiſe means to take Vincennes, but could not keep it.

Talbot arrives in France, and retakes ſeveral places. Monſtrelet. Hall. Stow.

Mean time, Talbot being arrived from England with three or four thouſand men [1], to whom he joined ſome other troops, drawn out of the garriſons, was in ſuch manner maſter of the field, that all the French vaniſhed before him. So, without much oppoſition, he retook Beaumont upon Oyſe, Creil, Pont St. Maxence, and Clermont in Beavoiſis. He even began the ſiege of Beauvais, but the bad weather obliged him to deſiſt. During theſe petty exploits, king Charles went into Languedoc and Dauphiné.

Charles's advantage in the continuation of the war. Stow.

The froſt, which was very ſevere about the end of this year, and the beginning of the next, hindered not the two parties from continuing the war all the winter, by ſieges, and ſurpriſals of divers places. The French had a great advantage, in that moſt of the Engliſh towns thought of returning to the obedience of king Charles, ſince the affairs of the Engliſh were in this decline. But it was not from theſe progreſſes, ſo inconſiderable in themſelves, that Charles expected the concluſion of the war. It muſt have been long, before he could have taken ſingly all the places poſſeſſed by the Engliſh in France. The congreſs which was to be at Arras, promiſed him much more advantageous ſucceſſes, ſince he was ſure of a peace with the duke of Burgundy.

1435. The news being ſpread over Europe, that a peace between France and England, was going to be negotiated at Arras, there was ſcarce a ſovereign prince, but what deſired to ſend his ambaſſadors. Pope Eugenius II. and the council of Baſil, who were ſtill at variance, ſent theirs alſo, but ſeparately. From the pope came the cardinal Santa Cruz, and from the council the cardinals of Cyprus and Arles. King Charles ſent ſeventeen plenipotentiaries, at the head of whom was the conſtable Richemont. Henry appointed twenty ſeven for France and England, of whom the duke of Burgundy was the firſt [m] with power to eight of them, four Engliſh and four French (among whom were

Congreſs of Arras. Monſtrelet. Hall. Act. Pub. X. p. 610, 611—614.

[1] Eight hundred men at arms. Monſtrelet, fol. 95. Hall, fol. 123.

[m] The moſt conſiderable of the Engliſh plenipotentiaries were, William, biſhop of Norwich, Thomas, biſhop of St. [illegible]'s; John Holland, earl of Huntingdon, William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Walter, lord Hungerford, Mr. William Lyndewode, keeper of the privy ſeal, John Ratclyff, ſeneſchal of Guienne, ſir John Popham, Ralph Ruſſel, doctor of laws, &c. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 611, 612.

to

to be the duke of Burgundy and the archbiſhop of York) to ſign the peace. Afterwards the ſame power was given to the cardinal of Wincheſter. Hitherto the duke of Bedford and the council of England were perſuaded of the duke of Burgundy's ſincerity. This appears in his being truſted with the ſecret of the embaſſy, ſince nothing could be treated, or concluded without him. It muſt be confeſſed that prince acted a baſe part in the congreſs. However, ſhortly after, private intelligence was received in England, that he had deſired the pope to abſolve him from his oath to Henry V. Whereupon the king writ to the pope to know the truth. Eugenius anſwered, no French prince had ever applied to him for any ſuch thing; that he had never granted any ſuch diſpenſation, and for the future, would behave in that reſpect, ſo as the king ſhould have reaſon to be ſatisfied. We ſhall ſee in the ſequel, how he performed his promiſe. 1435. p. 616. p. 620.

The congreſs of Arras was opened on the 6th of Auguſt, It began with king Charles's propoſals. His ambaſſadors offered, in his name, to the king of England, Normandy and Guienne, provided he would quit the title of king of France, and do homage for thoſe two provinces: that is to ſay, he offered as a favour the two provinces which the king of England was entirely poſſeſſed of; a favour, which he was to purchaſe with the reſignation of the title of king of France, and a great part of the kingdom ſtill in his hands. Though there were no other proof of Charles's being certain of gaining the duke of Burgundy from the Engliſh, this alone would be ſufficient. For on what other foundation could Charles (who for three years paſt, was unable to bring an army into the field) make ſuch a propoſal? But, as was obſerved, his intent was, not to conclude a peace with the Engliſh, but only to afford the duke of Burgundy a pretence to proceed as he had reſolved. The ambaſſadors of England, ſurprized at an offer ſo remote from what the duke of Orleans had made them expect, ſuddenly broke off the conference and withdrew extremely diſſatisfied, without vouchſafing an anſwer. Here it is that ſeveral French authors diſplay their eloquence to ſhew, to what height the Engliſh had carried their pride and inſolence, ſince they rejected ſo reaſonable offers. A remarkable inſtance of the uſual prejudice of hiſtorians in favour of their own nation. Charles's propoſals for peace. Du Tillet. Hall. The Engliſh withdraw with indignation. Monſtrelet.

The retreat of the Engliſh ſurprized neither the duke of Burgundy nor the French ambaſſadors. They muſt have foreſeen,

1435. foreſeen, that ſuch offers would be refuſed, Nay, it may be affirmed on the contrary, that in making ſo unreaſonable a propoſal, conſidering the ſituation of affairs, their ſole aim was to induce the Engliſh ambaſſadors to withdraw. Their abrupt departure however, was highly exaggerated, and re-preſented as a clear evidence, they never intended to make peace. It was this likewiſe, that gave the duke of Burgundy a pretence to conclude a ſeparate treaty with king Charles. He pretended, he was not obliged to follow their humour, or render the war everlaſting for their ſake. Upon that foundation, the pope's legate abſolved him from all his oaths, as well to the late, as the preſent king of England. After that, as all the articles were before ſettled, his ſeparate peace was ſoon concluded. Never had king of France made ſo diſhonourable a peace. Charles was bound by the treaty to diſown the murder of duke John, to deliver up the murderers, or if they were not in his power, to baniſh them the realm: he promiſed to found certain chapels, where the ſoul of the deceaſed was to be prayed for day and night. He agreed that the duke of Burgundy ſhould nominate the prieſts that were to officiate, and a croſs ſhould be erected on Montereau bridge, for a ſtanding monument of the reparation of the murder. He was obliged moreover, to pay fifty thouſand crowns of gold for duke John's equipage, which was pillaged, and to reſign to the duke of Burgundy certain towns, as a ſatisfaction for the charges of the war. Laſtly, he freed him from all homage during life. The duke conſented on his part, that the king might redeem the towns of St. Quentin, Peronne, Amiens, Corbie, ſituated on the Somme, for four hundred thouſand crowns. By this article it appears, the duke was not very ſcrupulous, ſince he ſold to France places held only by the bounty of the king of England, purſuant to his engagement with the duke of Bedford. It may be proper farther to remark, that the ſervice done by the duke of Burgundy to France, in making a ſeparate peace, greatly outweighed, in the opinion of the French hiſtorians, all his proceedings againſt her. This has made them very cautious in their expreſſions, before the treaty of Arras, for fear their language ſhould not agree with what they had to ſay afterwards. But after the peace, they have extolled to the ſkies, his goodneſs, wiſdom, and probity. This was however the man, who for the ſake of revenge, had ruined France; and found no other way to repair the fault, but by a notorious treachery to England. What would the French have ſaid, if he had always

The duke of Burgundy makes a ſeparate peace with Charles. Monſtrelet. Du Tillet, Hall.

Sept. 11.

continued

continued firm to the Engliſh? I am ſorry to be obliged to ſpeak thus of a prince, to whom was given the ſirname of Good. But it ſerves to ſhew, how the ſirnames and encomiums beſtowed on princes, happen ſometimes to diſagree with their real character. 1435.

I ſay nothing of the diſpenſation granted to the duke of Burgundy. Every one may make what reflections he pleaſes. I ſhall only add, that in November was publiſhed in England, pope Eugenius's forementioned letter, atteſted by the king. Probably, it was deſigned for an indirect information of the court of Rome's ſincerity. Act. Pub. X. p. 625.

As ſoon as the Engliſh had loſt the aſſiſtance of the duke of Burgundy, their affairs began ſo viſibly to decline, that it portended their ſudden ruin. As they had not troops ſufficient to defend all the places, they were obliged to rely on the loyalty of the inhabitants, who very often proved falſe. On the other hand, the towns upon the Somme, reſigned to the duke of Burgundy, being now againſt them, they were under a neceſſity to provide for that quarter, for fear they might be uſed to invade the neighbouring provinces. So, their whole attention was confined to the preſervation of Normandy and Paris, it being impoſſible to take care of all, amidſt the continual defection of the towns truſted to the inhabitants. Houdan, St. Denis, Pontoiſe, Melun, Pont St. Maxence, Meulant, voluntarily ſurrendered to the French, during the congreſs of Arras, or a little before. The duke of Bedford retaking St. Denis [n], razed the walls. Then he ordered Meulant to be inveſted, but the baſtard of Orleans raiſed the ſiege. The lord of Chatillon, governor of Epernay for the Engliſh, going out of the town, found the gates ſhut againſt him at his return, and the inhabitants called in the French. The treaty of Arras changes the affairs of the Engliſh for the worſe. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Iſabella, queen Dowager of France, ſeeing the proſperity of the king her ſon, whom ſhe mortally hated, and the deſperate condition of the Engliſh, died at Paris with grief and vexation, twelve days after the concluſion of the treaty of Arras [o]. She was univerſally hated by the French, who conſidered her as the principal cauſe of the ruin of the kingdom. The Engliſh did not much eſteem her, at leaſt, they Death of queen Iſabella of Bavaria. Monſtrelet.

n Wherein he was aſſiſted by John lord Talbot, the lords Willoughby and Scales, the marſhal de l'Iſle Adam, &c. and five thouſand men. Hall, fol. 127.

o She died September 30, and was buried in the church of St. Denis. Monſtrelet, fol. 117. P. Daniel, tom. VI. p. 126.

ſhewed

1435. ſhewed but little regard for her, ſince ſhe was become unſerviceable to them.

Death of the duke of Bedford. Hall. Sandford.

Her deceaſe was of little conſequence to either party. But the death of the duke of Bedford, on the fourteenth of the ſame month, at Roan, was of infinitely greater importance. Very probably, his indignation to be thus impoſed upon by king Charles, and the duke of Burgundy, helped to throw him into the ſickneſs, of which he died four days before the concluſion of the treaty of Arras, the fatal news whereof, he expected every moment. He foreſaw with a deadly concern the affairs of the king his nephew were going to be irretrievably reduced to a very wretched condition. During the whole courſe of his adminiſtration, he behaved with that wiſdom and prudence, as juſtly ranked him with the greateſt men of his time. His valour, and other martial virtues, ſhone with no leſs luſtre on all occaſions, where he commanded in perſon. Had he been well aſſiſted by England, he would have, probably, ended the war to his own glory, and the young king's advantage, ſince he wanted no qualification proper to accompliſh the greateſt undertakings. but unfortunately for him, he was abandoned, when he ſtood moſt in need of aſſiſtance. The only thing he could be taxed with, was his ſuffering himſelf to be ſurprized, in the affair of the congreſs of Arras. But where is the man, that can always be upon his guard againſt treachery? Nothing better ſhews the eſteem, due to this illuſtrious prince, than the regard Lewis XI. ſon of Charles VII. expreſſed for him, when he could have no inducement to flatter him. Lewis being one day in the church of Roan, and looking upon the duke of Bedford's tomb [p], a certain lord of his retinue, adviſed him to demoliſh that ſtanding monument of the diſhonour of the French; no, replied the king, let the aſhes of a prince reſt in peace, who, where he alive, would make the boldeſt of us tremble. I rather wiſh, a more ſtately Monument were erected to his honour.

His elogy.

Hall. fol. 129.

Immediately after the duke of Bedford's death, the duke of York [q] was appointed regent of France. But Edmund

[p] He was buried in Notre Dame church in Roan, under a plain tomb of black marble, with an epitaph upon a copper plate, or tablet of braſs, affixed to a pillar at the foot of his tomb: above the epitaph ſtood his eſcutcheon of arms (of ſilver, now torn away) within the garter, betwixt two Oſtrich feathers; and underneath a root is repreſented, which the prieſts call, La Racine de Bedford. Sandf. Geneal. p. 314. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 202.

[q] Richard Plantagenet. His patent was deferred till July 16, 1437. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 674, 675.

Beaufort,

Beaufort [r], who aſpired to that dignity, ſo managed it by his intrigues, that his rival's patent was long deferred. Probably, he was in hopes to obtain a change in his favour. This delay proved extremely prejudicial to the king's affairs, as will be ſeen in the relation of the next year's occurrences [s]. 1435. The duke of York appointed regent of France. Act. Pub. X. p. 674. Hall. Stow.

All England was exceedingly moved at the news of the duke of Burgundy's defection. The moſt opprobrious names were given him. Mean while, the duke willing to ſhew ſtill ſome regard for Henry, ſent two heralds to excuſe his concluding a ſeparate peace, on pretence, his ſubjects were grievouſly oppreſſed by the continuance of the war. This is the common pretence for a peace, though generally when a war is undertaken, the intereſts of the poor people are little regarded. The duke offered at the ſame time his mediation to Henry, if he deſired to conclude a peace with king Charles. The offer was looked upon as a freſh inſult. The truth is, what could be expected from the mediation of a prince, who had ſo openly ſacrificed the intereſt of England to his own advantage? Accordingly, no anſwer was vouchſafed to his letters, which, beſides, were writ in a ſtile very different from what he was wont to uſe [t]. His he- 1436. The duke of Burgundy tries to excuſe himſelf in England. Monſtrelet. Du Tillet. Hall. He offers his mediation. It is rejected.

[r] The perſon that oppoſed the duke of York about the regency, was not Henry duke of Somerſet, as Rapin ſays here by miſtake; for there was no ſuch title then, it being firſt conferred upon John Beaufort, in 1443, 21 Henry VI. See above, p. 324, note [i]. But the perſon here meant, was, Edmund, third ſon of John Beaufort, earl of Somerſet. This Edmund bore the titles of earl of Mortagne, in Normandy, and lord of Chirkland in the marches of Wales. He was created, Auguſt 28, 1442, earl of Dorſet; and June 24, 1443, marquis of the ſame. And at laſt, March 31, 1448, upon his brother John's death, he ſucceeded him in the dukedom of Somerſet. See above, p. 308, Note [o]; and Sandford's Geneal. p. 331.

[s] This year a parliament met at Weſtminſter, on October 10, which granted the king a tenth and a fifteenth, (deducting out of it four thouſand pounds, for the relief of decayed towns and villages,) alſo tunnage and poundage for two years; and a ſubſidy of thirty three ſhillings and four pence of merchants denizens, and of forty ſix ſhillings and eight pence of aliens for every ſack of wool. They alſo granted, that every perſon having any freehold in lands, annuities, fees, offices, or hereditaments, above five pounds yearly, ſhould pay for every pound ſix pence, upon his oath.—There was alſo a parliament in the beginning of the year 1436, which met at Weſtminſter, January 21, and granted a tenth and a fifteenth, and the like ſubſidy of wools for three years, as was granted in the former parliament. Cotton's Abridg. p. 613—620. In this laſt parliament it was enacted, that no ſheriff or bailiff ſhould impanel any perſons upon Juries, but ſuch as inhabit within his bailiwick, and have eſtate to their own uſe, or they to whoſe uſe other perſons have eſtate of fee ſimple, fee tail, or freehold, in lands and tenements, of the yearly value of twenty pounds, or more. But this not to extend to cities and boroughs. Statutes.

[t] They were directed, to the high and mighty prince, Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, his beloved couſin: neither naming him king of France, nor his ſovereign lord, as he always uſed to do. Monſtrelet, fol. 118. Hall, fol. 128.

Heralds

1436. ralds were received with indignity. The law of nations had like to have been violated on their account, and all the Flemings and Burgundians then in England, torn in pieces by the populace; ſo incenſed were they againſt their prince. But ſuch behaviour was to him very ſerviceable. He wanted a pretence to join his forces with the French, and did not fail to find one in the inſults upon his heralds and ſubjects. For in May, this year, he ſent the conſtable Richemont five hundred lances, under the command of the earl of Lalain, and thereby, openly declared himſelf an enemy to the king of England.

Act. Pub. X. p. 636.

He declares againſt England. Monſtrelet.

The conſtable approaches Paris. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The conſtable joining this aid to ſix or ſeven thouſand men, drawn together from other places, approached Paris, where remained but fifteen hundred Engliſh, under the command of Sir Richard Woodville [u]. Beſides that the garriſon was very weak for the defence of ſo large a city, the conſtable held intelligence with the inhabitants, who being almoſt all friends of the duke of Burgundy, ſided with England only out of regard to that prince. Whilſt he adhered to the king of England, Paris wanted no other guard but her own citizens; but upon his declaring for king Charles, they all changed with him. So, it was no wonder, if fifteen hundred Engliſh could not keep them in awe. The death of the duke of Bedford, the abſence of the new regent, and the little care taken, to ſend ſuccours from England, diſabling the Engliſh to keep an army in the field, the conſtable met with no oppoſition in his march. He took ſeveral ſmall places near Paris, and ſlew five hundred [x] of a detachment, ſent by the governor to throw themſelves into St. Denis. After that, he encamped at the very gates of Paris, with his little army. Whilſt he was in the camp, there were continual parleys between the burghers and beſiegers, without the governor's being able to help it. At length, April the thirteenth the whole city riſe in arms, whilſt the marſhal de l'Iſle Adam ſcaled the walls [y]. The garriſon advancing to repulſe the aſſault, found themſelves pelted with a ſhower of ſtones from the windows, whilſt all the city reſounded with long live the king, and the duke

and takes it.

[u] Monſtrelet, Hall, Dugdale (Baron. vol. II.) Stow, and Speed, all agree in ſaying, it was the lord Robert Willoughby. R. Wodevile was captain of Calais. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 632.

[x] But three hundred: the whole detachment was no more than ſix hundred. Fourſcore were taken priſoners. They were commanded by Thomas lord Beaumont. Monſtrelet, fol. 124. Hall, fol. 130.

[y] And ſhewed the citizens a charter, wherein Charles granted them a pardon, and confirmed all their ancient liberties and privileges. Hall, fol. 130.

of

of Burgundy. The governor, perceiving there was no re- 1436.
ſiſting ſo many enemies, choſe to retire into the Baſtile, with all his people. Immediately all the ſtreets were chained, for fear he ſhould think of returning. Meantime, l'Iſle Adam entered the city with eaſe, and opened the gates to the conſtable. Thus Paris was taken for king Charles by the ſame l'Iſle Adam, who had ſurprized it in like manner, ſeventeen years before, for the duke of Burgundy. The Baſtile, which might have held a long ſiege, had it been well ſtored with proviſions, was ſo deſtitute, that it could hold out but three days. It was very well, the governor could obtain an honourable capitulation.

As the affairs of the Engliſh ſenſibly declined, the coun- England
cil of England were extremely deſirous of a peace. The thinks of a
war in France no longer concerned the conqueſt of that peace.
kingdom, as in the reign of Henry V. and till the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, but only what part the king of England could poſſibly keep; and the little that could be expected to be preſerved by a vigorous war, coſt England immenſe ſums. This was a very plauſible reaſon to perſuade the publick, it was neceſſary, ſeriouſly to think of a peace. I ſay, a plauſible reaſon, becauſe it was not the real motive of the council's proceedings. The cardinal of Wincheſter had for ſome time gained ground upon the duke of Glouceſter his rival. The council by degrees was filled with his creatures, who no more than himſelf found their own private advantage in the continuation of the war, which ſince it was unſucceſsful, rendered them odious to the people. Coin was grown exceeding ſcarce in England, and yet the council was forced to be continually deviſing means to raiſe money, which could not be done without cauſing great murmurings. On the other hand, the cardinal hoped to ruin his enemy with more eaſe during a peace, becauſe the war and the unexpected accidents thence ariſing, rendered the perſon and counſels of the duke of Glouceſter abſolutely neceſſary. In ſhort, as the duke was ever of opinion that vigorous endeavours ſhould be uſed to recover what was loſt in France, this was an argument for the oppoſite party to inſiſt with the ſame earneſtneſs, upon the neceſſity of concluding a peace. This opi- Inſtructions
nion prevailing in the council, the duke of York, whoſe to the duke
commiſſion to be regent of France was at length ſigned, had of York.
inſtructions and full power to treat with king Charles, if he Act. Pub. X. p. 642, 643.
ſaw any appearance of ſucceſs. Moreover, on ſuppoſition of a negotiation, the council impowered the cardinal of Wincheſter

1436. cheſter and the duke of Burgundy jointly to treat of the king's marriage with one of his adverſary's daughters.

He drives the French out of Normandy. Monſtrelet.

Shortly after, the duke of York departed for France, and in Normandy landed a good body of troops [z], with which he retook many ſmall places or caſtles ſeized by the French, ſince the death of the duke of Bedford. Feſcamp was among the places recovered by the regent, but preſently after retaken by ſcalade.

The duke of Burgundy prepares to beſiege Calais. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Though the duke of York was maſter of the field in Normandy and about Paris, he was concerned for Picardy. He heard from all parts that the duke of Burgundy was drawing all his forces together, and making great preparations for a ſiege. As theſe preparations could be deſigned only againſt Calais [a], he ſent notice to the council of England that they might provide in time againſt the threatened ſiege. Indeed, a powerful fleet, a great train of artillery, and an army of fifty thouſand men, aſſembled by the duke of Burgundy, were clear evidences of his extreme deſire to ſucceed in his enterpriſe, and of his reſolution not to be diſappointed. This news flying to England, the whole nation was alarmed, and grew more incenſed againſt the duke of Burgundy. The council trembling for Calais, the firſt conqueſt of the Engliſh in France, reſolved to uſe all poſſible endeavours to ſave it. To that end, they ordered fifteen thouſand men to be raiſed, and petitioned the duke of Glouceſter to take upon him the care of relieving that place. Fifteen thouſand men were little enough for ſuch an undertaking. But, beſides that, it was reckoned the regent would join the duke of Glouceſter with all his forces, the enemy's army was known to conſiſt almoſt entirely of the militia of Flanders, who were not much valued.

Act. Pub. X. p. 646. The duke of Glouceſter goes to its relief.

Henry diſpoſes of Boulogne and Flanders. p. 649, 652.

Whilſt the troops were levying with the utmoſt diligence, the king, by advice of his council, reſolved to expreſs his reſentment againſt the duke of Burgundy, in granting, by letters under his great ſeal, the earldom of Boulogne to the lord Beaumont, and Flanders to the duke of Glouceſter. But it was eaſier to give them in parchment, than wreſt them out of the hands of the poſſeſſor.

The duke of Glouceſter comes before Calais. Monſtrelet.

Every thing being ready for the departure of the army deſigned for the relief of Calais, the duke of Glouceſter ſet

[z] Eight thouſand men. Hall, fol. 111.

[a] The garriſon whereof had made incurſions into ſeveral parts of Flanders, particularly about Boulogne and Gravelines. Monſtrelet, fol. 127.

ſail,

fail, and landed in Normandy the beginning of October [b]. The duke of Burgundy had now been before Calais ſix weeks with his numerous army. He carried on the ſiege vigorouſly, and the beſieged made as brave a defence. Mean time, the duke, who hoped to acquire immortal fame, by taking one of the ſtrongeſt places in Europe, was yet very far from his aim. Nay, he began to perceive, the attempt was beyond his power. His fleet [c], by the unſkilfulneſs of the pilots, or ſome other accident, coming too near the town at low water, run on ground, and was reduced to aſhes before his eyes by the beſieged. This was a very mortifying accident, but a worſe befel him quickly after. A rumour being ſpread in the army that the duke of Glouceſter was approaching to relieve the town, the Flemings diſcouraged by the fatigues of the ſiege, and terrified at the approach of the Engliſh, ſuddenly unpitched their tents, and began to retire. In vain did the duke endeavour, to remove their fears. The ſcouts of the Engliſh army beginning to appear, it was ſtill leſs practicable for the duke to ſtop his frightened troops, who ſought only to avoid a battle. So, the duke ſeeing he could not prevail, was forced to follow them in their retreat, which was made in great diſorder, though timely enough to prevent the Engliſh from taking any advantage. He had the farther mortification to receive a defiance from the duke of Glouceſter, offering him battle, and not to have it in his power to accept it, though his army was much ſuperior to that of the enemy. But this was not all. Hardly was he returned into his own country, when the towns of Flanders revolted againſt him. He was even in danger of loſing his life at Bruges, in a ſedition of the citizens. He was himſelf wounded, after ſeeing with grief l'Iſle Adam torn in pieces by the mutinous populace. Mean time, the duke of Glouceſter improving the juncture, over-ran Artois, Flanders, and Hainault, and carried away twelve hundred waggon loads of booty. From thenceforward the duke of Burgundy had ſo many troubles at home, that he was but little ſerviceable to king Charles.

1436.

The duke of Burgundy's army retires. Monſtrelet.

Monſtrelet. Hall.

Inſurrection in Flanders. Monſtrelet.

[b] Hall ſays, it was July 27, which is moſt probable, fol. 133. For the ſiege was begun in June. See Monſtrelet, fol. 129, 2. The duke of Glouceſter did not come till after the ſiege was raiſed. Ibid. fol. 134.

[c] It was only hulks loaded with great ſquare ſtones, joined together with lead, &c. to be thrown into the harbour, in order to render it unfit for uſe, and hinder the Engliſh ſhipping from coming near to relieve the town. Monſtrelet, fol. 132.

In

1436. In June this year, Lewis, the dauphin ſon of king Charles, married Margaret of Scotland, daughter of James I. about twelve years of age.

Marriage of Lewis the dauphin.

1437. The beginning of the year 1437 was remarkable for the death of Joan of Navarre [d], and Catherine of France [e], both queen dowagers of England, one widow of Henry IV. the other of Henry V. Catherine had married Owen Tudor, a Welſh gentleman, deſcended, as it is ſaid, from the antient kings of Wales. I do not know whether, in thoſe days, the deſcent was much regarded, or was endeavoured to be traced, till after the crown was devolved to the family of the Tudors, by the advancement of Henry VII. to the throne. However that be, when queen Catherine eſpouſed Owen Tudor, the marriage appeared ſo unſuitable, that all England was offended at it, and the more, as it was made unknown to the duke of Glouceſter, who was then protector. But that prince's veneration for the memory of the king his brother, prevented him from giving the queen his ſiſter-in-law any trouble. When ſhe was dead, the council had not the ſame regard for her ſecond huſband. They thought it their duty to puniſh him for his raſhneſs, in daring to eſpouſe the king's mother, without the conſent of thoſe who governed the kingdom, and ordered him to be ſent to the Tower. Some time after, Tudor made his eſcape, but was taken and put under cloſer confinement. Some ſay, he found means to eſcape a ſecond time, but being retaken loſt his head. Others affirm, he was not beheaded till 1460, upon being taken in battle, fighting for the houſe of Lancaſter. I do not know, whether it be certain that Tudor was put to death, but it may be affirmed, that thoſe who ſay it was in 1460, were guilty of an error, by taken Owen Tudor his third ſon [f], for Owen Tudor the father.

Death of the two queen dowagers of England. Catherine marries Tudor. Sandford. Hall. Stow.

Act. Pub. X. p. 685. Tudor is ſent to the Tower after the queen's death. Ib. p. 686, 709. Hall.

[d] Joan of Navarre, relict of king Henry IV, died at Havering, in Eſſex, July 10, 1437, and was interred by her huſband in Canterbury cathedral, where her effigies is ſtill to be ſeen. Sandf. Geneal. p. 270. Hall, fol. 134.

[e] Queen Catherine died January 3, 1437, in the monaſtery of Bermondſey, in Southwark; and on the 18th of February next following, her body was brought to St. Catherine's, by the Tower, from thence to St. Paul's, and ſo to Weſtminſter abbey, where it was interred; but her corps being taken up in the reign of Henry VII, when he laid the foundation of his new chapel there, ſhe was never ſince buried; but remaineth ſtill above ground, in a coffin of boards, near the ſepulchre of Henry V, her firſt huſband. Sandf. Geneal. p. 285. Stow's Ann. p. 376.

[f] It could not be his third ſon, for he was a monk of Weſtminſter abbey. Sandford, Geneal. p. 292. Stow ſays, it was Owen the father, p. 377.

Tudor had by queen Catherine three ſons, Edmund, Jaſper, and Owen. The eldeſt was created earl of Richmond [g] by Henry VI. his half brother, who gave him to wife Margaret, only daughter of John duke of Somerſet. From this marriage ſprung Henry earl of Richmond, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter aſcend the throne of England by the name of Henry VII. all the male heirs of the houſe of Lancaſter being extinct. Jaſper the ſecond ſon was made earl of Pembroke [h]. Owen the youngeſt, loſt his head on the ſcaffold in 1460. 1437. Tudor's iſſue by queen Catherine. Sandford. Hall.

Jaquelina of Luxemburg, widow of the duke of Bedford, followed the example of queen Catherine. After the death of the prince her huſband, ſhe married Sir Richard Woodville, who was only a knight, and much her inferior. This match was almoſt as unſuitable as queen Catherine's. Beſides, it was made not only without the king's licenſe, but alſo contrary to Jaquelina's expreſs oath, not to marry without his permiſſion. So, both the bride and bridegroom would have been liable to the rigour of the law, had not the king been pleaſed to forgive them [i]. Second marriage of the ducheſs of Bedford. Act. Pub. X. p. 678. Monſtrelet. Act. Pub. X. p. 633. p. 677.

On the 19th of February, James I. of Scotland was murdered in his bed, by aſſaſſins ſuborned by the earl of Athol [k] his uncle. James II. his ſon, ſeven years old, ſucceeded him, under the guardianſhip of Joan of Somerſet his mother, who was herſelf wounded, by endeavouring to ſave the king her huſband. It is time now to return to what paſſed in France. Death of the king of Scotland. Buchanan. Monſtrelet. Act. Pub. X. p. 679.

After the arrival of the duke of York from England, the affairs of the Engliſh began to be upon a better foot. King Charles, ever a ſlave to his pleaſures, had no conſiderable body of troops in the field; and the revolt of the Flemings hindered the duke of Burgundy from ſending him any aſſiſtance. It is true, the towns that had voluntarily ſurrendered to him had ſtrengthened his party conſiderably, but withal his army was much weakened, on account of the garriſons he was obliged to keep there. As matters then ſtood in France, both kings had almoſt equal reaſon to fear the diſloyalty of their adherents; who, for the moſt part, were The affairs of the Engliſh in France begin to have a better face.

[g] Edmund of Hadham, was created earl of Richmond, 31 Henry VI, November 23, at Reading. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 237.

[h] Jaſper of Hatfield, was created at the ſame time earl of Pembroke, and afterwards, 1 Henry VII, October 27, duke of Bedford. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 241.

[i] He gave a thouſand pounds fine for that and the livery of her dowry. Cotton's Abridg. p. 619. He was created earl of Rivers, 26 Henry VI, May 29. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 230.

[k] Walter Stuart.

1437. attached rather to the fortune of him they ſerved, than to his perſon, or the juſtice of his cauſe. Thus, the preſervation of the towns they were poſſeſſed of, entirely depended upon the ſtrength of the garriſons.

Talbot takes Pontoiſe. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The firſt months of this year, the cold was ſo exceſſive, that it ſeemed to leave the generals on both ſides no deſire to form any enterpriſe, till it ſhould be abated. Mean while, Talbot, who found nothing impoſſible, reaped a conſiderable advantage from the ſecurity of the French, cauſed by the ſharpneſs of the ſeaſon. On Shrove-Tueſday at night, he ſcaled Pontoiſe by help of the ditches being frozen [1], and carried it, whilſt the garriſon and townſmen were wholly intent upon their diverſions. The taking of that important place was a great blow to king Charles. Eſpecially, it very much annoyed the Pariſians, who were expoſed to the continual incurſions of the new Engliſh garriſon, to the very gates of Paris.

Monſtrelet.

The French made themſelves ſome amends for the loſs, by the acquiſition of Dreux and Chevreuſe, ſold them by the governors.

The duke of Burgundy rouſes king Charles.

The ſuperiority the Engliſh had recovered in France, made the duke of Burgundy apprehenſive of ſome fatal revolution. He was ſenſible that without his aid king Charles could never end the war, and as he had openly declared againſt the Engliſh, it was his intereſt that they ſhould be entirely expelled the kingdom. Mean time, it grieved him to act alone for the benefit of a prince, whoſe indolence kept him from all the enterpriſes, where he ought to have been the chief actor. The duke deſigning therefore to rouſe him out of this lethargy, repreſented to him, that his honour and intereſt called upon him to aſſemble all his forces, put himſelf at their head, and approach Paris, in order to drive his enemies out of the heart of the kingdom. At the ſame time, he offered to make a powerful diverſion in Picardy to favour his undertakings.

Charles heads his army. Monſtrelet.

Never was prince leſs inclined to war than Charles VII. and yet never did king of France make greater conqueſts than he, ſince he may be ſaid to conquer his whole kingdom. But it was chiefly by means of his generals, who for the moſt part were men of eminent merit. The duke of Burgundy's remonſtrances and offers having rouſed him from his ſloth,

[1] And by cauſing his people to be cloathed in white; by which means [illegible] were not diſcovered, the ground being then covered with ſnow. Hall, relates this as done by John, lord Clifford, fol. 138.

he

he drew all his forces together to approach Paris, where he was much wanted. By the way he attacked Montereau-Faut-Yonne [m], whilſt the duke of Burgundy beſieged Crotoy, a ſtrong place in Picardy. 1437.

It was about the end of Auguſt [n], when the duke of Burgundy inveſted Crotoy with a ſtrong army [o], whilſt four French ſhips blocked up the place by ſea. The duke of York being recalled by the intrigues of the earl of Somerſet his enemy, was about to depart, and only waited for the arrival of the earl of Warwick, who was to ſucceed him in the regency. For that reaſon, not being able to relieve Crotoy in perſon, he commiſſioned the brave Talbot [p], whoſe name alone was ſufficient to ſtrike terror into the enemies of the Engliſh. Talbot, at the head of five thouſand men, boldly advanced towards Crotoy, in order to relieve it, though the river Somme parted him from the duke of Burgundy's camp round the town, which was on the other ſide. When the duke was informed of his march, he left part of his troops at the ſiege, and with the reſt poſted himſelf on the river ſide to oppoſe his paſſage. The hatred conceived by the Engliſh againſt that prince, was ſo violent, that they thought nothing impracticable, when an opportunity offered to be revenged. Talbot, improving this diſpoſition, ruſhed firſt into the river, ſword in hand, and by his intrepidity inſpired his troops with ſuch courage, that they inſtantly followed him. The more bold or rather raſh the action was, the more it aſtoniſhed the Burgundians, who, imagining they had to deal with devils rather than men, took to flight without expecting their enemies. Their terror infecting thoſe that were left at the ſiege, the whole army ran away, and it was not in the duke of Burgundy's power to rally them. At the ſame time, the duke of York appeared with ſeven men of war within ſight of the four French ſhips, and chaſed them ſo briſkly, that it was with great difficulty they eſcaped to St. Valery. Talbot entered the town in triumph, and after levelling the trenches of the beſiegers, marched back to Normandy. In his return, he conquered five or ſix

Crotoy inveſted by the duke of Burgundy. Act. Pub. X. p. 674. Monſtrelet. Hall. Stow.

Talbot goes to relieve it.

A bold action of that general. Hall.

The ſiege is raiſed.

m With about eight thouſand ſix hundred men; whereas the garriſon conſiſted at moſt but of four hundred men: however, they made ſhift to hold out ſix weeks. Monſtrelet, fol. 141.

n About October, ſays Monſtrelet, fol. 144.

o About ten thouſand men. Hall, fol. 136.

p Together with the lord Faucon-bridge, ſir Thomas Kiriel, ſir John Montgomery, Thomas Chaundos, David Halle, &c. Monſtrelet, fol. 145. Hall, fol. 136.

1437. ſmall places in Picardy, and retaking once more Tancarville in Normandy, entered Roan covered with glory.

Succeſs of the ſiege of Montereau. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The ſucceſs of the ſiege of Montereau was not ſo favourable to the Engliſh, nevertheleſs it was not inglorious. Thomas Gerard, governor of that poor place, long defended it, in ſpite of the vigorous efforts of the beſiegers, though he had but four hundred men. Hitherto king Charles was not very eminent for his valour, but at this ſiege he performed ſuch exploits, as began to breed a higher idea of his courage. After a pretty long ſiege, he carried the town by ſtorm, having been himſelf one of the firſt to mount the breach, and fight hand to hand with thoſe that defended it. Doubtleſs he had been told, that it was neceſſary to procure the eſteem of his ſubjects by ſome extraordinary action. The intrepidity he ſhewed on that occaſion turned greatly to his advantage. From thenceforward, his friends as well as enemies had very different thoughts of him from what they had before. Mean while, the garriſon retiring into the caſtle, a ſecond ſiege was to be formed. Charles ſatisfied with the glory acquired in the firſt, and perhaps diſcouraged with the fatigues he had endured, left the management of this to the dauphin his ſon. Gerard, who was no leſs brave than experienced, held out fifteen days longer, and then was forced to capitulate. When he came before the dauphin, he very politely told him, that againſt any other but him, he ſhould have been able to make a longer defence. The compliment was well received by the young prince, who was not diſpleaſed to ſee himſelf ſet in ſome meaſure above the king his father. But Charles, who was told of it, ſeemed extremely mortified. It is ſaid, he began from thenceforward to entertain a jealouſy of his ſon, which proved very fatal to him afterwards.

The duke of Orleans is appointed mediator between the two kings. Monſtrelet. Hall. Act. Pub. X. p. 655, 663, 664, 665, 679.

Whilſt the war continued in France, the duke of Orleans, priſoner in England, was thinking of means to obtain his liberty. Nothing but a peace between the two kings could poſſibly procure it. And therefore, no one was more concerned than he, to endeavour to ſet on foot a freſh negotiation. For that purpoſe, he deſired leave to go and talk in perſon with the duke of Bretagne at Calais, who was then thought to be the only prince that could be employed as mediator. The council, who were all inclined to peace, would have readily granted his deſire, but it was judged neceſſary to ſee firſt how Charles was diſpoſed. Beſides, the duke of Glouceſter was of opinion, that a peace was not to be thought of, till it could be made with advantage.

Mean

Mean while, as the king advanced in age, the credit of the duke his uncle ſenſibly leſſened, and that of the cardinal of Wincheſter daily increaſed. The cardinal had a great advantage upon his adverſary, in that his riches enabled him frequently to lend the king money. The kingdom was ſo exhauſted, that aids of that kind were conſidered as the greateſt ſervice to the ſtate. He artfully improved the king's diſpoſition towards him, to prevent any freſh attacks from the duke of Glouceſter. By letters under the great ſeal, the king granted him a general pardon for all offences whatever, from the beginning of the world, to the 26th of June, 1437 [q]. By that means he diſarmed his enemy of all pretence to attack him. 1437. The cardinal gains ground upon the duke of Glouceſter. Act. Pub. X. p. 670.

The year 1438, produced but few remarkable events. A terrible famine, which raged at the ſame time in France and England, and was followed by a plague, prevented the generals, on both ſides, from forming any great projects. Attempts there were however, ſome of which were unſucceſsful, and others inconſiderable. I ſhall therefore take notice of the moſt remarkable only. Surienne, governor of Montargis, for the Engliſh, finding himſelf ſurrounded with the enemy's towns, and receiving no aſſiſtance from England, ſurrendered that place to the French, for ten thouſand ſalutes of gold [r]. In the preſent poſture of the affairs of the Engliſh, Montargis was of little importance, ſince they could not poſſibly carry the war from that quarter. Shortly after, Edmund, earl of Mortagne [s], brother of the earl of Somerſet, leading ſome troops from England [t], and joining Talbot, they made ſome inconſiderable conqueſts in Normandy. 1438. Plague and famine in England and France. Hall. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The diſgrace received by the duke of Burgundy before Calais, grieving him extremely, he wanted to repair it by taking that place. But, as it was difficult to accompliſh his deſign by a ſiege in form, he took another method. He had been told, that by digging through a certain bank, the town would be infallibly overflowed; and that lying within diſtance, with a good body of troops, it would be eaſy to enter the place, amidſt the conſternation of the garriſon and inhabitants. The project was put in execution; but the ſea The duke of Burgundy makes another attempt upon Calais, Monſtrelet.

q He alſo diſcharged him from the payment of tenths, and all other ſums granted by the clergy; and gave him a yearly penſion of forty pounds. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 681.

r A piece of money worth about twenty five pence Tournois. See the coin note at the end of Henry V.

s See above, p. 395. note r.

t Four hundred archers, and three hundred ſpears. Hall, fol. 136. He ſays, they were led by Henry, ſon of Edmund, earl of Mortagne. So ſays alſo Sandford, p. 298,

1437. being lower than the town, all the water ran out. The duke being diſappointed, reſolved to attempt the ſiege of Guiſnes; but the earl of Huntington [u], who came very ſeaſonably from England, with a ſupply of troops, conſtrained him to retire. The troubles in Flanders, which were ſoon after rekindled, found him ſo much employment for ſome years, that he had no leiſure to form any new deſigns againſt the Engliſh.

Act. Pub. X. p. 686. He miſſes his aim.

Truce renewed with Scotland. Act. Pub. X. p. 679, 684, 688.

The dauphin's marriage raiſed ſuch a jealouſy in the Engliſh, that, after ſeveral inſults on both ſides, England and Scotland came at length to an open rupture. Mean while, the minority of James II. and the favourable diſpoſition of the queen-mother to the Engliſh her countrymen, procured a nine years truce, from the 1ſt of May this year.

The duke of Somerſet's brother exchanged for the earl of Eu. Monſtrelet.

John and Thomas Beaufort, brothers of the earl of Somerſet, having been long priſoners in France [w], it had been often attempted, to exchange them for others of the French, but there was always ſome obſtacle in the way. By the agreement in 1430, with the duke of Bourbon, that prince had engaged, to procure their releaſe without ranſom; but as that agreement was never executed, they ſtill remained priſoners. I do not know what became of Thomas, who bore the title of earl of Perth, it may be, he died during his captivity. But this year, John was exchanged for the earl of Eu, of the houſe of Artois, who had been priſoner in England, ever ſince the battle of Azincourt. He afterwards became duke of Somerſet, upon the death of Henry, his elder brother. There was alſo a fourth brother named Edmund, who ſucceeded them, and of whom, I ſhall have much to ſay in the ſequel of this reign [x].

Act. Pub. X. p. 664, 680, 697.

1439. The famine and plague ceaſing in England and France, both ſides took up arms again. In March, 1439, the conſtable Richemont heading a numerous army [y], laid ſiege to Meaux, one of the ſtrongeſt places in France, which had formerly held out ſeven months againſt Henry V. The baſtard of Han [z], an officer of diſtinguiſhed valour, who was governor, made ſo brave a defence, as aſtoniſhed the conſtable. However, after a three weeks ſiege, the city was

The conſtable Richemont beſieges Meaux, and takes it by ſtorm. Monſtrelet.

[u] With John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 685.

[w] Ever ſince the battle of Baugé, where Clarence was killed.

[x] The reader may correct the miſtakes in this paragraph, by note o, p. 308, where he will find John was not brother but, himſelf, earl of Somerſet, and had been ſo ever ſince the death of Henry, his elder brother, 6 Henry V. Edmund was not fourth, but third ſon.

[y] Four thouſand men at arms. Monſtrelet, fol. 162.

[z] Monſtrelet calls him, le baſtard de Thian, fol. 162.

taken by ſtorm, but the work was but half compleated, ſince the garriſon [a] retired into the market (ſo that part of the city is called which is ſeparated from the other by the Marne.) The Engliſh breaking down the bridge of communication, the conſtable was forced to begin on the other ſide of the river, a ſecond ſiege much more difficult than the firſt. The ſame thing happened to Henry V. when he inveſted that place. Mean time, the conſtable having taken the governor priſoner in the aſſault [b], cut off his head, becauſe he was a Frenchman. This is what king Charles's generals had not yet ventured to practiſe, by reaſon of the great number of priſoners in the hands of the Engliſh. But as ſoon as they found themſelves ſtrongeſt, they overlooked that conſideration, being no longer apprehenſive of repriſals. 1439. He continues the ſiege of the market.

The ſiege of the market of Meaux, growing daily more difficult, the conſtable drew round his camp, lines with redoubts to prevent all relief, and the king came himſelf to the army, to animate the troops by his preſence. Mean while, Talbot, who did not doubt, that the beſieged would make a long reſiſtance, was now preparing to relieve them. How difficult ſoever the undertaking appeared, he failed not to attempt it. The obſtacles which he foreſaw, ſerved only to animate him the more. With a good body of choſen troops, he boldly advanced towards the beſiegers lines, and aſſaulting and taking one of the redoubts, which obſtructed his paſſage, entered the place with a convoy. On the morrow, he ſallied out, whilſt the beſiegers were ſtill diſmayed at the action of the foregoing day, and went to prepare for a freſh effort. But the conſtable enraged at receiving ſuch a diſgrace from a handful of men, preſſed the place ſo vigorouſly, that the garriſon were forced to capitulate, before the ſuccours could be ready. Talbot throws in ſuccours; Monſtrelet, but the place is taken.

The ſiege of Avranche, undertaken by the conſtable after that of Meaux, did not prove ſo ſucceſsful. After being three weeks before that place, Talbot, with the troops prepared for the relief of Meaux, attacked and forced the lines of the beſiegers, and ſupplied the town with proviſions. He raiſes the ſiege of Avranche, Hall.

After this exploit, Talbot finding the French were diſmayed, and their troops ſo weakened, that they could not withſtand him, appeared before Harfleur. As his army was not ſtrong enough to form a ſiege, he choſe to block up the and beſieges Harfleur. Monſtrelet. Stow.

[a] It conſiſted of about five hundred men; the commanding officers were, ſir William Chamberlain, ſir John Ripplay, &c. Ibid.

[b] It was de Thian, who was thus ſerved, at the taking of the town, and not of the market. See Monſtrelet, ibid.

1439. town. To that end, he ſo intrenched himſelf in an advantageous poſt, that an army of fifty thouſand men was not capable of forcing him. Mean time, the earl of Somerſet kept the place blocked up by ſea. The earl of Eu, lately arrived from England, where he had been long a priſoner, approached to attack the intrenchments of the Engliſh, but perceiving it impracticable, choſe to retire, after a faint attempt, wherein Gaucour was made priſoner. At length, after a four months blockade, Talbot became maſter of that important place, the firſt conqueſt of Henry V. After that, he cleared Normandy of the garriſons, which the French ſtill kept in ſeveral caſtles: So that nothing remained to them in that province, but the town of Dieppe only.

Hall. Stow.

Diſpoſition of the duke of Burgundy.

The duke of Burgundy was concerned, that the affairs of the Engliſh began to be reſtored, and dreaded the conſequences. King Charles waged war very careleſsly, and could hardly be prevailed with to head his army. Beſides, France was ſo ruined, that he could draw but few ſuccours, from the provinces he poſſeſſed. On the other hand, the war in Flanders, which wholly employed the duke of Burgundy, afforded no hopes of any great aſſiſtance from thence. If the Engliſh had then exerted themſelves, probably they would have recovered a great deal of ground. But, out of blindneſs, or inability, they made but faint efforts, contenting themſelves with ſending from time to time inconſiderable ſupplies, which could not enable them to recover what they had loſt. Thus on both ſides, it was eaſily ſeen, that the war would be eternal, if it was to laſt till one of the two kings had loſt, one after another, the places he poſſeſſed. This conſideration ſo affected the duke of Burgundy, that he reſolved either to procure a peace, if poſſible, between the two kings, or ſecure himſelf by a neutrality. Such a deſign was to be managed with great prudence and caution, for fear both parties ſhould agree to his prejudice, or the Engliſh grow more reſerved, if they knew his intention.

They begin to talk of peace. Monſtrelet. Du Tillet. Act. Pub. X. P. 683, &c. 707, 708.

Whilſt the duke of Burgundy was poſſeſſed with theſe thoughts, the pope exhorted the two kings, by the cardinal of Santa Cruz, to put a ſtop to the effuſion of chriſtian blood ſhed in their quarrel. At the ſame time, he writ to the duke of Bretagne, deſiring him to be mediator of peace. The duke ſending to both kings, found them equally inclined to enter into treaty, and the duke of Burgundy received the propoſal with joy. The duke of Orleans took that opportunity, to offer his mediation to the king of England, jointly with the duke of Bretagne; and to that end, renewed his inſtances for

for leave to confer with the duke at Calais. This was granted him, though the duke of Glouceſter oppoſed it with all his power, becauſe he plainly ſaw, that prince could not be an impartial mediator. But for ſome time paſt, the duke of Glouceſter had loſt all his credit in the council, where it was even affected upon all occaſions, to proceed contrary to his opinion. Beſides, the counſellors were ſo deſirous of peace, that they forgot, or were willing to forget, that the falſe ſtep taken in ſending ambaſſadors to Arras, was entirely owing to the vain hopes given by the duke of Orleans. So, the captive prince was looked upon as a diſintereſted mediator, though it was eaſy to perceive, he was entirely biaſſed in favour of king Charles. The duke of Burgundy ſaw with pleaſure, the preparations for a conference, which would either end in a peace between the two kings, or afford him a pretence, to conclude a ſeparate truce with England. The two courts being thus diſpoſed, commiſſioners were appointed on both ſides [c], to ſettle the preliminary articles of the congreſs. Theſe commiſſioners being met, judged, that in order to ſucceed in a negotiation of peace, a truce was abſolutely neceſſary. Whereupon Henry impowered his to conſent to it, but ſome obſtacles occurred, which hindered the concluſion. What has been ſaid concerning a peace, was tranſacted in the foregoing year 1438. But I thought fit to defer ſpeaking of it till now, that I might not interrupt the recital of what relates to this affair.

1439.

Act. Pub. X. p. 683. 709, 713.

In the month of January, 1439, Iſabella of Portugal, ducheſs of Burgundy, and the cardinal of Winchester, conferred together between Calais and Graveling. The reſult of their conference was, that the two kings ſhould appoint a proper place to treat of a peace, with the mediation of the dukes of Bretagne and Orleans, and ſhould ſend their plenipotentiaries thither. Purſuant to the agreement, the very place where the ducheſs and cardinal were, was choſen, and ambaſſadors were nominated on both ſides [d]. They were all choſen

The place of congreſs appointed. p. 718.

The duke of Bretagne and Orleans mediators.

Ib. p. 720, 728, 730. —732, 756, 763, 767. Monſtrelet. Hall.

[c] The Engliſh commiſſioners were, the abbot of Feſcamp, Thomas, lord Scales, ſir John Popham, ſir Andrew Ogart, ſir Richard Hartyngton, Ralph Ruſſeley, and John Raynell. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 683. And theſe were appointed afterwards, John, archbiſhop of York, Nicholas Byllefton, Stephen Wilton, and William Speval, doctors of law; Robert Whityngham, treaſurer of Calais; and John Raynwell. Ibid. p. 713.

[d] The Engliſh ambaſſadors were, John, archbiſhop of York, John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, the biſhops of Liſieux, Norwich, and St. David's; Humphry, earl of Buckingham, Hereford, Stafford, Northampton, and Perche; John de Vere, earl of Oxford, Henry, lord Boſcher, the abbot

1439. choſen out of the princes and greateſt lords of the two kingdoms. But, before we proceed to the ſucceſs of the congreſs, it will not be amiſs to ſee how the council of England ſtood diſpoſed, with regard to a peace. Now this evidently appears in the ambaſſadors inſtructions, extant in the collection of the publick acts. Hence we ſhall be able to judge, which of the two parties is to be blamed for breaking off the conference, and rectify ſeveral miſtakes of the hiſtorians.

Inſtructions given to the Engliſh ambaſſadors. Act. Pub. X. p. 724.

I. In the firſt place, the ambaſſadors were ordered to demand, that the king's adverſary ſhould leave him in peaceable poſſeſſion of the whole realm of France. They were to ſupport this demand with ſeveral reaſons mentioned in the inſtructions, but too long to be inſerted here. Beſides, the reader knows, on what the pretenſions of the kings of England were founded.

II. If the French ſhould expoſtulate againſt this demand, and think it unreaſonable, the ambaſſadors, after a previous proteſtation, were to offer Charles the provinces beyond the Loire, which were of the king's demeſn, but on condition of homage.

III. If the adverſaries refuſed this offer, the cardinal of Wincheſter, as a clergyman, was to inlarge on the conſiderations proper to perſuade the two nations to peace. Theſe conſiderations being many and long, I ſhall only relate the ſubſtance of the three principal. The firſt was, that the war undertaken for the title of king of France, claimed by each of the two kings, had deſtroyed more men than were, at preſent, in both kingdoms. The ſecond was, that the two princes ought ſeriouſly to conſider, that God made not the people for the ſovereign, but the ſovereign for the people; that is, to govern them with juſtice and peace, to the end the ſubjects may be the better able to ſerve him. The third was, that France had not been always governed by one ſingle monarch, but, before and after Charles the great, there were often two, ſometimes three, nay, four kings at the ſame time.

IV. This laſt conſideration was in order to proceed, in the fourth place, to another offer, which the ambaſſadors had power to propoſe, namely, that Henry would reſign to Charles all the provinces beyond the Loire in full ſove-

abbot of Feſcamp, Walter, lord Hungerford, Nicholas Billeſton, dean of Sarum, ſir John Stourton, ſir John [illegible], ſir John Popham, Robert Whityngham, Thomas Bekynton, William Erard, Stephen Wilton, William Sprever, and John Rinell. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 728.

reignty.

reignty. He expreſly reſerved however Guienne, Poictou, and whatever was poſſeſſed by his anceſtors in France, before the crown of England devolved to them. 1439.

V. If this was rejected, the ambaſſadors had power to offer from the king their maſter, that he would be ſatisfied with what his anceſtors enjoyed in France, by right of inheritance, provided Calais, Guiſnes, and the adjacent marches were added; the whole in full ſovereignty, without any dependance upon the crown of France, or any perſon whatever, but God alone.

VI. If the French inſiſted, that Normandy ſhould be reſtored to Charles, in the ſtate it was in before the conqueſt thereof by Henry V. that is, notwithſtanding the grants of ſeveral lordſhips to private perſons, as well by the late as the preſent king, rather than break off the conference, this article might be allowed.

VII. If Charles was ſatisfied with this offer, provided Henry would quit the title of king of France, in that caſe, the inſtructions furniſhed the plenipotentiaries with many reaſons and arguments to be alledged againſt that condition. But in ſhort, they had orders to leave the matter to the cardinal of Wincheſter, to whom the king had made known his pleaſure.

It is manifeſt the council had reſolved to ſubmit to this, if the peace could not otherwiſe be made. For if Henry had abſolutely refuſed to quit the title of king of France, there was no ſecret to be kept, and the inſtructions would have contained an expreſs order to reject the propoſal.

The VIIIth article was concerning the king's marriage with one of Charles's daughters.

IX. If the French rejected all theſe offers, and made any propoſals on their part, the ambaſſadors, without accepting or refuſing them, were to reply, that they had no inſtructions to treat of a peace upon thoſe terms, but would ſignify them to their maſter.

X. Mean while, they were to propoſe, by the ducheſs of Burgundy, or the duke of Orleans, a fifty years truce, with a free communication between the two nations. They had likewiſe power to reduce the truce to forty, thirty, or twenty years; and rather than fail, they might limit it from three years to eight, provided it was without communication.

XI. In caſe the truce was accepted, they were to repreſent, that for the better obſervance thereof, it would be proper to make an exchange of ſome places. To that end, they were ordered

1439. ordered to offer Meaux, Creil, St. Germain in Laye, which were in the hands of the Engliſh when theſe inſtructions were drawn, for Dieppe, le Mont St. Michael, and Harfleur, which Talbot had not yet taken.

XII. Laſtly, the king willing to facilitate the exchange of theſe places, agreed to releaſe the duke of Orleans, for a ranſom of a hundred thouſand marks, and to abate fifty thouſand, on account of the propoſed exchange.

Theſe inſtructions were drawn May the 21ſt, 1439. If we had likewiſe thoſe of Charles's plenipotentiaries, perhaps we ſhould find, the two kings were not at ſo great a diſtance from one another, as it ſeemed in the conference. But as, on theſe occaſions, the chief care of the managers is to be upon their guard, for fear their ſecret inſtructions ſhould be diſcovered, it often happens, that the negotiation is broke off, before there is occaſion to ſhow all their conceſſions; ſo apprehenſive are they of giving their adverſaries any advantage. This was really the caſe in the preſent treaty. The Engliſh did not think proper, to go beyond the ſecond article of their inſtructions, namely, that Charles ſhould have the provinces beyond the Loire, on condition of homage to Henry. They expected, the French would give them room by their offers to make ſome further advances. For the ſame reaſon, the French kept to the propoſals made at the congreſs of Arras, to wit, that their maſter remaining ſole king of France, would reſign Guienne and Normandy to Henry, on condition of homage. They laid great ſtreſs upon this offer, and on Charles's condeſcenſion, in being pleaſed to ſtand to what he had offered at the congreſs of Arras, though he had ſince made great conqueſts, and was become maſter of Paris.

Monſtrelet. Hall.

It was almoſt impoſſible, for a peace to be concluded on the terms propoſed on both ſides. Each prince offered to reſign only what was out of his power, and by virtue of this pretended ceſſion, expected the other ſhould diveſt himſelf of what he actually poſſeſſed. This was properly to deſire to gain with the daſh of a pen, what they could not hope to obtain, without many ſucceſsful ſieges and battles. So, after the ambaſſadors of the two kings had long tried to diſcover, how far their adverſaries inſtructions allowed them to advance, they parted without coming to any concluſion. Each was deſirous to wait, till room was given to make more reaſonable propoſals.

The conference breaks up. Hall.

The dukes of Burgundy and Orleans were the only gainers by the congreſs. The firſt deſired, at any rate, to

to eaſe his ſubjects in Flanders, Brabant, Holland, Zealand, who were great ſufferers by the interruption of their commerce with England. To that end he employed his duchess, who being a near relation of Henry, was not ſuſpected by the Engliſh. Under colour of doing the office of a mediatrix betwen the two kings, ſhe had frequent conferences with the cardinal of Wincheſter, and negotiated a truce of commerce between England and the Low Countries. This appears in ſeveral papers of the collection of the publick acts. And indeed, this truce was concluded preſently after [e]. 1439.

Act. Pub. X. p. 713, 730, 736, 750, 761.

But the duke of Orleans reaped the moſt benefit from the late congreſs, ſince it procured him his liberty, after a twenty five years captivity. It has been frequently obſerved, that there were two parties in the court of England, namely, the duke of Glouceſter's and the cardinal of Wincheſter's: and that the latter gradually prevailed, ſince the king began to take notice of his affairs. Henry now nineteen years old, had a very narrow genius, and but little like his father's. He eaſily ſuffered himſelf to be governed by thoſe about him. Inſtead of having the preſumption very common to young princes, he was ever diſtruſtful of himſelf, and choſe rather to follow the counſels of others, than his own. With this weakneſs he had principles of honour, virtue and religion, which indeed made him wiſh, he could always act juſtly, but often ſerved for foundation and pretence to his counſellors, to draw him into many injuſtices. As he wanted penetration, he was deceived with appearances. Of this his miniſters knew how to take advantage, aſſured as they were of his incapacity to diſcern their ſelf-intereſted 1440.

The temper of Henry and his court.

e This year a parliament met at Weſtminſter, on November 12, which granted the king one tenth, and one fifteenth, and half of a fifteenth, to be levied on the laity; and the ſubſidy of thirty three ſhillings and four pence from denizens, and forty ſix ſhillings and eight pence from aliens, for every ſack of wool; as alſo tunnage and poundage, for which aliens were to pay ſeven ſhillings and eight pence. The commons alſo granted, that all aliens within the realm, who were not denizens, ſhould pay to the king ſixteen pence, if they were houſholders; and if not, then but ſixpence. Cotton's Abridg. p. 621, 622. In this parliament it was enacted, that no perſon ſhould be made a juſtice of peace, in any county, who had not lands and tenements, to the value of twenty pounds; but this not to extend to cities, towns, or boroughs. The ground aſſigned for this ſtatute, is, that ſome perſons had been of late appointed juſtices, who, on account of their ſmall behaviour, could not govern or rule the people; and others, by reaſon of their neceſſity, committed great extortions and oppreſſions.—It was alſo enacted, that no captain ſhould abate of his ſoldiers wages, upon pain of twenty pounds for every ſpear, and ten pounds for a bow, to be paid to the king. Statutes 18 Henry VI. c. 11, 18.

1440. counſels. During his youth, he had contracted a habit of blindly following the ſuggeſtions of the duke of Glouceſter his uncle, who governed in his name. But when he was of a more advanced age, the cardinal of Wincheſter and his party inſinuated to him, that his uncle intended to keep him always in guardianſhip, and had deſigns deſtructive of his quiet. Theſe diſcourſes frequently repeated, produced at length the effect the duke's enemies expected. By degrees, the king had ſuch an averſion for his uncle, that he would no longer regard him. It was made a ſort of rule to mortify him upon all occaſions. His moving any thing in council was ſufficient to have it ſtrongly oppoſed, and the king generally countenanced the contrary party to the duke, out of fear of giving him room to execute the pretended deſign of keeping him in ſubjection. Such for ſome time had been the diſpoſition of the king and the court.

The duke of Glouceſter is againſt releaſing the duke of Orleans,

The duke of Glouceſter had always oppoſed the duke of Orleans's releaſe. The late king his brother's will, was to him an inviolable law. Beſides, he was perſwaded, the giving Orleans his liberty, would only increaſe the number of the enemies of England. But his oppoſition was of no great weight; it rather ſerved to induce his enemies to favour the duke of Orleans, had there been no other reaſon. We have ſeen what that prince offered before the congreſs of Arras. The duke of Bedford, and the council, had accepted his offers, which ſeemed very advantageous, becauſe their aim had not yet been diſcovered. After the treaty of Arras, he perceived it was no proper time to ſollicite his liberty. But when he ſaw that they begun to talk of a peace, he renewed his inſtances, and offered to become joint mediator with the duke of Bretagne. He found in the council the ſame favour as before, and in ſpite of the duke of Glouceſter's oppoſition, it was reſolved to accept of his mediation, and to treat with him afterwards concerning his liberty. He had leave therefore to repair to the congreſs, where he appeared very zealous to procure a peace between the two kings, and by help of the ducheſs of Burgundy, found means to be reconciled with the duke her huſband. The cardinal being returned into England, ſpoke very much to his advantage, and repreſented to the council, that ſince it was not his fault, that the peace was not concluded, it was unreaſonable he ſhould ſuffer by the rupture. His friends urged, on this occaſion, the two reaſons already uſed, to colour the favour that was intended him. The firſt was, that the diſſention between the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy

who is choſen one of the mediators of a peace. Act. Pub. X. p. 729.

gundy might rekindle, and turn very much to the advantage of the Engliſh. The ſecond, that the captive prince might pay a large ranſom, which would help to carry on the war. In a word, they intimated, that before his releaſe, he would be obliged to take the oath to the king, and thereby hindered from aſſiſting king Charles. So, in ſpite of whatever the duke of Glouceſter could ſay, it was reſolved to treat with him for his liberty. 1440.

This reſolution being taken, the duke of Glouceſter thought himſelf bound, both in duty, and for his own ſecurity, to make a formal proteſtation, to ſhow the publick, that he had oppoſed it to the utmoſt of his power. The proteſtation contained the reaſons, why he believed the council's reſolution might be very prejudicial to the king and the ſtate. Though it be ſomewhat long, it will be neceſſary to inſert the ſubſtance, becauſe it may be of ſervice in clearing ſeveral facts. Beſides, it ſhows the diſpoſition of the members of the council, who to mortify the duke, ſcrupled not to ſacrifice the king's intereſt to their paſſion. This knowledge is the more requiſite, as it will be ſeen in the ſequel, that, to the fatal enmity between the duke and the cardinal, is to be aſcribed the unfortunate ſucceſs of the war in France. The ſum of the duke's proteſtation was as follows:

The duke of Glouceſter proteſts againſt the reſolution of the council.

" my firſt reaſon for oppoſing the duke of Orleans's re- " leaſe, is taken from the known incapacity of king Charles, " and the dauphin his ſon. Therefore, conſidering the great " ſubtlety, and cautelous diſpoſition of the duke of Orleans, " with his extenſive knowledge, it is to be preſumed, the " ſtates of France will entruſt him with the adminiſtration " of the affairs of the kingdom. Now, nothing can happen " more prejudicial to England, ſince that prince is perfectly " acquainted with the ſtrong and weak ſide of the king- " dom, during a twenty-five years reſidence.

The proteſtation. Ib. p. 764.

" II. The diſſention between king Charles and the dau- " phin his ſon being no ſecret, it ought to be feared, as " it is but too probable, that the duke of Orleans, when " in France, will be a proper mediator, to procure their " reconciliation.

" III. Normandy being the province which contributes " moſt towards carrying on the war, it is to be feared, the " Normans, ſeeing the ſuccours, ſo often promiſed both by " word of mouth and letter, not ſent, and on the other " hand, the duke of Orleans releaſed, will imagine they

" are

1440. "are deſigned to be abandoned, as well as the reſt of "the conqueſts. As to its being ſaid, that twenty thou- "ſand marks may be taken out of the duke of Orleans's "ranſom, for the defence of that province, I leave it to "be conſidered, whether that ſum is ſufficient for that "purpoſe.

"IV. The king and council are very ſenſible, the "the duke of Orleans acknowledges king Charles for his "ſovereign. Let it be conſidered then, whether having "taken two oppoſite oaths, the one to a prince whom "he looks upon as a foreigner, the other to him whom he "believes to be his lawful king, he will chooſe to keep "the firſt rather than the laſt. This is the more impro- "bable, as he will always conſider the firſt as extorted, "whilſt he was actually a priſoner, and moreover cannot "ſtand to this engagement, without forfeiting his poſſeſ- "ſions in France.

"V. It would be proper to ſee what ſecurity may be "taken, in caſe he breaks his oath, under colour of obey- "ing the abſolute command of his ſovereign.

"VI. The earl of Huntington, who commands in "Guienne, will probably be obliged to quit his govern- "ment, becauſe the king performs not what was pro- "miſed him by agreement. That province being thus "abandoned, and the duke of Orleans in alliance with "the houſes of Albret and Armagnac, it ſhould at leaſt "be conſidered, how that ancient inheritance of the king "will be defended, in caſe the duke of Orleans joins forces "with thoſe two houſes.

"VII. The king has no ally in all Europe, but only "the king of Portugal. Now if he will make alliances "with other princes, how ſhall they be brought to hearken "to his propoſals, when they ſhall come to know, that "he had no other way to preſerve his father's conqueſts, "but by ſetting at liberty one of his mortal enemies?

"VIII. The late reconciliation between the dukes of "Orleans and Burgundy at Calais, ought to create a "dread of their joining forces to drive the Engliſh out of "France, (as they certainly may do, unleſs God inter- "poſes,) inſtead of expecting any advantage by their diſ- "ſention. If any ſtreſs is laid upon the oath to be taken "by the duke of Orleans, before he leaves England, let "it be examined by the civil laws, how far the oath of a pri- "ſoner is to be depended upon.

"IX. If

"IX. If any of the princes or lords, who ſerve the king in France, chance to fall into the enemies hands, as it may eaſily happen, four or five might be exchanged for the duke of Orleans alone. But in caſe that prince is releaſed, the Engliſh princes and lords cannot fight for the king, without being liable to utter ruin. 1440.

"X. If, as it is likely, the releaſe of the duke of Orleans occaſions the loſs of Normandy, and the reſt of the king's dominions in France, what will the king's counſellors be able to ſay for themſelves? What murmurings will there be among the people, when it ſhall be conſidered, that theſe conqueſts, purchaſed with the lives of the late king, the duke of Clarence, the duke of Bedford, and an infinite number of princes, lords, and gentlemen, ſhall have been all loſt by this fatal counſel?

"XI. Laſtly, every one knows, the late king, wiſely weighing the danger which would ariſe from the enlargement of the duke of Orleans, forbid upon his death-bed, to releaſe that prince till a peace was concluded.

"And, as poſſibly, after my death, I may be accuſed of conſenting to this reſolution, I humbly intreat the king, that this my proteſtation may be recorded, and an authentick copy given me under the great ſeal to ſerve for my juſtification."

The duke of Glouceſter's requeſt was granted, but his proteſtation did not hinder the execution of the council's reſolution. The 2d of July the agreement for the duke of Orleans's releaſe was ſigned by the king and the duke, in two originals, extant in the collection of the publick acts. The council perſiſts in their reſolution. Act. Pub. X. p. 756, &c.

The terms required of the duke were much eaſier, than thoſe offered by himſelf before the congreſs of Arras. He was not bound to acknowledge Henry for king of France, or to ſwear to him, much leſs to give him any towns in hoſtage, as he had formerly offered. Only his word and oath were taken for the payment of his ranſom, ſet at a hundred and twenty thouſand crowns. It is true, by the agreement he engaged to give obligations from the dauphin, the duke of Bretagne, and ſome others, for the ſum of ſixty thouſand crowns, which he was not to pay till after his liberty. Moreover, he promiſed to procure the king's letters patents from king Charles, authoriſing the agreement, and promiſing not to hinder the execution, and to account the duke of Orleans baſe and infamous, if he violated the Articles with the duke of Orleans. Ib. p. 756, &c.

1440. articles. Finally, the duke proteſting, that as for the half of his ranſom, which he was to pay before he left England, it was impoſſible for him to perform his engagement, without going to France, leave was granted him for a year.

He is ſet at liberty. Monſtrelet. Hall. Act. Pub. X. p. 812, 829.

The council conſiſted then of perſons who blindly followed their paſſion, without regarding the intereſts of the king and the ſtate. Of this we ſhall quickly ſee very evident proofs. The only thing that gave them any uneaſineſs, was, that the enlargement of the duke of Orleans, ſeemed directly contrary to the late king's will. For, that monarch had expreſsly enjoined by his laſt will and teſtament, that the duke of Orleans ſhould be kept priſoner, till the king his ſon was of age, unleſs his liberty ſhould be a means to procure a peace; but they found an expedient to ſcreen themſelves from the murmurs of the people. The king declared by a publick act, that in releaſing the duke of Orleans, he meant not to contradict his father's will, but only to attain a ſpeedier concluſion of a peace. To ſhow more plainly, this was the king's intention, the duke was bound by freſh articles, to uſe his utmoſt endeavours, to procure a peace between the two kings, and in caſe he ſucceeded, his ranſom was to be forgiven, and what he ſhould have paid, to be reſtored. But if on the contrary, his endeavours proved fruitleſs, he was to return in England, and remain a priſoner as before, but the money advanced towards his ranſom, to be repaid. It is evident, theſe new articles were only to throw duſt into the people's eyes, ſince they were directly contrary to the others, and a condition was added, not in the duke's power. In the next place, this appears ſtill plainer, in that the peace not being concluded, the duke did not return into England, nor was ever called upon. But he punctually performed the firſt agreement.

p. 779.

Remarks upon a miſtake of the French hiſtorians. Act. Pub. X. p. 787. Ib. p. 791.

All the French authors have done the duke of Burgundy the honour to ſay, that he lent the duke of Orleans money to pay his ranſom, but we find in the collection of the publick acts, that all he did in favour of his newly reconciled enemy, amounted to no more than this. He conſented, that his ducheſs ſhould promiſe in her own name, to ſend the king the obligation for thirty thouſand crowns, which the dauphin was to give, or, in caſe of refuſal, to become reſponſible. But as the dauphin made no ſcruple to give his obligation, the ducheſs of Burgundy's promiſe became of no uſe. It is true, the duke of Burgundy magnificently received the duke of Orleans at Graveling, where they confirmed

p. 794.

Monſtrelet.

confirmed their reconciliation. I have dwelt the longer upon the duke of Orleans's releaſe, becauſe it diſcovers the diſpoſition of the court and council, on which depend all the future events of this reign. Let us return now to the general affairs. 1440.

Conventions between Henry and the duke of Bretagne.

The duke of Bretagne pretended all along to obſerve a neutrality, though the ſuccours brought by the conſtable his brother, from time to time, to king Charles, could neither be levied in his country, nor led from thence without his leave or connivance. If the Engliſh had been in better circumſtances, they would doubtleſs have ſhewn their reſentment; but in the preſent ſituation of their affairs, they thought it no ſmall advantage, that the duke of Bretagne did not openly declare for their enemies. Mean while, as the Engliſh and the Bretons annoyed one another at ſea, contrary to the intereſt of both nations, the king and the duke thought fit to conclude a treaty, mutually promiſing, not to ſuffer any naval armaments to be made in their ports, to the detriment of each other's ſubjects.

Act. Pub. X. p. 719, 789, 803.

Death of the earl of Warwick. p. 786.

Richard de Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and regent of France, dying in the beginning of the ſummer, the duke of York was ſent thither again in that quality [f], though he had been recalled, to give place to the earl of Warwick [g].

Succeeded by the duke of York. Hall.

If the Engliſh had been ſtrong enough in France to improve the preſent opportunity, never had a fairer offered to repair their paſt loſſes. The dauphin, and all the princes of the blood, except the duke of Burgundy, and the earl of Eu, were joined in a league againſt the king. This league tended to no leſs than to dethrone him, and ſet the crown on the head of the prince his ſon. But happily for him, the confederates had engaged la Trimouille in their party, and thereby entirely loſt the conſtable. As he mortally hated

Quarrels in Charles's court. P. Daniel. J. Chartier. Monſtrelet.

[f] His patent bears date, July 2, this year. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 786.

[g] He died at Roan, in Normandy, April 30, 1439, poſſeſſed of a vaſt eſtate; the yearly value (as appears from the account of his bailiffs in 12 Henry VI.) amounting to eight thouſand three hundred and ſix marks, eleven ſhillings and eleven pence halfpenny: at a time when barley was but four ſhillings and two pence a quarter; oats at two ſhillings and three halfpence; capons three pence a piece, and hens three halfpence, as appears from the accounts of his houſhold officers. He was buried firſt in the collegiate church of our lady, at Warwick, by his noble anceſtors; and afterwards removed into a magnificent chapel, built by his executors, according to the direction of his laſt will: wherein his portraiture of copper gilt, hooped over with copper ſtaves, is ſtill to be ſeen. Dugdale's Baron. vol. I. p. 246; and Warwickſhire, vol. I. p. 410. Stow's Ann. p. 378.

1440. la Trimouille, his hatred extended to the whole party, and induced him to bring the king a powerful aid, which enabled him to give law to the princes. This civil war was called la praguerie, but for what reaſon I know not [h]. The league was ſo ill managed on the part of the confederates, that the king at length compelled them to implore his mercy. Mean time, the Engliſh, who carried on the war very faintly, made ſome incurſions about Paris. But the baſtard of Orleans, who after ſiding firſt with the dauphin, was returned to the king, ſtopped their progreſs, which was not very conſiderable, by reaſon of their weakneſs.

War of la praguerie ends to the king's advantage.

Charles takes la Charité. J. Chartier.

After Charles had put an end to this dangerous war, he approached Paris, and in his way became maſter of la Charité, by bribing the governor.

Act. Pub. X. p. 808, 810, 844, 847.

Mean while, the ducheſs of Burgundy never ceaſed her endeavours to renew the conferences for a peace. At length, after labouring the whole year to accompliſh that project, ſhe prevailed with the two kings to appoint plenipotentiaries to meet at St. Omer. The duke of Orleans was choſen to be one of the mediators.

1441. The new congreſs had no better ſucceſs than the former. The ambaſſadors were now all at St. Omer; but the earl of Vendôme, head of the French embaſſy, refuſed to treat with thoſe of England, on pretence of their inferior quality. They were however peers of the realm, namely, the biſhop of Rocheſter, and the lord Fanhope [i]. In the reign of Henry V. the French did not ſtand upon ſuch punctilios. They readily conferred with bare doctors in law, provided they were duly impowered. It is true, the ambaſſadors for the congreſs were not of ſo high a character as the former. But as there was no likelihood the French would be more moderate in their demands, the council did not think proper to put the king or the princes, or any of the moſt conſiderable lords, to a needleſs expence. However, Charles took occaſion from thence to revoke the powers given to his ambaſſadors. Thus the congreſs broke off without being ever opened. The French blamed the Engliſh, pretending the court of England had deſignedly choſen perſons of no birth or note, that they might not be treated with. The truth is,

A new congreſs about a peace. Ib. p. 827. XI. p. 13.

To no purpoſe.

h Comines ſays, it was called praguerie, or briguerie; ſo that the name was probably derived from the word brigue, ſignifying faction. P. Daniel, tom. VI. p. 166.

i With ſir Thomas Kyriell, deputy governor of Calais; ſir Robert Roos, Stephen Wilton, and William Sprever, doctors of law; and Robert Whityngham, treaſurer of Calais. Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 827.

both

both parties generally aimed only at amuſing each other by theſe conferences. They both gueſſed what their adverſaries were to demand, and as they were reſolved not to grant it, could expect no great benefit from theſe negotiations. They conſented to them however, as well to juſtify themſelves to the publick, as to try to amuſe each other with the hopes of a peace. 1441.

Whilſt the ambaſſadors were repairing to St. Omer, Charles was aſſembling an army to make a powerful effort, and take advantage of the indolence of the Engliſh. As ſoon as he was ready, he ordered admiral de Coitivy to inveſt Creil upon Oyſe, with a detachment of the army. The conſtable joining him with the reſt of his troops, the ſiege was regularly formed, and the king came about the end of April to receive the town by capitulation [k]. Charles takes Creil, Monſtrelet.

This was only a preparative to a more conſiderable undertaking, namely, the ſiege of Pontoiſe, which Charles formed the beginning of July [l], with an army of twelve thouſand men. He had with him the dauphin his ſon, and all the generals and officers of note in France. The ſiege was at firſt carried on very vigorouſly, but the beſiegers ſhewed no leſs bravery. Talbot, whom the moſt difficult enterpriſes could not diſcourage, being commiſſioned by the duke of York to introduce a convoy into the town, attacked one of the enemy's quarters [m], and ſtorming it, ſent in his convoy. This ſeaſonable relief inſpired the garriſon with freſh courage, who made ſo brave a defence, that the ſiege proceeded but ſlowly. Though the beſiegers were exceeding watchful, having to deal with ſo experienced a warrior as Talbot, they could not hinder him from throwing ſuccours into the town three ſeveral times. However, Charles obſtinately reſolved to continue the ſiege, undertaken at the inſtance of the Pariſians, who defrayed all the charges. But at length, the duke of York receiving from England a reinforcement [n], which increaſed his army to twelve thouſand men, approached the town [o], and ſent a herald to the king to offer him battle. Charles anſwered, he ſhould ſee what was to be done, and meant not to regulate his time by that He lays ſiege to Pontoiſe. Monſtrelet. Talbot throws ſuccours into the town. The duke of York raiſes the ſiege. Monſtrelet, Stow.

k Sir William Chamberlain was governor of this town. Monſtrelet, fol. 182.

l About the middle of May, ſays Monſtrelet, ibid.

m He had about four thouſand men with him. Idem. fol. 183.

n In which were, John de Vere, earl of Oxford; Henry, lord Bourchier, earl of Eu; ſir James of Ormond, the lord Clinton, ſir Richard Woodvil le, &c. Stow, p. 378.

o About the middle of July. Monſtrelet, fol. 184.

1443. of his enemies. He ſaw the Engliſh army on the other ſide the Oyſe, which they could paſs only by a bridge, guarded by a detachment of a thouſand men. So, without any apprehenſion of a ſudden attack, he leiſurely continued the ſiege. Mean while, the duke of York, reſolving at any rate to relieve the place, found means to paſs in the night five or ſix hundred men, in boats of boiled ſkins. This detachment ſuddenly falling upon the guard of the bridge, and cutting them in pieces, opened a paſſage for the duke, who immediately came on the other ſide with his whole army. Charles was ſo aſtoniſhed at this unexpected action, that he ſuddenly raiſed the ſiege, and retired under the cannon of Poiſſi. The duke of York followed him, and offered him battle in vain. At laſt, after braving him for ſome time, and plundering before his face, the abbey and town of Poiſſi, he retired, not thinking proper to attack him in that poſt.

Charles ſuffers in his reputation by it. Monſtrelet.

The haſty retreat of king Charles before an enemy much weaker than himſelf, was extremely injurious to his reputation. All the French loudly murmured, but the Pariſians more than all the reſt. The king's beſt friends were all diſmayed, and openly ſhewed their fear, that ſo general a diſcontent would prove fatal to him. In ſhort, thoſe neareſt his perſon, intimating to him, how he had expoſed his reputation by ſo inglorious an action, he reſolved to retrieve his credit, let what would be the conſequence. So, when leaſt expected, he returned before Pontoiſe [p], and carried it by ſtorm [q]. He ſo ſignaliſed himſelf in the aſſault, that all the ill impreſſions cauſed, by his former conduct to his diſadvantage, were effaced. He was ſeen on the breach, ſword in hand, fighting with an undaunted courage, and expoſing his perſon like a common ſoldier. By this vigorous action, he plainly diſcovered, if he delighted not in war, it was not ſo much for want of courage, as from a too great attachment to his pleaſures. Some time after, the town of Evreux was taken from the Engliſh by the help of a fiſherman, who found means to introduce the French.

He returns before Pontoiſe, and takes it by ſtorm. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel.

J. Chartier. Hall.

The ducheſs of Glouceſter accuſed of witchcraft and treaſon. Stow. Hall.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in France a very ſtrange ſpectacle attracted the eyes and attention of the people of England. I have frequently obſerved, that the duke of Glouceſter's credit ſenſibly declined, or rather was entirely ſunk. Of this was ſeen a notable proof in the courſe of the preſent year.

[p] Twelve days after his departure from thence. Monſtrelet, fol. 185.

[q] Above five hundred of the Engliſh were ſlain, and four hundred taken priſoners; whereas not above forty of the French were killed. Idem. fol. 186.

The

The duke was unblameable in his conduct with regard to the king. Whatever ſpies were placed about him by his enemies, they could diſcover nothing that might ſerve for a pretence to the leaſt charge againſt his perſon. But at length, by narrowly obſerving what paſſed in his family, they learnt that his ducheſs had frequent conferences with [one ſir Roger Bolinbroke] a prieſt, who was reckoned a Necromancer and a certain woman [r], who was counted a witch. This was ſufficient to form a charge of high treaſon againſt her. She was accuſed of making with theſe two perſons the king's image in wax; and that, placing it before a gentle fire, ſhe intended, the king's ſtrength ſhould waſte inſenſibly as the wax melted, and his life be at an end, when the image was was all diſſolved. By this accuſation, it was intended to ſhow, the ducheſs's deſign was to deſtroy the king that the crown might fall to the duke her huſband. At the ſame time, ſuſpicions were inſtilled into the king and people againſt the duke himſelf. When the parties accuſed were examined, the prieſt denied all, but the ducheſs confeſſed [s], ſhe had deſired the woman to make her a love-potion for her huſband, who ſometimes went aſtray. Though this confeſſion did not make her guilty of the crime ſhe was accuſed of, the duke's enemies had taken ſuch meaſures, that the prieſt was condemned to be hanged, and the woman to be burnt. As for the ducheſs, though ſhe would have been the moſt guilty, had the thing been well proved, out of a pretended regard to the duke, ſhe was only condemned to do publick penance [t] in St. Paul's church, and to be impriſoned for life [u]. This was a terrible mortification to the firſt prince of the blood, who had been protector of the realm and always ſhown an ardent zeal for the king's intereſt and honour. But his enemies were ſo powerful, that he was forced to be ſilent, for fear of giving them occaſion to fall directly upon his perſon.

1441.

She is condemned to do penance, and to be impriſoned for life. Act. Pub. X. p. 852. Stow.

Charles had ſcarce taken any repoſe after the ſiege of Pontoiſe, before he ſaw himſelf extremely embaraſſed. All the

New league againſt king Charles.

[r] Margery Gurdemain, of Eye, who was burnt in Smithfield, on Octob. 27. Thomas Southwell, and ſir John Hume, prieſts, were accuſed likewiſe of being concerned with the ducheſs. Bolinbroke was hanged and quartered. Hall, fol. 146.

[s] She was examined by Henry Chichely, archbiſhop of Canterbury, John Kemp, archbiſhop of York, Henry Beaufort, biſhop of Wincheſter, William Aſcoth, biſhop of Saliſbury, and others, in St. Stephen's chapel, at Weſtminſter. Stow's Ann. p. 381.

[t] On three ſeveral days. Idem. p. 382.

[u] Her judges were the earls of Huntington, Stafford, Suffolk, and Northumberland, with ſome other lords. She was kept priſoner in Cheſter caſtle, under the cuſtody of ſir Thomas Stanley. Stow's Ann. p. 382. And afterwards removed to Kenelworth. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XI, p. 45.

1441. princes of his house were in a fresh league against him with the duke of Orleans at their head. This prince was highly offended at the king's cold reception, after a twenty five years captivity for the interest of France, and even during which he had done him very signal services. Probably, this league would have entirely ruined the king's affairs, if by a fortunate advice he had not gained the head by considerable favours. The duke of Orleans's defection breaking all the confederates measures, they were forced to throw themselves upon the king's mercy. Thus ended the league, and thus end generally all leagues of subjects against their sovereigns, when the sovereigns find means to content the leaders.

P. Daniel. Monstrelet.

Tartas besieged by the Engl.sh. Monstrelet. J. Chartier. Hall.

The rebellion of the princes was not the only thing that made king Charles uneasy. His honour as well as interest called upon him to relieve Tartas, a town of Guienne besieged by the English. That place belonged to the house of Albret, which had long been serviceable to France by their diversions in Guienne. It therefore greatly concerned the king to succour that house, which was in danger of losing their most considerable place. Otherwise it was to be feared, all the lords of Guienne of his party would leave him and turn to the king of England. Mean time, the league of the princes having hindered him from thinking sooner of relieving Tartas, he began not his march to Guienne till November. The town still defended itself, and it was even January before the garrison capitulated, upon a condition which afforded the king more than sufficient time to prepare for their relief. The capitulation was, that the town should be delivered to the lords Cognac and Saint Par for the English, if on the 24th of June next, there appeared not a French army strong enough to give battle. But if it was relieved on the day prefixed, it should be restored to the lord d' Albret.

The town capitulates to surrender, if not relieved in six months.

1442. Charles having all the leisure necessary to prepare, spent the winter in Poictou, where he assembled a considerable army, consisting of four hundred lances, eight thousand cross-bowmen, and as many archers. All the lords of the kingdom repairing to him, he counted one hundred and sixty banners in his army [w]. Mean time England made no effort to defend Guienne or give the enemy a diversion elsewhere.

Charles advances towards Guienne. Monstrelet.

[w] Monstrelet says, he set out with about fourscore thousand horse, and a great quantity of provisions: but carried only sixteen thousand horse before Tartas, for fear he should be straightened for want of provisions, fol. 191.

The

The council, since it was no longer influenced by the duke of Gloucester, seemed to be grown inconsiderate and thoughtless. 1442.

With the forces assembled by Charles in Poictou, he humbled some tyrannical lords of that country, and from thence came to Limoges, where he made some stay. After that, he passed some time at Montauban. There he lost the brave La Hire or Vignoles, one of his best Generals. The relief of Tartas was not the sole motive of his Journey. There was another, which touched him more nearly, and that was, to become master of the earldom of Cominge, which he had claimed by virtue of a settlement in his favour. As this affair has some relation to those of England, it will be necessary to show the ground of his pretensions. Death of La Hire. Monstrelet. P. Daniel.

Margaret, heiress of Cominge, had two daughters by her first husband John III, earl of Armagnac, who died in 1391, and the two daughters died likewise soon after. The countess was married afterwards to John d' Armagnac earl of Fezensaquet. But by an outrage unheard of in France, she divorced her second husband, who died with grief in 1404. Then she espoused Matthew de Grailly brother of John earl of Foix, and by him had a daughter, but of so weak a constitution that Matthew her father was afraid, the death of the mother and daughter would deprive him of the earldom of Cominge, of which he was in possession. For that reason, he pressed his countess, who was much older than himself, to make a will and settle it upon him after their daughter. But the countess refused it. Margaret's obstinacy occasioned such a quarrel between her and her husband, that he resolved to dispossess her with the help of the earl of Armagnac, who was very ready to join in the project, on condition of going shares with him. Whereupon the earl of Armagnac attacked, vanquished, took the countess prisoner, and with her husband's consent confined her in a castle, where she remained twenty two years. This rigorous usage served only to exasperate the old countess the more. At last in 1435 she found means in her confinement to make a will, where she nominated her daughter Jane for her heir, and after her settled the earldom upon king Charles VII. Jane dying some time after, Charles heard of the settlement, and as the countess was still living, formed a design to free her from imprisonment, and cause her to confirm her will. After he had made some stay at Montauban, he came to Toulouse, and ordered the earls of Armagnac and Cominge to be summoned Charles's claim to the earldom of Cominge. P. Daniel.

1442 ed before the parliament of that city. The two earls made their appearance, not daring to reſiſt a prince ſo well armed, who was able to compel them. Beſides, ſince the earl of Armagnac's anceſtors had voluntarily owned the kings of France for their ſovereigns, there was no room to decline the juriſdiction of their parliaments. He was forced therefore to bring the old captive counteſs, now fourſcore years of age, to Toulouſe, where the parliament decreed the ſettlement upon the king to be good and valid. Purſuant to the decree, the king took poſſeſſion of the earldom of Cominge. But for the take of Gaſton earl of Foix, who had ſucceeded his father John in 1437, he was pleaſed to conſent that Matthew his uncle ſhould enjoy his part of the earldom during life. The earl of Armagnac was treated more rigorouſly. The king not only diſpoſſeſſed him of the part he had uſurped, but ſtripped him of the privilege of the regale [x] in his territories, and forbid him to ſtile himſelf, John by the grace of God, earl of Armagnac, as he and his anceſtors before him had done.

The earls of Armagnac and Cominge cited before the parliament of Toulouſe.

Cominge adjudged to the king.

The earl of Armagnac is highly offended.

The earl of Armagnac did not think he deſerved ſuch uſage, after all the ſervices his houſe had done the kings of France. If to eſpouſe their intereſts his anceſtors had not caſt off the dominion of the kings of England, he would not have been liable to appear before the parliament of Toulouſe, nor have loſt the privileges, which the kings of England, dukes of Guienne, had never diſputed with his predeceſſors. So, he was extremely concerned to ſee the zeal of his anceſtors for the intereſt of France become the occaſion of his oppreſſion. He burned with deſire to free himſelf from this yoke, and be revenged: but as he was ſenſible, his forces alone were not capable to procure him that ſatisfaction, he reſolved to caſt himſelf into the arms of the king of England. Shortly after, he ſent to deſire his protection, with an offer of one of his daughters in marriage. The propoſal being conſidered in the council, it was judged, that in the preſent poſture of the king's affairs in France, the alliance propoſed by the earl of Armagnac could not but be very advantageous. So, without loſs of time, ambaſſadors [y] were diſpatched to the earl of Armagnac to ſettle the marriage articles, and affiance one of his daughters, in the king's name.

He offers his daughter to Henry. Act. Pub. XI. p. 6.

His offer is accepted. p. 7. Hall.

[x] The right which the kings of France have of diſpoſing of benefices, during the vacancy of an epiſcopal ſee.

[y] Sir Robert Roos, Thomas Beckyngton, the king's ſecretary, and Edward Hull, eſq; Rymer's Fœd. tom. XI. p. 7.

Mean

Mean while, Charles appearing before Tartas, on the 24th of June, and no enemy offering to give him battle, the place was reſtored to the lord d'Albret, according to the capitulation. The preparations of the French were not unknown in England, and yet no meaſures were taken for the defence of Guienne, which was going to be invaded. Charles taking advantage of this negligence, became maſter of St. Sever [z]. Then he laid ſiege to Acs, one of the ſtrongeſt places in thoſe parts, which held out ſeven weeks [a]. La Reole was carried by ſtorm, and Marmande fell likewiſe into the hands of the French. During the winter following, which was exceeding ſharp, Acs and St. Sever opened their gates to the Engliſh, but the earl of Foix retook St. Sever. Charles paſſed the whole winter at Toulouſe. 1442. Charles relieves Tartas, and takes ſeveral places in Guienne. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting at one end of the kingdom, the Engliſh were thinking of making a diverſion at the other. They ſhould have thought of it ſooner, in order to hinder Charles's march into Guienne. By that means, they would have infallibly preſerved the places lately loſt. But however, orders being given to raiſe five thouſand men in England, the command was conferred on Talbot, whom the king had now created earl of Shrewſbury [b]. Talbot landing in Normandy, ſoon made the baſtard of Orleans quit the field, who had likewiſe a new title, being made earl of Dunois. He preſently beſieged the caſtle of Conches, and to make a diverſion, the French general inveſted Galardon. Talbot having taken the caſtle in a few days, the earl of Dunois did not think fit to expect his enemy, who was marching directly to give him battle. Then, the earl of Shrewſbury advanced towards Dieppe, a place of great importance, which the French ſtill held in Normandy. He made ſuch haſte, that Eſtouteville, who was marching with the utmoſt diligence to throw in a ſupply of troops, could not arrive in time. When he was before the place, he formed the ſiege, though with an army little proportionable to ſuch an undertaking, and eſpecially in November. Indeed, he did not expect to be maſter of the town during the winter, and without more forces. But his deſign was to take the fort of Charles-Meſnil, ſituated on mount Polet, which defended the paſſage to Dieppe. After that he hoped to preſs Talbot made earl of Shrewſbury, and the baſtard of Orleans earl of Dunois. Hall. Exploits of the earl of Shrewſbury in Normandy. Hall. He blockades Dieppe. J. Chartier. Monſtrelet. Hall.

[z] At the taking of which, above eight hundred Engliſh were ſlain. Monſtrelet, fol. 192. Sir Thomas Rampſton was taken priſoner. Ibid. Hall, fol. 142.

[a] Five weeks, ſays Monſtrelet. ibid.

[b] His patent of creation bears date March 20, 1442. Dugdale's Baron. vol. I. p. 329.

it

14[illegible]

and goes to England for a reinforcement.

it so closely, that it should be forced to surrender. Having thus taken his measures, he attacked and carried the fort, which he ordered to be made larger and stronger. Then mounting his batteries, left the management of the siege, or rather blockade, to his bastard son, and returned into England [c] to solicit a supply [d].

The duke of Gloucester accuses the cardinal of Winchester. Hall.

As matters then stood at court, it was no very proper season for the earl of Shrewsbury to obtain the succours he desired, at least so soon as was necessary. The duke of Gloucester perceiving the king's affairs daily declined, brought at this very time before the council, an accusation of high treason against the cardinal of Winchester. Probably, his enmity to that prelate made him think, he was the sole occasion of all the misfortunes befallen the English. Perhaps, he only designed to clear himself to the publick, by accusing his enemy. And indeed, so well acquainted as he doubtless was, with the members of the council, he could not flatter himself with the least hopes of succeeding in an affair of that nature. However this be, the charge consisted of fourteen articles, the substance whereof was as follows:

Articles of accusation. Hall, fol. 143.

I. That the bishop of Winchester had taken upon him the dignity of cardinal, contrary to the late king's orders, and in derogation to the metropolitan church of Canterbury.

II. That, by the statute of provisors, having forfeited the bishoprick of Winchester, he had procured the pope's bull to secure it, contrary to the laws of the realm, and particucularly to the statute of præmunire.

III. That jointly with John Kemp archbishop of York, he had assumed the government of the king's person without being authorised.

IV. That he had defrauded the king of his jewels.

"This article was grounded upon the cardinal's lending "the king money upon pawn [e]".

V. That being chancellor of the kingdom, he had sealed an order for the release of the king of Scotland, and another

[c] To Roan, says Hall, and Stow.

[d] At the same time Robert, lord Willoughby, and Edmund Beaufort, created about this time earl of Dorset, entered the country about Amiens, with a large army, and committed great devastations; as Richard duke of York, and John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, did in Anjou and Maine. Hall, fol. 141.

[e] Lending him four thousand pounds, upon Jewels appraised at twenty two thousand marks, which he kept; as the article at length hath it. See Hall, fol. 142.

to

to forgive that prince part of his ranſom, on condition of marrying his niece. 1442.

VI. That he had defrauded the king of his revenues, by applying to his own uſe, the cuſtoms of wools at the port of Southampton.

"Probably, the cardinal ſtopped by that means the money he had lent the king."

VII. That he had the confidence to ſummon people before him, in derogation of the prerogatives of the crown, and the authority royal.

"He did this probably, as legate: but he could not do it according to law, without the king's licence."

VIII. That he had procured from Rome an exemption for his dioceſe, from paying tenths to the king; and thereby given a pernicious example to the reſt of the biſhops.

IX. That he had been inſtrumental in reconciling the duke of Burgundy to king Charles and the duke of Orleans, to the great prejudice of England.

X. That being the king's ambaſſador and plenipotentiary to treat of a peace, he had ſent the archbiſhop of York to the king, to perſuade him to quit the title of king of France, to the diſhonour of the king, and his illuſtrious anceſtors.

XI. That the duke of Orleans's releaſe had been procured by his and the duke of York's intrigues, contrary to the expreſs order of the late king.

XII. That being chancellor, he had himſelf purchaſed crown lands, inſtead of preventing ſuch alienations, according to the duty of his office.

XIII. That by commiſſioning ſuch officers only in the army as were his creatures, he had been the cauſe of all the loſſes ſuſtained in France.

XIV. That he had ſold captains commiſſions, and thereby introduced into the king's ſervice ſuch as were incapable of doing their duty.

Theſe accuſations were read in council. But the council for ſome time had conſiſted only of the cardinal's creatures, and the duke of Glouceſter's enemies. So, under colour of being unwilling to meddle with the prerogative royal, the pardon granted to the cardinal in 1437 was urged. The duke of Glouceſter, perceiving there was no poſſibility of cauſing his enemy to be condemned, dropped the proſecution, and the king gave the cardinal a freſh pardon. The cardinal is acquitted. Act. Pub. XI. p. 201.

Certainly

1442. Certainly the duke of Glouceſter was in a ſad ſituation. Beſides his vexation to ſee thoſe who were at the helm ſteering a courſe, directly contrary to that marked out by the glorious Henry V. his brother, he perceived there was a ſettled deſign to mortify him on all occaſions. The king his nephew, who was ſo much obliged to him, ſuffered himſelf to be miſled by the artifices of his enemies, not having penetration enough to diſcern thoſe who had only their own intereſt in view. He was made to conſider his uncle as a ſecret enemy that would rejoice at his deſtruction, becauſe he was his next heir. What is more, they inſpired him with ſtrong ſuſpicions of him, by repreſenting him as a counſellor, whoſe intereſt it was to engage him in wrong courſes, in order to render him contemptible and odious to his ſubjects, and thereby pave his own way to the crown. It is no wonder, a young prince of ſo narrow a genius as Henry, ſhould be blinded by ſuch inſinuations. He had none about his perſon to undeceive him, and for ſome time had ſeen only his uncle's enemies. The cardinal was ever watchful not to ſuffer any perſon at court, or in the council, but what was devoted to him, and this he made his chief buſineſs. He it was that had introduced to court the earl of Suffolk [f], for whom the king had conceived ſo ſtrong an affection, that he ſaw nothing but with his eyes, and did nothing but by his advice. As the new favourite wholly owed his fortune to the cardinal, he miſſed no opportunity to inſinuate to his maſter, that of all his ſubjects the cardinal was moſt ſafely to be truſted. By that means, he daily ſunk the duke of Glouceſter's credit, whoſe counſels were always directly contrary to thoſe of his enemy. John Kemp archbiſhop of York, and cardinal [g], was alſo a counſellor entirely devoted to the cardinal of Wincheſter, and his inſtrument to confirm the king in his ſuſpicions of the duke of Glouceſter. Thus theſe three miniſters, being ſtrictly united together, ſo ordered it, that the king daily gave his uncle ſome freſh mortification. On the other hand, the haughty and impatient temper of the duke of Glouceſter, not ſuffering him to bear indignities, without complaining and threatening the authors, he promoted his own downfall, by the continual faults his impatience cauſed him to commit.

The duke of Glouceſter loſes ground daily.

They prejudice the king againſt him.

[f] William de la Pole.

[g] Promoted to the cardinalſhip by Eugenius IV, in 1431. Rapin. King Henry granted him a licence in 1440, to take upon him that dignity; whereby it ſeems that he was then but newly promoted thereto. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. X. p. 758.

In

In September this year, the ducheſs of York was delivered of a prince, whom we ſhall ſee hereafter mount the throne by the name of Edward IV. [h]. 1442. Birth of Edward, ſon of the duke of York.

John V. duke of Bretagne dying the 28th of Auguſt, Francis his eldeſt ſon ſucceeded him in the ſovereignty of that duchy [i].

The year 1443 began with a private negotiation between the king and the duke of Burgundy. The duke ſeeing the affairs of the two kings to be in ſuch a way, as not likely to be decided either by war or peace, thought it adviſeable to ſecure himſelf by a ſeparate truce with England. He was not pleaſed with king Charles upon ſeveral accounts too tedious to be related. On the contrary, he had reaſon to fear, Charles was reconciled to him only out of policy, and in caſe his affairs ſhould once be reſtored, might reſume his old enmity againſt him. For that reaſon chiefly, he judged it againſt his intereſt to aſſiſt him any longer to finiſh the war, the proſperous ſucceſs whereof might render him too powerful. Theſe conſiderations induced him to give his ducheſs full power to conclude with the king of England a general truce for all their reſpective dominions. The former concerned only the commerce between England and the Low Countries; but this, ſigned the 23d of April, included Burgundy, and all the duke's territories in general. It was to laſt till one of the parties ſhould put an end to it, in which caſe, the other was to have three months notice. 1443. Truce between England and Burgundy. Monſtrelet. Act. Pub. XI. p. 24.

The blockade of Dieppe was ſtill continued, in expectation of ſupplies from England to preſs the town more vigorouſly. Charles perceiving, it would be in great danger, if not relieved before the arrival of the Engliſh, reſolved at laſt to ſend the dauphin his ſon, who preſſed him to commit the expedition to his care. It was however with unwillingneſs, that he granted him the favour. He was not only afraid to truſt out of his ſight the young prince, who had ſeveral times given proofs of a turbulent ſpirit, but moreover did not care to afford him opportunities of acquiring glory. Theſe conſiderations however gave place to the neceſſity of relieving Dieppe, which was reduced to extremity by an eight months blockade. The dauphin departed from Guienne with four Charles ſends the dauphin to relieve Dieppe.

[h] Sandford ſays, he was born on April 29, 1441, at Roan. Geneal. p. 403.

[i] This year a parliament met at Weſtminſter on January 25, in which, among other things, it was enacted, that no cuſtomers, or ſearcher, ſhall have a ſhip of his own, uſe merchandiſe, keep a wharf, or inn, or be a factor: and that, in order to avoid the many frauds which would naturally enſue from thence. See Statutes.

1427. thouſand horſe, and marched toward Normandy. When he came within ſight of Dieppe, he eaſily ſaw, the fort of Charles-Meſnil, where the Engliſh had fortified themſelves, was impregnable on the ſide next the country, and therefore without hesitation reſolved to enter the town, and in ſpite of the Engliſh executed his deſign. Hardly was he entered, when without giving them time to come to themſelves, he ſallied out with all his troops, and ſtormed the fort on the ſide next the town. He was thrice repulſed, but the fourth time carried it ſword in hand. The Engliſh finding they were unable to continue the blockade after the loſs of their fort, raiſed it, and retired in good order. John duke of Somerſet [k] arrived five days after, with a reinforcement of five thouſand men [l]. Had he came ſooner, the dauphin would not perhaps have performed that enterpriſe with ſo much honour. As the duke found the blockade raiſed, he could do nothing more than ravage part of the enemies country [m], after retaking ſome caſtles in Normandy.

Lewis raiſes the blockade of Dieppe. Monſtrelet. P. Daniel.

The duke of Somerſet comes too late.

After the dauphin's departure, Charles at laſt quitted Guienne and came to Tours, where he diverted himſelf after the fatigues of the war. But his pleaſures were a little diſturbed by the news of the earl of Armagnac taking up arms, and ſeizing that part of the earldom of Cominge, of which he had been lately diſpoſſeſſed. The voluptuous life Charles led at Tours was ſo alluring, that he could not reſolve to interrupt his pleaſures ſo ſoon. He waited till the dauphin's return, and as he had gallantly behaved in the affair of Dieppe, ſent him immediately after his arrival to chaſtiſe the earl of Armagnac. Upon the dauphin's approach, the earl ſaw himſelf deſerted by all his friends, and unſupported by the Engliſh, though the king was affianced to his daughter. So, the dauphin with eaſe became maſter of Rovergne, and of all in general that belonged to the earl, who had nothing left but the little town of Liſle en Jourdain, about twelve miles from Toulouſe. The dauphin held it long beſieged in vain. At length, deſpairing of putting an honourable end to the ſiege, he artfully drew the earl to a conference, upon the promiſe of a ſafe conduct, and when he had him in his power, ſent him to the king his father, who

The earl of Armagnac takes poſſeſſion again of Cominge. P. Daniel.

The dauphin outs him of his territories. Hall.

Makes him priſoner by treachery.

[k] Rapin ſays, he had lately ſucceeded his brother Henry, whereas John had been earl of Somerſet ever ſince his brother Henry's death. 7 Hen. V. John was made duke of Somerſet, 21 Hen. VI, about this time. See note, p. 308.

[l] Six thouſand, ſays Monſtrelet.

[m] Anjou, part of Bretagne, &c. Ibid.

made

made no ſcruple to detain him [n]. Two years after, he re- 1443.
ſtored him his territories at the requeſt of the kings of Caſtile and Navarre, who interceded in his behalf.

The earl of Armagnac's misfortune cauſed the king and council of England, to grow cold with reſpect to the marriage, of which there was no further talk. It was not ſcrupled to put that affront upon an unfortunate prince, who was unable to be revenged [o].

Since the duke of Burgundy's ſeparate truce with Henry, 1444.
the French were not ſo eager to continue the war. The truth is, they had no leſs need of repoſe than the Engliſh. France was utterly ruined by the fatal war, which had laſted thirty years without interruption, and by the inteſtine troubles raiſed ſeveral years before the breach of the truce, by the quarrel between the houſes of Orleans and Burgundy. The princes and great men were diſheartened at the fatigues and loſſes they ſo long ſuſtained. The country and towns were become deſolate; France, though generally well peopled, could no longer find ſoldiers. Beſides, the duke of Orleans, who had promiſed to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to procure a peace, being willing to keep his word, never ceaſed to ſolicite king Charles upon that head. The duke of Burgundy preſſed him likewiſe on his part, and the whole kingdom in general ardently wiſhed to ſee a ceſſation of ſo many calamities. In England, a peace was no leſs earneſtly deſired. All the money levied there was ſwallowed up in France as in a bottomleſs gulf, from whence it never returned. In a word, the king was no warriour, and his council conſiſted for the moſt part of eccleſiaſticks, introduced by the cardinal of Wincheſter to ſtrengthen his party. The council was very ſenſible, the continuance of the war would by no means recommend them to the people. As the war had for ſome time been diſadvantageous to England, it was natural to throw the blame upon thoſe that ſat at the helm, rather than upon the king, who only approved of what was ſuggeſted by his miniſters. The duke of Glouceſter alone was of opinion, that freſh efforts ſhould be made to take the advantage of king Charles's weakneſs, and of the late truce with the duke of Burgundy. But that prince was no longer in vogue, nor were his counſels regarded.

The two kings are equally deſirous of a peace. Du Tillet.

[n] Under pretence, that he was come to the dauphin without a ſafe conduct. P. Daniel, tom. VI. p. 193.

[o] This year, on Decemb. 1, died the renowned ſir John Cornwall, baron of Fanhope, and lord of Milbroke; and was buried in a chapel, founded by himſelf in the church yard of the friars preachers, near Ludgate, London. Dugdale's Baron, vol. II. p. 213.

1444. These conſiderations, which were very weighty on both ſides, prevailed at length with the two kings to hearken to the inſtances of the duke of Burgundy, who preſſed them to conſent to a truce, in order more calmly to endeavour a peace. It was agreed, the negotiation ſhould be at Tours, where king Charles reſided, though by that the Engliſh ſeemed to be going to beg it. At any other time, the bare propoſal of treating at Tours would have been ſufficient for a rupture; but Henry's council were not ſo nice. They were for having a truce at any rate, and nothing appeared diſhonourable to attain that end. We ſhall even ſee preſently, that almoſt every thing was privately ſettled, before the ambaſſadors ſet out for Tours. The truce, which ſeemed to be founded on the publick good, was properly deſigned only for the ſupport of the miniſters, who had nothing leſs in view than the kingdom's advantage. Henry underſtood nothing of it, but ſuffered himſelf to be guided, according to cuſtom, by his counſellors, who made him believe, they had his intereſt at heart, when in reality they were labouring only for themſelves.

It is agreed to treat about a truce at Tours. Monſtrelet. Du Tillet. Act. Pub. XI. p. 49, &c. Hall.

William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, was appointed head of the embaſſy [p]. The earl had more reaſons than one to deſire this office, as will be ſeen preſently. Mean while, as he was not ignorant how nice a ſtep he was going to make, and how liable to be ſtrictly enquired into, he preſented to the king a petition, which probably had been concerted with the principal members of the council. He ſhowed in the petition a great ſcruple with regard to his inſtructions, pretending they were beyond his capacity, though it is likely he was himſelf the author. Then he modeſtly begged to be eaſed of the burden of the negotiation, or at leaſt, if the king did not think proper to grant him that favour, he would be pleaſed to ſecure him againſt all imputation. Whereupon the king, by the advice of his council, cauſed to be drawn an authentick order, to execute fully whatever was contained in his inſtructions. As probably the order was to be ſhown only in caſe of neceſſity and after the execution, the king ſaid in it, that the inſtructions concerned not only the general good of the kingdom, but alſo his own perſon and

The earl of Suffolk head of the embaſſy. He acts cautiouſly in the matter. February. Act. Pub. XI. p. 53.

[p] Together with Dr. Moleyns, keeper of the privy ſeal; Robert, lord Roos, ſir Thomas Hoo, Richard Andrew, the king's ſecretary, and John Wenlock, Eſq; Rymer's Fœd. tom. XI. p. 60. The French Ambaſſadors were, Charles, duke of Orleans, Lewis de Bourbon, earl of Vendôme, Peter de Brosé, ſteward of Poictou, and Bertram Beauriau, lord of Precignye. Hall, fol. 144.

marriage. A clear evidence that the marriage, ſpoken of 1444.
preſently, was already reſolved.

The ambaſſadors of England being come to Tours, entered immediately into negotiation with king Charles's commiſſioners concerning a peace. But after ſome mutual and fruitleſs propoſals, they were content with a truce, which was ſigned the 28th of May. It was to commence the 7th of July [q] this year, and end the firſt of April 1446. A truce is concluded at Tours. Ib. p. 59, &c. Du Tillet.

At the ſame time, the truce between England and Scotland was prolonged at Edinburgh for ſeven years, to begin the 1ſt of May 1447, which was the day the former was to expire. Act. Pub. XI. p. 58.

The affair of the truce with France being ended, the earl of Suffolk propoſed, or cauſed to be propoſed, the king's marriage with Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René of Anjou, who bore the title of king of Sicily, ſince the death of Lewis III. his elder brother. The Engliſh take the earl of Suffolk with making the propoſal of himſelf, without any authority; but we have ſeen the contrary above. Not but that probably he was the firſt contriver, but he had taken the precaution to procure the king's approbation. He was willing to keep in his preſent poſt, and nothing was more proper to ſupport him than this marriage. He knew, Henry was himſelf incapable of governing, and conſequently, it could not be but that his miniſters would be liable to envy, and bear the blame of whatever was not agreeable to the people. In this belief, he fancied, the beſt way to ſupport himſelf was to give the king a wife, and at the ſame time, the kingdom a governeſs. To that end, it was neceſſary, the princeſs who was to mount the throne ſhould be of an underſtanding proper to ſupply the defect of the king her ſpouſe, and of a ſteddineſs to protect the miniſtry. It was neceſſary moreover, that ſhe ſhould be of a rank not to diſparage the king, but withal, ſhould have no ground naturally to aſpire to ſuch a marriage; that being entirely indebted for it to the managers, ſhe might be always ready to ſupport them. The earl of Suffolk's aim was likewiſe to be ſtrictly united with the queen, in order to complete the ruin of the duke of Glouceſter, who was a perpetual obſtacle to the deſigns of the miniſtry. All theſe requiſites were found in Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René king of Sicily, and niece of the queen of France. She was a princeſs of a lively and daring ſpirit, of great penetration, uncommon reſolution, and not Suffolk propoſes a marriage between the king and Margaret of Anjou. Monſtrelet. Hall. Stow. His motives for it.

[q] It was to commence at land, June 1; and at ſea, July 1. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XI. p. 64.

1444. to be frighted by oppoſition or difficulties. On the other hand, the marriage propoſed by the earl of Suffolk was ſo advantageous, that ſhe could not have expected it without the concurrence of ſeveral circumſtances in her favour. I do not ſpeak of her birth, which certainly was illuſtrious enough to give her a pretenſion to that honour. But ſhe was ſo deſtitute of the goods of fortune, that her parents could not give her any dowry. To ſupply that defect, the Engliſh miniſters extolled her noble qualities, which, they ſaid, were more valuable than all the money in the world. But they chiefly inſinuated to the people, that the princeſs being niece to the queen of France and to king Charles's favourite, would be very inſtrumental in procuring a peace. This was plainly ſhowing how much a peace was wanted. Accordingly, the court of France, who had perfect intelligence of what paſſed in England, made their advantage of it, by engaging the earl of Suffolk to promiſe, in the king's name, to deliver Maine and the whole province of Maine to the king of Sicily, on condition, he ſhould preſent them to Charles of Anjou, his brother. Thus, inſtead of receiving Margaret's dowry, Henry purchaſed her with the reſtitution of one of the ſtrongeſt places in France, or rather with the whole province of Maine.

He engages to deliver up Maine to the king of Sicily. Hall. Stow.

The terms being thus ſettled, the earl of Suffolk returned to England, to propoſe them to the king, and cauſe them to be approved. This was no very difficult thing, ſince the principal counſellors were in the ſecret, and had already given their conſent. The duke of Glouceſter, who had never heard of it before, ſtrongly oppoſed it, for two reaſons which ſeemed unanſwerable. The firſt was, that the king being already engaged to the earl of Armagnac's daughter, it would be very diſhonourable to violate his faith, without alledging the leaſt excuſe. The ſecond was of no leſs force, namely, that Maine, being as it were the bulwark of Normandy, could not be abandoned without putting Normandy in manifeſt danger, as ſoon as the truce ſhould expire. But theſe reaſons were not regarded. So, by the advice of the council, the king impowered the earl of Suffolk, to eſpouſe the princeſs Margaret in his name.

He returns to England.

The duke of Glouceſter oppoſes the match. Hall.

Divers new creations. Hall.

For joy the marriage was concluded, the king created the earl his ambaſſador, marquis of Suffolk, and upon John Holland earl of Huntingdon, conferred the title of duke of Exeter[r]. At the ſame time he created Humphrey

[r] The king granted him and his heirs-male, a place and ſeat in parliament, and in the great councils, next to the duke of York. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XI. p. 49.

earl of Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and Henry de Beauchamp, ſon of the late earl of Warwick, duke of Warwick[s]. 1444.

The king's marriage was ſolemnized by proxy at Tours, in the preſence of king Charles and his whole court[t], in a ſplendid manner, little ſuitable to the preſent circumſtances of the two kings, and the indigence of the new queen[u]. The king's marriage ſolemnized at Tours. November. Hall.

Though the nuptials were celebrated in November, the queen came not into England till the May following, and on the 30th of the ſame month, was ſolemnly crowned. She was no ſooner with the king, but perceiving his weakneſs, ſhe ruled him with an abſolute ſway. By that means the marquis of Suffolk, the cardinal of Vincheſter, and the archbiſhop of York, had the ſame credit as before the king's marriage. They ſtood in need of the queen, as ſhe did of them, ſince ſhe had yet no other creatures, but what they had procured her. For that reaſon, a very ſtrict union was formed between the queen and the miniſters, which could not but end in the ruin of the duke of Glouceſter, whom they all looked upon as their common enemy. 1445. The queen's arrival. She is crowned. A league againſt the duke of Glouceſter.

The Truce being made only in order to a peace, this whole year was ſpent in ſeveral negotiations, concerning the time and place of a new congreſs. It was thought likewiſe, that an interview of the two kings might promote the concluſion of a peace. So the miniſters of both courts agreed, that the two monarchs ſhould meet ſome where in France, and for that purpoſe, Henry ſhould repair to Calais, in order to be near the place to be choſen for the interview. But ſeveral difficulties occurring about the choice The truce is prolonged at an interview of the two kings. Act. Pub. XI. p. 86, 87, 102, 113, 117, 121, 156, —189. p. 97. Monſtrelet.

[s] He alſo granted him in reverſion, from the death of Humphrey duke of Glouceſter, the iſles of Jerſey, Guernſey, Serk, Erm, and Aureney; as alſo the manor and hundred of Briſtol; and what is more, he was crowned king of the iſle of Wight, by king Henry's own hand. In conſideration of his father's great deſert, the king granted him place in parliament, and all other meetings, next the duke of Norfolk, and before Humphrey de Stafford, duke of Buckingham; which occaſioning great animoſities between them, by a ſpecial act made in parliament, it was eſtabliſhed, that they ſhould have precedency by turns yearly, the duke of Warwick to begin the firſt year: but his death, ſhortly after, put an end to this matter. Dugdale's Baron. vol. I. p. 248. Stow's Ann. p. 384.

[t] In the preſence of the king and queen of France, of the dukes of Orleans and Bretagne, of ſeven earls, twelve barons, twenty biſhops, beſides knights and gentlemen innumerable. Hall, fol. 148. Monſtrelet, vol. III. fol. 1, 2.

[u] Hall ſays, ſhe landed at Portſmouth in April. The marriage ſolemnity was performed at Southwick in Hampſhire, on April 23; after which ſhe came to London, and was crowned, fol. 148. Stow's Ann. p. 384.

1445. of the place, the truce was prolonged till November the 1st, 1446.

John Stafford archbishop of Canterbury. 1446. Henry Chicheley, who held the see of Canterbury thirty years [w], died this year, and was succeeded by John Stafford, bishop of Bath and Wells.

The duke of York is made regent of France for five years longer. Hall. A subsidy granted for the war. Cotton's Abridg. The duke of York having no farther business in France, came into England, where he was very civilly received, and thanked by the court, for his services to the state. The king, willing to shew his gratitude, granted him a patent to be regent of France, another five years. We shall see hereafter, his enemies would not suffer him to enjoy that dignity so long.

The parliament which met the beginning of the year 1446, granted the king a considerable subsidy, for a vigorous prosecution of the war in France, as soon as the truce was expired [x]. But this pretended design of continuing the war, was only a decoy to draw money from the parliament. Instead of preparations for war, negotiations for the interview of the two kings, and for a congress of ambassadors to conclude a peace, were zealously continued. Mean while the truce was farther prolonged to April the 1st, 1447. This shews, the council intended not to carry on the war, though the parliament was called on that pretence. We shall see presently, the truce was again prolonged, and interrupted only by an unexpected accident, contrary to the intention of the English ministry [y].

Truce is prolonged. Act. Pub. XI. p. 108, 110, 111, 149—155. Monstrelet.

The parliament gives the marquis of Suffolk thanks. Cotton's Abridg. Hall. The parliament might easily have perceived the devices to procure subsidies, if they had not voluntarily shut their own eyes. This was one of these parliaments that are managed, as it is but too often the case, by the intrigues of the court. This plainly appeared, in a resolution to return the marquis of Suffolk publick thanks, for his great

[w] He was archbishop but twenty-nine years, and died April 12, 1443. His successor John Stafford was a bastard, as were, in the next century, Tonstal, Gardiner, and Bonner. The said archbishop Chicheley founded All-Souls college in Oxford; as also Barnard college, now incorporated into St. John's in the same university. Stow's Ann. p. 383.

[x] This parliament met at Westminster, on Feb. 25, 1445, and was at several times prorogued to Jan. 24, 1446. It granted the king a tenth and a half, and a fifteenth and a half, except five thousand pounds allowed to poor wasted towns. They also granted tunnage and poundage as before on denizens, but double on aliens: and gave a subsidy of thirty-four shillings and four-pence on denizens, and fifty-three shillings on aliens, for every sack of wool, for four years. Cotton's Abridg. p. 629, 630. In this parliament it was enacted, that to prevent oppression, and exactions, no man should be sheriff or undersheriff, above one year, upon pain of forfeiting two hundred pounds. Statute

[y] Also this year, on August 17, a twelve years truce was concluded between England and Flanders. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XI. p. 132, 140.

service

ſervice to the kingdom, in negotiating the king's marriage [a]. 1446.
Mean time the advantages accruing to the king or ſtate from an alliance with the family of the moſt mortal enemy to both had not hitherto been perceived. Neither was the parliament contented with this. They addreſſed the king, Hall.
praying him to reward the marquis, and even granted a ſubſidy on purpoſe to ſatisfy him for the expences of his embaſſy.

Project againſt the duke of Glouceſter.

The queen, the cardinal of Wincheſter, the marquis of Suffolk, and the reſt of that party, finding themſelves ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, and having nothing to fear from a parliament ſo much at their devotion, began to contrive Hall.
the ruin of the duke of Glouceſter whom they ſtill dreaded. The people, for the moſt part, were in his intereſt. Beſides, as hitherto he was preſumptive heir of the crown, they had reaſon to fear, in caſe he ſhould one day mount the throne, he would call them to an account. Their firſt
ſtep was to remove him from the council. To give ſome Hall.
colour to this injuſtice, perſons were ſuborned to accuſe him of divers crimes, the principal whereof was, that being protector of the realm, he had put ſeveral to death by his own authority [b], and aggravated the condemnation of many others. Upon theſe accuſations, about which a great noiſe was made, he was ſummoned before the council. But he cleared himſelf with ſuch evidence, from all that was laid to his charge, that the council, though entirely compoſed of his enemies, thought not fit to proceed thereon. It is not in England as in other countries, where the lives of the ſubjects depend in ſome meaſure on the will of the ſovereign, who appoints ſuch commiſſioners as he pleaſes, to proſecute thoſe he has a mind to deſtroy. To take away the duke of Glouceſter's life in a legal manner, he muſt have been tried by his peers. But his enemies were well aware, how great ſoever their credit might be, the body of the nobility was not ſo corrupted, as to hope to cauſe the firſt prince of the blood to be condemned, upon

[a] On June 2, in the firſt ſeſſion of this parliament, he openly, eloquently, and boldly declared, what pain and diligence he had taken in France, as well in concluding the truce, as in making the marriage between his ſovereign lord the king and the lady Margaret. The like ſpeech he made the next day in the houſe of commons; whereupon it was voted, that his labour and diligence ſhould be recorded in the rolls of this parliament, not only for the honour of him and his family, but alſo for his acquittal and diſcharge. Hall, fol. 149.

[a] A whole fifteenth. Hall, fol. 148.

[b] That he had cauſed men adjudged to die, to be put to other execution than the law of the land had ordered or aſſigned. Hall, fol. 151.

1446. forged crimes. Mean while, this proceeding ſo moved the Londoners, that nothing was heard, but praiſes of the duke of Glouceſter, and curſes againſt thoſe who governed in the king's name. Theſe murmurs, which were certain indications of the people's affection for the duke, convinced his enemies, there was no medium between his and their ruin. Accordingly, without further conſideration, they reſolved to diſpatch him out of the way. The queen, who was of a bold and enterpriſing genius, was the perſon that firſt encouraged that reſolution. At leaſt, the hiſtorians inſinuate as much, if they have not expreſsly ſaid it. And indeed, the miniſtry would never have ventured upon ſuch an action, without having her at their head.

His ruin determined.

1447. It was not poſſible, as was obſerved, to put that prince to death, by the uſual courſe of juſtice; and it would have been very dangerous to murder him openly. His enemies were bent to deſtroy him, but would conceal the hand that ſhould give the blow. To execute their deſign with all poſſible ſecrecy, they deviſed a means, countenanced, if not contrived by the queen. This was, to accuſe him of ſome crime, in order to have a pretence to impriſon him, and then their plot might, with great privacy and eaſe, be accompliſhed. For that purpoſe, it was rumoured, that a very important affair required the ſpeedy meeting of a parliament. Accordingly, one was called for the February following [c]. In the mean time, the queen and miniſtry affected to load the duke of Glouceſter with honours and careſſes, not to inſpire him with confidence, but with ſuſpicions. They would have been glad at his abſenting himſelf, or taking ſome other courſe, that would have given them an advantage againſt him. To that end, they endeavoured, by ſecret emiſſaries, to terrify him, in warning him to take care of himſelf, and hinting a deſign to accuſe him before the parliament of ſundry crimes and miſdemeanours, and that every thing was prepared for his condemnation; that St. Edmundſbury was purpoſely choſen for holding the parliament, as a place more proper for the deſign than London, where he was ſupported by the people. All this was only to induce him to withdraw, and thereby give himſelf ſome appearance of truth to the calumnies, wherewith it was intended to blacken him. But as he knew

The parliament is ſummoned to St. Edmundſbury. Hall.

[c] It was ſummoned firſt to meet at Cambridge, but afterwards ordered to be at St. Edmundſbury; where it accordingly met on February 10. Cotton's Abridg. p. 632—634.

his

his own innocence, he would not, by abſenting himſelf, give occaſion to the world, to believe him guilty. However he could not, after all, avoid falling into his enemies ſnares. 1447.

The firſt day of the ſeſſion, the duke was apprehended [d], and put under cloſe confinement, without being allowed to keep any of his domeſticks. To give a plauſible colour to this ſevere uſage, care was taken to publiſh, that he was accuſed of conſpiring to kill the king, in order to ſeize the crown, and with an armed force, to deliver his duchess out of Kenelworth caſtle, where ſhe was impriſoned. The firſt of theſe accuſations found no credit at all with the people. On the contrary, there was preſently a commotion in the city in his favour, but which was ſoon appeaſed. As the people thought him innocent, they imagined he would clear himſelf from theſe, as he had from the former charges. But he was allowed neither time nor opportunity to make his defence. On the morrow, he was found dead in his bed, without any ſigns of violence on his body. However, the people were convinced he was murdered. Some ſay, he was ſmothered between two feather-beds; and others, that he underwent the ſame fate with Edward II. To remove theſe ſuſpicions, his body was ſhewn to both houſes of parliament [e], and expoſed, for ſome days, to publick view. But it muſt have been great boldneſs, to charge with the murder, thoſe that were conſidered as the authors. Theſe were no leſs than the managers of the affairs of the kingdom, who, in ſacrificing the firſt prince of the blood to their malice and vengeance, plainly ſhewed, what enemies of an inferior rank were to expect.

The duke is confined. Hall. Act. Pub. XI. p. 178.

He is found dead in his bed. Hall.

His body expoſed to view.

Mean while, to make good, in ſome meaſure, the impeachment againſt the deceaſed, ſeveral of his domeſticks were apprehended, and accuſed of being in the plot to kill the king. Whereupon they were all ſentenced to die, by judges appointed by virtue of the king's commiſſion, of whom the marquis of Suffolk was chief. But, though the crime for which they were condemned was the moſt heinous, the king pardoned them all without exception [f]. This act of grace was founded upon the conſideration of

His domeſticks condemned for high treaſon. Act Pub. XI. p. 178.

The king pardons them.

[d] By John lord viſcount Beaumont, then high-conſtable, Humphrey Staffford, duke of Buckingham, &c. Hall, fol. 15.

[e] As though he had died of the palſy or an impoſthume. Ibid. Stow's Anſ. p. 386.

[f] Of thirty-two that were attached, five were drawn to Tyburn, hanged, let down alive, ſtript naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and then a pardon was ſhewn for their lives. Ibid. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XI. p. 178.

Good-

1447. Good-Friday, and the aſſumption of the Virgin, with the like pious and religious motives. This gives occaſion to preſume, theſe people were bribed to confeſs themſelves guilty, upon aſſurance of their pardon. However that be, there was no enquiry made after the ſudden death of the duke of Glouceſter. Nay, it was pretended, he was notoriouſly guilty of the crime, for which his domeſticks were condemned, though they had never been confronted with him. But as theſe domeſticks were not thoſe whom he moſt truſted, nor even ſome of the principal, it could not be thought, that he would have been ſo imprudent, as to make them his inſtruments, or communicate to them ſuch a deſign, if he had really conceived it.

Hatred of the people againſt the queen and miniſtry.

The outrage exerciſed upon a prince of that character, ſo univerſally beloved and eſteemed by the people, drew upon the queen and the miniſters an almoſt univerſal hatred, which time could never efface. The queen eſpecially was publickly charged with the murder, and the reſpect due to her was not capable of bridling people's tongues. This however is the ſame queen, whom the French load with exceſſive commendations, probably becauſe ſhe was of the royal family of France. It is true, they very ſlightly paſs over the duke of Glouceſter's death, without endeavouring to juſtify her. As for the king, very likely, he was not conſulted in that infamous action. But whether he did not ſo much as ſuſpect the authors of the murder, or had not the courage to puniſh them, he can be excuſed only on account of his natural weakneſs. I cannot leave this ſubject, without remarking, how ſhort-ſighted human policy is. The queen and the reſt of the duke of Glouceſter's enemies thought his death had ſecured them from all oppoſition. But, by the juſt judgment of God, the duke's death was the very cauſe of the ruin of the king, queen, and all that were concerned. The duke of York thereby ſaw himſelf at liberty to aſſert his claim to the crown, a claim which occaſioned torrents of Engliſh blood to be ſhed, and of which doubtleſs he would never have thought, if there had been ſuch a competitor as the duke of Glouceſter [s].

Hall. fol. 252.

When

[s] His body was carried to St. Albans, where a noble monument, afterwards erected to his memory, ſtill remains in the conventual church. The vault wherein his body was depoſited, and the exact place of which was, it ſeems, then unknown, was diſcovered in the late queen Anne's reign. He was called, The good duke of Glouceſter. Having had his education at Baliol college,

When this tragedy was acting in England, the negotiations for a peace were carrying on in France. But as great difficulties occurred concerning the projected interview of the two kings, the truce was further prolonged to January the first, 1448. 1447. The truce prolonged. Act. Pub. XI. p. 151, 163.

Meantime, the dutchess of Burgundy, by virtue of the power received from the duke her husband, prolonged the truce with England till 1459, on condition that, which of the two princes should desire to break it, should give the other twelve months notice. After that, a new treaty was made, May the 4th, whereby both parties agreed that the truce should not be broke within the first four years. The truce between Burgundy and England prolonged. p. 140. p. 171.

The cardinal of Winchester, one of the principal authors of the duke of Gloucester's death, enjoyed but one month the satisfaction of his enemy's fall [h]. He was a prelate much more proper for the world, than the church. Accordingly, he remained to his last breath attached to the former. He is said to die in a sort of a passion, that his riches were not capable of exempting him from the common fate of all mankind, and to see himself thereby upon a level with the most miserable. The death of the cardinal of Winchester. Hall. Sandford.

Mean while, the people perceiving the time designed for procuring a peace was spent in vain, loudly murmured against the marquis of Suffolk. It was openly said, he had betrayed the king and the state, that his treaty with the French The people murmur against Suffolk.

lege, he became a great proficient in learning, and was a great favourer of learned men. He laid the first foundation of the famous library at Oxford, since known by the name of Bodleian, from sir Thomas Bodley, by whom it was wonderfully increased. Sir Thomas Moor gives an instance of this duke's sagacity. The king coming one time in progress to St. Albans, a beggar, born blind, as he said, recovered his sight at the shrine of St. Alban. The miracle being noised about, the duke being there with the king, desired to see him; the beggar being brought, he asked him whether he was born blind? he answered, yes truly. And can you now see, says the duke? yes, I thank God, and St. Alban, replies the beggar. Tell me then, says the duke, of what colour is my gown? the beggar readily told him the colour. And what colour, says the duke, is such a one's gown? the beggar likewise told him; and so of several others. You counterfeit knave, says the duke, how came you that were born blind, and could not see till now, so suddenly to know the difference of colours? and thereupon, instead of an alms, ordered him to be set in the stocks.

[h] He died April 11, after having been bishop of Lincoln seven years, and of Winchester forty-three; in all fifty, from the time of his first consecration. He was also several times chancellor of England; two years while bishop of Lincoln, and when of Winchester, four years at one time, and two at another. Before he entered into orders, he begat by Alice, daughter of Richard Fitzalan earl of Arundel, a natural daughter called Joan, married to sir Edward Stradling. He founded St. Crosses hospital near Winchester; and lies buried in Winchester cathedral, where a noble monument is erected to his memory: which see in Sandford, p. 462.

tended

1447. tended only to a truce deſtructive to England, as it afforded the enemy time to fortify himſelf; that he had engaged to deliver Maine to the French, in order to marry the king to a princeſs, who had given ſenſible proofs of the calamities the Engliſh were to expect under her government. These murmurs were ſo publick, that the marquis could not help taking notice of them; and in order to ſilence them, requeſted the king to hear his defence, that he might ſatisfy him of his innocence. Whereupon the king ſet him a day to clear himſelf, and heard him in his own apartment, in the preſence of ſeveral lords, none of whom were there with a deſign to refute him. He related all he had done in France, and could eaſily juſtify himſelf, ſince he had taken care, before his departure, to be fortified with the king's orders. Having finiſhed his ſpeech, the king declared himſelf ſatisfied, and gave him letters patents under the great ſeal, acquitting him from all imputation of miſdemeanour, and forbidding all perſons, on pain of his diſpleaſure, to accuſe or ſpeak ill of him. But this was not capable of putting a ſtop to the people's murmurs. It was not doubted that the king would be ſatisfied, but this was not thought a ſufficient reaſon to ſatisfy the nation. Notwithſtanding the marquis's pretended defence, he was looked upon with horror, as he was believed to be the principal author of the duke of Glouceſter's murder. Beſides, the king's marriage, procured by his means, was conſidered as one of the greateſt calamities that could befall England. This was the general opinion of town and country: but the court, where the queen would ſuffer none but her creatures, ſtood otherwiſe affected. The miniſters had likewiſe for adherents, throughout the whole kingdom, ſuch as found their account in their attachment to the court, that is, whoever held any poſt or office under the miniſtry. Theſe employed their authority and endeavours, to ſtifle the complaints and murmurs of the people, who could not bear to ſee the adminiſtration of the publick affairs in the hands of a foreigner. Indeed, the king, incapable of holding the reins of the government himſelf, only lent his name to the queen, who made uſe of it as ſhe pleaſed. For his part, he minded nothing but his devotions, wherein the queen took care to make him ſpend his whole time, as in the only thing he was fit for, in order to divert him entirely from the government. Some have made a ſaint of this prince. But he may be ſaid to be one of thoſe ſaints, more commendable for the vices they have not, than for the virtues they poſſeſs, and to whom a great weakneſs of mind is inſtead of merit and worth.

He makes his defence before the king, who gives him an authentick diſcharge. Act Pub. XI. p. 172.

I. e P. d'Orleans.

It

It was impoſſible for the queen, and the marquis of Suffolk, to govern the kingdom alone, without raiſing jealouſy. It was not cuſtomary to ſee the queens take upon them the government. Accordingly, the queen was perceived with uneaſineſs to uſurp an arbitrary power in the king's name, who had no farther concern in the affairs, than to ſign, without examination, the orders that were brought him. The queen's haughty carriage, her partiality in diſpoſing of places, and above all, the duke of Glouceſter's murder, had drawn upon her the hatred of the nation to ſuch a degree, that ſhe was every where talked of with very little reſpect. Her intimate union with the marquis of Suffolk, gave her enemies a freſh occaſion to ſpread reports not much to her honour. The marquis was no more beloved than the queen. It was he that had brought her into England, and to accompliſh the marriage, ſacrificed the intereſts of the kingdom. But the king's name was ſo reverenced, that beſides thoſe who were by intereſt attached to the court, many others were of the ſame party from a motive of duty. It was therefore no eaſy matter, to wreſt from the queen and the favourite, the authority they enjoyed. 1447.

The people's diſpoſition with regard to the queen.

The diſpoſition of moſt people with regard to the queen and the miniſters, inſpired the duke of York with hopes, he ſhould one day be able to aſſert his title to the crown. He was, by his mother, the only heir of the houſe of Mortimer or March, deſcended from Lionel, third ſon of Edward III. and elder brother of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, whoſe poſterity was in poſſeſſion of the throne. But probably, he would never have formed ſuch a deſign, if the duke of Glouceſter had been alive, or the people not diſaffected to the queen and the miniſtry. Mean while, as it would have been very dangerous to diſcover his intentions, before the people's inclinations were ſounded, he took care ſo to proceed, that it ſhould not be poſſible to convict him of the leaſt ſtep to that end. He contented himſelf with making uſe of ſecret emiſſaries, who induſtriouſly ſpread among the people, diſcourſes proper to turn their thoughts to his title to the crown. It was whiſpered about, that the houſe of Lancaſter had uſurped the throne. That indeed the uſurpation had been tolerable, whilſt the kings of that houſe were princes of diſtinguiſhed worth, and had acted for the welfare and honour of the nation; that even, during the non-age of the preſent king, there had been hopes of his treading in the ſteps of his anceſtors, and his being a worthy follower of the king his father; but that ſince he became of age, nothing

They begin to talk of the duke of York's title to the crown.

glorious

1447. glorious was to be expected from him: that therefore the Engliſh could have no reaſon to ſupport any longer the uſurpation of the crown, for the ſake of a queen, who, being ſprung from the blood of their moſt mortal enemy, ruled the kingdom with an arbitrary power: that in viewing the poſterity of Edward III. it was evident, the houſe of March had been unjuſtly deprived of the crown: that the duke of York being the ſole heir of that houſe, and deſcended from Edward III. by his paternal anceſtors, ought to have his due right. In fine, that his noble qualities, his known virtue, and his ſignal ſervices to the nation, very ſtrongly ſupported the juſt title given him by his birth. Theſe diſcourſes, artfully ſpread among the people, began to gain the duke of York a party. But he appeared not himſelf: all was done in private by his friends.

The court takes from the duke of York the regency of France, and gives it to the duke of Somerſet. Hall.

Mean while, the queen, the favourite, and all the houſe of Lancaſter, failed not to take notice of what was divulged concerning the pretenſions of the duke of York. He might indeed keep himſelf concealed from others, but it was not eaſy to deceive ſuch quick-ſighted perſons, who were ſo greatly concerned in the affair. As they did not queſtion, that all theſe diſcourſes were ſpread with his approbation, they believed it requiſite to leſſen his credit, by giving him ſome mortification. John, duke of Somerſet, dying during theſe tranſactions [i], Edmund his brother [k], who ſucceeded him, ſeemed a very proper perſon to oppoſe to the duke of York. So, without any pretence, the queen and the marquis of Suffolk, cauſed the king to remove the duke of York from the regency of France, before his term was expired, and conferred it on the new duke of Somerſet. This duke was of an exceeding haughty temper, and as his brother had been engaged in great conteſts with the duke of York, he behaved to him upon this occaſion, ſo as to make him his implacable enemy. On the other hand, the duke of York very highly reſented the affront: but, as it was not in his power to be

[i] He died May 27, 22 Hen. VI. 1444, leaving an only daughter, Margaret, married to Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, by whom ſhe had Henry VII. John duke of Somerſet lies buried under a grey marble monument, with his wife Margaret Beauchamp, in Winborn-minſter in Dorſetſhire. Sandford, p. 327, 328. This year alſo, on Auguſt 5, died John Holland, duke of Exeter, and was buried in St. Catherine's, near the Tower of London. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 81.

[k] Upon his brother's death (22 Hen. VI.) he became earl of Somerſet, but the dukedom of Somerſet was not granted him till 26 Henry VI. 1448, which fell into the king's hands for want of male-iſſue of the ſaid John. The earldom was granted to his father and his heirs-male by king Richard II. and confirmed by Henry IV. Sandford, p. 331.

revenged,

revenged, concealed his reſentment, in expectation of a more favourable opportunity to ſhow it. 1448.

In the beginning of the year 1448, the king, who acted only by the queen's ſuggeſtions, created the marquis of Suffolk, duke of Suffolk [l]. The queen ſeemed to intend to brave the people, by daily ſhowering her favours upon a lord ſo extremely odious to the whole nation. She thereby gave her enemies a great advantage, who only wanted occaſions to excite the people againſt her. It is an error, to which thoſe at the helm are frequently liable, to diſregard the complaints of the people. As they are always ſurrounded with flatterers, either they are ignorant of what paſſes any where but at court, or imagine that, having moſt of the great men for them, the reſt of the people are to be counted as nothing: but it often happens, they find it to their coſt, that the great men, and kings themſelves, have no more power than private perſons, when unſupported by the people. This is what we ſhall have occaſion to ſee more particularly in the courſe of the preſent reign [m]. But we muſt firſt return to the affairs of France, which will yet afford us matter for ſeveral years. The marquiſs made duke of Suffolk. Dugdale. Stow.

In the negotiation concerning the king's marriage, it was agreed, that the city of Mans, and whatever the Engliſh held in Maine, ſhould be delivered to Charles of Anjou, the future queen's uncle. But the noiſe this article made in England, and the duke of Glouceſter's oppoſition, cauſed the reſtitution to be deferred till this year. In February, Charles of Anjou, at the head of ſome troops, appeared before Mans, in order to take poſſeſſion. The French ſay, he beſieged the city, and that the duke of Exeter, the governor, not daring to ſtand an aſſault, ſurrendered by capitulation [n]. But it is certain, the duke of Exeter was not then in the place, neither was there any appearance of a ſiege. The reſtitution Mans delivered up to Charles of Anjou. Monſtrelet. Act. Pub. XI. p. 203, 215. P. Daniel.

[l] His patent of creation bears date June 2. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 188.

[m] This year, on February 12, a parliament met at Weſtminſter, which granted the king a tenth, and a fifteenth, tunnage and poundage for five years of all merchants, with three ſhillings tunnage more of aliens; and the ſubſidy of wools for four years, as before. They alſo granted the king ſixteen-pence to be taken of every houſeholder within the realm, not born in the king's dominions; and ſix-pence of every other perſon not ſo born, and who was no houſholder; as alſo, ſix ſhillings and eight-pence of every merchant-ſtranger, and twenty-pence of all and every of their clerks. Cotton's Abridg. p. 637, 638.

[n] Monſtrelet ſays, the Engliſh had put off the reſtitution of Mans for the ſpace of three months, and had, within that time, introduced fifteen hundred men therein: ſo that the earl of Dunois was ſent with an army of about ſeven thouſand men, to reduce that city by force, fol. 5.

was

1448. was made [o], by agreement between the two courts, and Henry sent to Mans, two commiſſioners to deliver the city to the prince of Anjou. As he was entering, the two commiſſioners met him upon the bridge, and before a publick notary made a formal proteſtation, declaring that the king of England's ſole intent in reſtoring that place, was to procure a final peace between him and Charles his uncle, and only during the truce. Moreover, he reſerved to himſelf the ſovereignty of the city and province, and, in caſe of any attempt upon the right of ſovereignty, claimed a power to revoke the ceſſion, without injuring his honour. Charles of Anjou heard the proteſtation without approving it, and took poſſeſſion of the place.

Henry's proteſtation. Act. Pub. XI. p. 204.

The truce is prolonged. Ib. p. 193, 199, 206.

After the ſurrender of Mans to the French, the negotiations for a peace, and the interview of the two kings were continued: but by reaſon of ſome difficulties, the truce was forced to be farther prolonged to April the 1ſt, 1449. It did not laſt however ſo long; an unforeſeen accident put an end to it ſooner than was expected.

Surienne ſurpriſes Fougeres. Monſtrelet. Du Tillet. Hall.

About the middle of this year [p], Surienne an Arragonian, who had ſerved the king of England twenty years, and was knight of the garter, and governor of lower Normandy, ſcaled, in the night, the town of Fougeres, belonging to the duke of Bretagne, and took a great booty. Whereupon, the duke of Bretagne ſent a herald to the duke of Somerſet, then at Roan, and demanded the reſtitution of the place, with all the plunder. The regent anſwered, he was extremely diſpleaſed with the action, and would give the duke of Bretagne all the ſatisfaction he could reaſonably expect.

The duke of Bretagne complains of it.

The regent promiſes ſatisfaction.

The duke of Bretagne carries his complaints to the king of France, who takes the thing to heart. Monſtrelet. Hall.

Mean while, as it would require ſome time to be informed more particularly of the affair, and to notify it to the court of England, the duke of Bretagne, impatient of the delay, complained to the king of France of the breach of the truce, wherein Bretagne was expreſsly included. Charles conſidering his affairs were in a good ſituation, and thoſe of the Engliſh in great diſorder, as well by reaſon of the king's inability, as of the people's diſcontent, took fire at the news, as if the injury had been done to himſelf. And yet, to look back on the duke of Bretagne's proceedings, during the whole former war, Charles had no great cauſe to be ſatisfied with that houſe. However, perceiving it to be a favourable op-

[o] March 15. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XI. p. 204.

[p] On March 24. Surienne had with him between ſix and ſeven hundred Men. Monſtrelet, fol. 6. They not only took this town, but alſo made ſeveral incurſions in Bretagne. Ibid.

portunity,

portunity to renew the war, whilſt the Engliſh thought of nothing leſs, he ſent a gentleman to the duke of Somerſet, and two ambaſſadors to London, to demand reparation for the inſult. But at the ſame time, to make the reparation impracticable, he inſiſted upon the payment of ſixteen hundred thouſand crowns to the duke of Bretagne, for the damages ſuſtained by the taking of Fougeres. This ſum was ſo exorbitant, that it muſt not be thought ſtrange, if the court of England refuſed to pay it. Beſides, it was almoſt impoſſible, that in ſo ſhort a time a juſt calculation could be made of the damages done by the Engliſh. It was alſo very ſurpriſing, that Charles ſhould ſo eagerly eſpouſe the duke of Bretagne's quarrel, who was not included in the truce as his ally [q], but rather as a neutral prince who had frequently been mediator between the two kings. The ambaſſadors however were told, the king would take care to indemnify the duke, as ſoon as it was known, what his loſs might amount to; and if Charles would ſend ambaſſadors to Louviers, the king of England would do the like, in order to ſettle all things to the common ſatisfaction of the two kings and the duke of Bretagne [r].

1448. The king of France demands an extravagant ſatisfaction for the duke of Bretagne. Monſtrelet. Anſwer of the court of England. Act. Pub. XI. p. 216.

At the congreſs held at Louviers upon that occaſion, the Engliſh repreſented, that the taking of Fougeres was without orders, and unknown to the regent. They expoſtulated likewiſe againſt the ſum demanded, as far exceeding what the duke of Bretagne could juſtly require. But the French plainly told them, if the duke received not the ſatisfaction their maſter demanded, he deemed the truce violated. This haughty and peremptory way of negotiating on Charles's part, ſeemed very ſtrange to the Engliſh, but the French perſiſting in their firſt propoſition, the conference broke up, without any effect [s].

The conference at Louviers. Monſtrelet. Hall. to no purpoſe.

So bent was Charles upon renewing the war, whilſt the king of England was unprepared, that in caſe the Engliſh ſhould reſolve to give the ſatisfaction required, he had another pretence for a rupture. He pretended, they had violated the truce with Scotland, and he was obliged to under-

Charles ſeeks occaſion to renew the war. Monſtrelet. Hall.

[q] He ſeems to have been ſo, for he inſiſted chiefly upon that point, (as being his ſally and vaſſal) in his complaints to the king of France. See Monſtrelet, fol. 6, and Hall, fol. 152. And indeed he is expreſsly mentioned in the truce. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XI. p. 64.

[r] They alſo diſavowed the fact, ſaying, it was done without the conſent either of the king their maſter, or of the duke of Somerſet his lieutenant. Monſtrelet, fol. 7. Hall, fol. 152.

[s] There was another conference in the abbey of Bon-port, but which likewiſe came to nothing. Monſtrelet, fol. 9.

1448. take the cauſe of the Scots. Indeed, there had been a conflict between the Engliſh and Scots, wherein the Engliſh had been worſted. Buchanan makes it a pitched battle, and ſays, the Engliſh loſt three thouſand men. However, the affair does not ſeem to have been of ſo great conſequence, ſince it was preſently ſuppreſſed. This year the two nations renewed their truce [t], without fixing the time of its continuance. Only it was agreed, that, which of the two kings ſhould deſire to break it, he ſhould give the other notice ſo long beforehand. However, king James had not deſired Charles to interpoſe in the quarrel, and conſequently, it is evident, Charles ſought an occaſion of rupture.

Buchanan.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 229. 236, 238, 242, 244, 247, 268, 271.

1449. Whilſt Charles was making his preparations, he amuſed the Engliſh with fruitleſs negotiations. The court of England's imprudence at that juncture, is very aſtoniſhing. They knew neither how to preſerve the truce, nor prepare for war. If they had been willing to avoid a rupture, they ſhould at leaſt have reſtored Fougeres to the duke of Bretagne, with promiſe of amends for all damages. But they kept the place, without uſing any effectual endeavours to appeaſe the incenſed prince. The council, where greater care was taken to introduce the queen's and the duke of Suffolk's creatures, than perſons qualified to manage the publick affairs, ſeemed to be ſeized with a ſpirit of inconſideration. To ſee the queen's indolence on this occaſion, one would have thought, that being without iſſue, ſhe was in a plot with the king's enemies, to diſpoſſeſs him of all he ſtill held in France. If ſhe, and her favourites and miniſters, or even the whole council, had ſuch a deſign, they ſucceeded but too well. However that be, the faults they committed on this occaſion, are to be excuſed, only by the conſideration of the haughtineſs wherewith Charles acted, who rendered an agreement impracticable. But, at the ſame time, they ſhould have prepared for their defence.

Imprudence of the council of England. Hall.

As ſoon as Charles was in condition to renew the war, he cauſed the caſtle of Conches, and Pont de l'Arche, in Normandy, and, about the ſame time, Gerberoy in Beauvoiſis, Cognac, and St. Maigrin in Guienne, to be ſurpriſed, in the duke of Bretagne's name. The Engliſh complained in their turn of the violation of the truce, but were told, it was by way of repriſals for Fougeres. Thus the war was rekindled at a juncture very diſadvantageous to the Engliſh. As they

Charles ſurpriſes ſeveral places of the Engliſh by way of repriſals for Fougeres. Monſtrelet. Hall.

[t] It was July 8, 1449. The truce was to laſt from Auguſt 10, 1449, to September 20, 1450. See Rymer's Fœd. tom. XI. p. 252.

were unprepared, the duke of Somerſet, regent of France, was deſtitute of forces, when he moſt wanted them. Charles had therefore free ſcope to puſh his conqueſts. This gives occaſion to believe, the ſurpriſe of Fougeres was unknown to the court of England. Otherwiſe, it muſt be thought, either the miniſters had loſt their ſenſes, in not preparing to ſupport their enterpriſe, or had among them traitors, who intended to re-engage the Engliſh in war, before they were ready. Certainly, when it is conſidered, that the court was ſo remiſs to ſatisfy the duke of Bretagne, and ſo careleſs to prepare for war, it is hard to know what to think of ſuch a conduct. 1449.

Charles's chief aim was to recover Normandy, and for that purpoſe had prepared four armies. A plain demonſtration, he did not deſire the affair of Fougeres ſhould be ended by an agreement. Since the congreſs of Louviers, which broke up in April he would not have had time to put ſo many forces on foot. The firſt of theſe armies he headed himſelf. The earl of Dunois, lately made earl of Longueville, and generaliſſimo of the king's forces under the conſtable, commanded the ſecond. The duke of Alenſon had the command of the third; and the duke of Bretagne, of the fourth, wholly conſiſting of his own troops. All the towns of Normandy were ill provided with men and ammunition. Moſt of the governors depending upon the truce, were gone to England. So the French armies had only to appear before the towns, in order to carry them. Several places did not ſtay to be attacked. Some taking up arms, expelled the Engliſh garriſons; others were ſold by the commanding officers. Pont Audemer and Chateau Galliard were the only places that made a tolerable defence. In ſhort, not to enter into a needleſs detail of all the ſieges, whether real or feigned, it will ſuffice to ſay in a word, that before the campaign was ended, Charles was able to beſiege Roan, where he had correſpondents. Having aſſembled all his forces, making a body of fifty thouſand men, he ordered the capital of Normandy to be inveſted, the 8th of October. He would not form a regular ſiege, being well aſſured, the duke of Somerſet, and the earl of Shrewſbury, who were ſhut up there, with three thouſand men only, would not be able to defend themſelves againſt the inhabitants, who had promiſed to riſe in his favour. And indeed, within a few days, the earl of Dunois was going to be introduced at St. Hilary's gate, with three hundred men, if the earl of Shrewſbury

Charles acts againſt Normandy with four armies. Monſtrelet. Hall.

He inveſts Roan. Monſtrelet. Hall.

1449. bury had not come very ſeaſonably, and repulſed that detachment.

The citizens open the gates to the French. Monſtrelet.

The inhabitants, notwithſtanding the diſappointment, perſiſted in their reſolution. On the 19th of October, the whole city riſing in arms with one conſent, all that the duke of Somerſet could do, was to diſtribute his garriſon in ſome of the moſt advantageous poſts. But the French being introduced, quickly forced all theſe poſts ſword in hand. There was only the palace left, where the duke of Somerſet and the earl of Shrewſbury were, with eight hundred men. As they foreſaw, they ſhould ſoon be in want of proviſions, the duke deſired to ſpeak with the king in order to capitulate; which being granted, he offered to retire upon honourable terms. But the king inſiſted upon his ſurrendering at diſcretion, unleſs he would treat for the reſt of Normandy. As this point could not be adjuſted, the duke returned to the palace, and held out ten or twelve days longer. At laſt, he was forced to capitulate, on condition of leaving all his artillery, paying fifty thouſand crowns of gold, and delivering to the king, Caudebec, Arques, Lillebonne, Tancarville, Montravilliers, and Harfleur [u]. The earl of Shrewſbury was left in hoſtage [w] for the performance of the engagement, and the Engliſh garriſon marched out of Roan, where Charles made his entry, on the 19th of November. The governor of Harfleur, not thinking fit to comply with the capitulation, the earl of Longueville was detached by the king to beſiege that place, which ſurrendered the beginning of January [x]. Though Charles might juſtly have detained the earl of Shrewſbury, ſince the capitulation of Roan was not fully obſerved by the Engliſh, he was pleaſed, as a mark of his eſteem, to give him his liberty, without ranſom. In the mean time, the earl of Foix, who commanded in Guienne for king Charles, took the caſtle of Mauleon, ſtanding upon an inacceſſible rock. Thus ended the firſt campaign, which proved ſo fatal to the Engliſh.

The duke of Somerſet ſurrenders upon terms. Hall. Monſtrelet.

Siege and taking of Harfleur. Monſtrelet. J. Chartier. Hall.

The earl of Foix takes Mauleon. Act. Pub. XI. p. 243.

Beſides the court of England's concern, for the ill ſtate of affairs in France, a rebellion raiſed in Ireland at the ſame time, gave them a freſh cauſe of uneaſineſs. However, the queen and the duke of Suffolk reaped ſome advantage by theſe commotions, as they furniſhed them with

Rebellion in Ireland. Hall.

[u] Monſtrelet ſays, it was Honfleur, fol. 21.

[w] With James Butler, ſon of the earl of Ormond, and ſome other young noblemen. They were ſecured in the caſtle of Evreux. Monſtrelet, fol. 21.

[x] The governor was ſir Thomas Conſon. Ibid.

a pre-

a pretence to remove the duke of York. That prince beginning to trouble them, he was ſent into Ireland, under colour of being the fitteſt perſon to ſuppreſs the rebellion, but withal, had but few troops allowed him for that purpoſe. It was hoped, he would either periſh in the attempt, or forfeit his reputation. The duke perceived their deſign, and wiſely turned againſt themſelves the artifice they uſed for his ruin. He ſo managed, that, by his mild and gentle behaviour, he won the Iriſh, and reſtored them to their duty, without being obliged to uſe force. What is more, he ſo made them his friends, that from thenceforward they were always devoted to the ſervice of himſelf and family, and even in the midſt of his greateſt misfortunes. 1449. The duke of York ſent thither. He ſuppreſſes the rebellion

The univerſal confuſion of the affairs of France, the negligence of the court in that reſpect, the loſs of almoſt all Normandy in one ſingle campaign, the conqueſt whereof had coſt much blood, began at length, openly to provoke the impatient temper of the Engliſh. The whole kingdom rang with complaints againſt the duke of Suffolk. It was publickly ſaid, he had betrayed the ſtate, and that Maine, the key of Normandy, was delivered to the French, for the accompliſhment of a marriage, advantageous to none but himſelf. He was accuſed of being the principal author of the duke of Glouceſter's death, for fear that diſcerning prince ſhould ſee through his treaſonable practices. It was complained, that there were but few perſons of parts, and ſtill fewer of virtue, in the council; that, on the contrary, the board was filled with vicious counſellors, without principles of honour or religion, that no conſideration might hinder their being wholly devoted to the will of the queen, and her miniſter: that it was the ſame thing, with regard to thoſe in the publick poſts, in whom, honeſty and ability were not ſo much required, as an attachment to the miniſtry. The queen was no leſs diſliked. It was complained, ſhe ruled, with inſupportable pride, a free nation, uſed to be governed only by law, and which had never ſuffered a deſpotick power. It was added, the uſurpation of ſuch a power was not to be borne, even in a king, much leſs in a foreign queen. It was farther obſerved, that, by degrees, ſhe had turned out of the council all thoſe that gave her any umbrage, in order to ſubſtitute ſuch as were at her devotion, without troubling herſelf, whether they were fit for ſo high an employment. 1450. Complaints of the people againſt the duke of Suffolk and the queen.

1450. In this diſpoſition were the people, when the parliament met, the beginning of the year 1450[y]. The court wanted an aid to enable them to reſtore the affairs of France; otherwiſe, they ſaw themſelves obliged entirely to abandon them, and thereby, give their enemies a farther advantage againſt them. The queen ſoon perceived, the general diſcontent had ſeized the very members of parliament. She believed, it would be of great advantage to remove the parliament to Leiceſter, where ſhe hoped to have greater ſway than at London, of whoſe inhabitants ſhe was jealous. But ſhe met with ſo ſtrong oppoſition from the lords, that ſhe was forced to deſiſt. In all likelihood, ſomething was feared like what had paſſed at St. Edmundſbury, with regard to the duke of Glouceſter.

The parliament meets. Cotton's Abridg.

The queen tries in vain to adjourn it to Leiceſter.

Upon the meeting of the parliament [z], the commons preſented to the lords, an indictment againſt the earl of Suffolk, containing the following articles:

Articles of impeachment againſt Suffolk. Cotton's Abridg. Hall. fol. 157.

I. That the duke of Suffolk had treated with the baſtard of Orleans, and the other French ambaſſadors, to perſuade king Charles to invade England; to the end he might place his ſon on the throne, whom he intended to marry with Margaret only daughter of John duke of Somerſet.

II. That being bribed by the French, he had releaſed the duke of Orleans, againſt the expreſs orders of the late king.

III. That Normandy was invaded by his means, and advice.

y This parliament met firſt at Weſtminſter, on November 6, 1449, from whence it was adjourned to the Blackfriers, London, by reaſon of the plague's being in the fore-named place; and on December 4, it was adjourned back again to Weſtminſter; prorogued, on the 17th, to January 22, 1450, and on March 30, prorogued to April 29, at Leiceſter. In this parliament the commons granted the king an unuſual ſubſidy, viz. That every perſon having frank tenement by free deed, copy, grant of annuity, or office, to the clear yearly value of twenty ſhillings, ſhould pay ſix-pence; and ſo from twenty ſhillings, to twenty pounds: from twenty pounds, to two hundred pounds yearly, twelve-pence in the pound: from two hundred pounds, to pay two ſhillings for every twenty ſhillings, as well for the laity as the clergy, guardians of wards, men having fees, and all corporations to pay accordingly. Cotton's Abridg. p. 640, 641——In this parliament it was enacted, That whereas cuſtomers, ſearchers, &c. did daily wrongfully diſtreſs and arreſt the ſhips, goods, and merchandiſes of the merchants of this realm; all perſons ſo aggrieved, ſhould be authorized hereby to have a general writ of treſpaſs againſt the authors of ſuch arreſts, charges, and impoſitions; whereby they might ſue for, and recover forty pounds, upon conviction. Statutes, 28 Henry VI.

z On February 7. Cotton's Abridg. p. 641.

IV. That

IV. That being ambaſſador in France, he engaged to ſurrender Maine to the French, without the conſent of the reſt of the ambaſſadors, and drew the king and council to ratify his engagement. 1450.

V. That he had informed the enemies, of the weakneſs of the Engliſh towns in France, and encouraged them to aſſault them.

VI. That he had betrayed the ſecrets of the council to the enemies of the ſtate.

VII. That he had hindered the concluſion of a peace, by diſcovering the weakneſs of England *.

VIII. That he had made his boaſts, in the hearing of ſeveral lords, that his credit at the French court was no leſs, than at the Engliſh.

IX. That he had obſtructed the ſending of ſuccours to France, that the enemies might make the greater progreſs.

X. That he had included in the treaty of truce neither the king of Arragon, nor the duke of Bretagne, and by that affected neglect, England had loſt thoſe two allies.

The duke of Suffolk anſwered theſe accuſations, by a formal denial to the greateſt part, and required the proofs. As to the articles which he owned, he produced the king's expreſs orders. But that was not ſufficient to juſtify him, ſince his chief crime, was the abuſe of his credit with the king, and his impoſing upon the council. Hiſtorians remark, that he cleared himſelf from all but the laſt article, relating to the duke of Bretagne. Indeed, it is certain, in the firſt treaty of truce concluded at Tours, and in ſeveral ſubſequent treaties to prolong it, the duke of Bretagne was included only by France. This is a myſtery, not very eaſy to be unravelled. The duke of Bedford, as has been related, obliged the duke of Bretagne to renounce the alliance of Charles, and acknowledge Henry for king of France. Since that time, there had been no rupture beteen England and Bretagne. And yet Charles took care to compriſe the duke of Bretagne in the treaty of truce, concluded at Tours, whilſt the Engliſh mentioned him not. Was it, through negligence, forgetfulneſs, or deſignedly? The laſt is moſt probable. However, the duke of Suffolk had in ſome meaſure repaired that fault, by including the

The duke's defence.

Remark on the laſt article, Act. Pub, XI. p. 59, 97

* Or rather by diſcovering to king Charles, the commiſſion, authority, and inſtructions of the Engliſh ambaſſadors. Hall, fol. 157.

1450. duke of Bretagne as an ally of England, in the prolongation of the truce in 1447, as appears in the collection of the publick acts. But that was not ſufficient, it ſeems, to ſatisfy his enemies.

Ib. p. 154.

The king ſends the duke to the Tower. Hall.

The queen perceiving that matters were like to go ill with the duke, ordered it ſo, that the king ſent him to the Tower, not ſo much with deſign to puniſh him, as to give ſome appearance of ſatisfaction to the commons. Mean while, for fear they ſhould perſiſt in their proſecution, ſhe cauſed the parliament to be adjourned to Leiceſter. Preſently after [b], the duke came out of the Tower, and reſumed his old poſt at court. The news of his releaſe raiſed a ſedition in Kent, headed by a fuller [c]. But before the rebels could make any conſiderable attempt, the ring-leaders were apprehended and executed, and by that means the ſedition was ſtifled in its birth.

The parliament adjourned to Leiceſter.

The duke is freed.

A ſedition in Kent. Hall.

The parliament ſits again. The commons offended at the duke of Suffolk's appearing. Stow. Biondi.

The parliament being re-aſſembled at Leiceſter, the king and queen appeared, attended by the duke of Suffolk, as their prime miniſter. The commons were extremely offended at this proceeding, which they conſidered as a bravado. To ſhew their reſentment, they went in a body and petitioned the king, that the perſons, who had been inſtrumental in delivering Normandy [d] to the French, might be puniſhed according to their demerits. The queen was alarmed at the petition. She found, the commons were bent upon the duke of Suffolk's ruin, and that it was not poſſible to prevent it, without coming to an open rupture with the lower houſe. Wherefore, to ſave the miniſter ſome part of the puniſhment which, probably, was deſigned him, ſhe reſolved to prevent a formal ſentence, which could not but have been very rigorous in the preſent juncture. A few days after the petition, the king baniſhed the duke for five years, and removed all his creatures. The duke himſelf looking upon the exile as a proper means to ſecure him from the fury of the people, ſpeedily embarked for France. But he could not eſcape his deſtiny. He was met in his paſſage by an Engliſh ſhip, called the Nicholas, and the captain ſearching the duke's veſſel, and finding him there, ordered his head to be ſtruck off, without any farther ce-

He is baniſhed. Stow.

He is beheaded in his paſſage to France. April. Hall.

[b] After a month's confinement. Hall, fol. 158.

[c] A deſperate fellow, called Thomas Thany, but nick-named, Blue-Beard. Stow's Ann. p. 387.

[d] It ſhould be Anjou and Maine, as Hall, fol. 158, and Stow have it, p. 387.

remony [e]. Thus fell William de la Pole duke of Suffolk, who a few days before, was the greateſt and moſt powerful perſon in the kingdom. It is uncertain, whether he was guilty of all the crimes the commons laid to his charge. But it cannot be denied, that the diſaſters which, one after another, happened to the affairs of the Engliſh in France, are to be aſcribed to his ill conduct; if it be true, that they are not to be deemed the conſequences of a plot, formed to deprive the king of all his conqueſts in France. 1450.

By the duke of Suffolk's death, the duke of York ſaw himſelf freed from a powerful enemy, who, being attached to the houſe of Lancaſter, would, doubtleſs, have ſtrongly oppoſed the execution of his deſigns. Though that prince was in Ireland, his friends effectually ſerved him in England, by extolling his merit, and repreſenting to the people, the king's incapacity, and the queen's male-adminiſtration. Theſe diſcourſes, joined to the entire loſs of Normandy, which happened at the ſame time, made deep impreſſions on the minds of the people, and daily increaſed the number of the duke's adherents. He had perfect information of what paſſed. But not to hazard himſelf in vain, he deviſed an expedient to ſound the people's inclinations, in order to take his meaſures with more ſafety. By his inſtigation, Jack Cade an Iriſhman, aſſumed the name of John Mortimer, of the houſe of March, executed in the beginning of this reign. Under this borrowed name he repaired into Kent, where the duke of York had many adherents, and drew together great numbers of malecontents, uſing for pretence, the neceſſity of reforming the government, and eaſing the people. In the preſent diſpoſition of the greateſt part of the nation, with regard to the court, the rebels ſo increaſed, that in few days Cade ſaw himſelf in condition to encamp on Black-heath, near London.

The duke of York aſpires to the crown Hall. Biondi.

Jack Cade's inſurrection in Kent. Hall. Act. Pub. XI. p. 275. 285.

He approaches London.

[e] The ſhip belonged to the duke of Exeter, then conſtable of the Tower. Rapin, by miſtake, makes the captain's name to be Nicholas inſtead of the ſhip's. The duke being thus taken, was brought into Dover road, where his head was ſtruck off on the ſide of a cock-boat; and the head and body were left on Dover ſands, where they were found by a chaplain of his, and taken up and buried in the collegiate church of Wingfield in Suffolk. Hall, fol. 158. Or, according to others, in the charter-houſe of Kingſton upon Hull. Stow, p. 388. He was beheaded, ſays Dugdale, May 2. He ſerved twenty-four years in France, and ſeventeen without ever returning home. He was privy counſellor fifteen years, and a knight of the garter thirty. His duchess Alice, daughter and heir of Chaucer, died in 14 Edward IV, and was buried at Ewelme, in the church of her own founding. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 189.

The

1450. The king having notice of the approach of the rebels, ſent to know the reaſon of their appearing thus in arms. Cade anſwered for all, that they had no ill deſign upon the king's perſon: that their intention was, to petition the parliament, that the evil miniſters might be puniſhed, and the people rendered more happy than of late years. A few days after, they preſented to the parliament two petitions, ſetting forth the grievances of the nation. Among other things, they prayed, that the duke of Somerſet might be puniſhed, as being the principal author of the loſs of Normandy. That the king's council might be filled with the princes of the blood, and other prudent and judicious perſons, and not with vicious and profligate men, of ill principles and manners, and uncapable of managing the affairs of the ſtate. Theſe petitions being communicated to the king, the council condemned them as ſeditious, and reſolved to ſuppreſs the rebellion by force of arms. Whereupon, the king aſſembling a body of fifteen thouſand men, headed them himſelf, and marched againſt the rebels. Upon his approach, Cade, as if he was afraid, retired, and lay in ambuſh in a wood near Sevenoak, not queſtioning but the king would follow him. But Henry, imagining the rebels were diſperſed, returned to London, being contented with ſending after them a detachment of his army, commanded by Sir Humphrey Stafford [f]. The detachment falling into the ambuſh, were cut in pieces, and the commander himſelf loſt his life in the fight [g].

He preſents two petitions to the parliament. Hall. Stow's Ann. p. 389.

The king marches againſt them. Cade retires and cuts to pieces a detachment of the king's army. Hall.

At the ſame time, Cade began his march towards London [h], whilſt the king and the whole court haſtily retired to Kenelworth caſtle, leaving a garriſon in the Tower, under the command of the lord Scales. Cade's ſucceſs againſt Stafford increaſed his army with multitudes, who flocked from all parts to join him. The city of London, either through fear, or ſome other motive, opened her gates to the rebels, and Cade entered as it were in triumph, at the head of his troops. But he prohibited, under ſevere penalties, the offering any injury to the inhabitants. Next day, being informed that the lord Say, high treaſurer, was in the city,

Cade is let into London. Stow.

He beheads the high-treaſurer.

[f] Rapin, by miſtake, calls him the lord Stafford. He was a collateral branch of the family of Humphrey de Stafford, duke of Buckingham.

[g] With his brother William. Hall, fol. 159.

[h] And came again and encamped on Black-heath; where the king deputed to him the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, to know what propoſals he had to make. Ibid.

he

he ordered him to be apprehended and beheaded [i]. Towards the evening, he retired to Southwark, on the other ſide of the Thames, and continued thus for ſome days, to enter the city in the morning and go out again at night, on purpoſe to take from the citizens all occaſion of fear. 1450.

Cade's ſoldiers and the Londoners lived at firſt very friendly together. But at laſt, the ſoldiers committing ſome riot in the city, when they would have entered according to cuſtom in the morning, they found the bridge gate ſhut againſt them. Whereupon a battle enſued between them and the citizens [k], which laſted all day, and ended at the approach of night, by a ceſſation of arms till the morrow. Mean while, the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the chancellor [l], who had taken refuge in the Tower, obſerving by their ſpies and the proceedings of the rebels, that their hearts began to fail them, inſtantly drew up a general pardon, put the great ſeal to it, and cauſed it to be proclaimed in the night in Southwark. The pardon produced ſo ſudden and ſurpriſing an effect, that, before it was day, Cade found himſelf deſerted by his followers, and forced to fly all alone, and conceal himſelf in the county of Suſſex. But the king promiſing by proclamation, a thouſand marks to any perſon that ſhould bring him dead or alive, he was ſlain in his retreat [m], by Alexander Iden, a gentleman of Kent, who brought his body to London [n]. The pardon under the great ſeal did not prevent the execution of many of his accomplices [o]. Thus ended that dangerous rebellion, which might have been attended with worſe

Quarrel between the ſoldiers and citizens.
Fight on the bridge. Hall. Stow.
Cade is deſerted,
and ſlain. Act. Pub. XI. p. 275. p. 285. Hall.

[i] James Fynes, who, by reaſon his mother was ſiſter and coheir to William de Say, a deſcendant of the former baron de Say, was created, 25 Henry VI, a baron, by the title of lord Say and Seale. He was accuſed with the duke of Suffolk about the affair of Maine, and thereupon to appeaſe the people, was turned out from being high-treaſurer; and upon the clamours of the rebels, was ſent to the Tower, from whence they fetched him, and arraigned him at Guildhall before the mayor. He deſired to be tried by his peers, in order to gain time; but Cade and his accomplices, not admitting of this dilatory plea, took him by force from the officers, and hurrying him to the ſtandard in Cheap, cut off his head, which they ſet on a pole, and cauſed to be carried before them along the ſtreets. Not ſatisfied with this, they alſo dragged his naked body at a horſe's tail into Southwark, where it was hanged and quartered. Hall, fol. 160. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 245, 246.

[k] Aſſiſted by the lord Scales, keeper of the Tower, and the brave Matthew Gough, who was ſlain, Hall, fol. 160.

[l] Who was then the archbiſhop of York, viz. John Kempe. Cotton's Abridg. p. 641.

[m] At Hothfield in Suſſex. Stow, p. 392.

[n] He was ſtiled captain Mend All. Stow's Ann. p. 388, 392. He was quartered, and his head ſet up on London bridge.

[o] Twenty-ſix. Eight at Canterbury, and the reſt elſewhere. Stow, p. 392.

conſe-

1450. consequences, had it been conducted by a more experienced leader [p].

Continuation of the war in Normandy.

Kiriel brings a supply from England.

He marches towards Caen.

Hall.

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in England, the war was continued in Normandy, but ſtill to the diſadvantage of the Engliſh. The Queen perceiving, the people's diſcontent partly ſprung from the ill ſucceſs of the affairs of France, had ſent fifteen hundred men [q] to the duke of Somerſet, under the command of ſir Thomas Kiriel, who landed at Cherbourg. His deſign was to lead his troops to Caen, where the duke of Somerſet then was. But as it was dangerous to march with ſo ſmall a body, he was joined upon the road by ſeveral detachments of the Engliſh garriſons in thoſe parts. The French authors ſay, by that junction the Engliſh army amounted to five thouſand men [r], which however is not very likely. Be this as it will, the conſtable Richemont hearing of Kiriel's deſign, ſpeedily aſſembled ſeven thouſand men, and went and expected him at Fourmigni, through which he was to paſs. The two armies engaging, the Engliſh, though inferior in number, long defended themſelves with great bravery. But at length, notwithſtanding their obſtinate reſiſtance, they were put to rout, and their general taken priſoner. Upon comparing this battle with a certain prediction of the maid of Orleans, that the Engliſh ſhould be entirely driven out of the kingdom by a defeat, much greater than thoſe of Orleans and Patay, one is inclined to believe, ſhe was not perfectly inſpired. For, in the battle of Fourmigni, the only one ſince Joan's death, the Engliſh, even according to their enemies computation, were at moſt but five thouſand, and loſt but fifteen hundred [s]. However, for the ſake of the prophecy, the French writers talk of the battle of Fourmigni in very lofty terms, comparing it to the moſt famous battles.

The battle of Fourmigni, wherein the Engliſh are defeated.

Monſtrelet.

Hall.

Charles compleats the conqueſt of Normandy.

Kiriel's reinforcement being defeated, the duke of Somerſet could no longer withſtand the victorious arms of the French. It would be needleſs to give a particular account of the ſieges carried on by the French in the ſecond campaign [t]. It will

[p] There were alſo inſurrections at the ſame time in Hampſhire, and particularly in Wiltſhire, where William Aſcoth, biſhop of Sarum, was murdered by the mob. Ibid.

[q] Three thouſand, ſays Monſtrelet, fol. 26. They took Valongnes ſoon after their landing. Ibid. Hall, fol. 154.

[r] Between ſix and ſeven thouſand, according to Monſtrelet, fol. 26.

[s] Three thouſand ſeven hundred. Ibid. Hall ſays, four thouſand were ſlain, and eight hundred taken priſoners, fol. 155.

[t] They took Guiſchen, Honfleur, Freſney, Vire, Avranches, Tombleine, Bayeux, Briquebec, Valongnes, St. Sauveur le Vicomte, &c. Monſtrelet, fol. 25——29.

ſuffice

ſuffice to ſay, that about the middle of Auguſt, Charles ſaw himſelf maſter of all Normandy. The city of Caen was inveſted the 4th of June, and the 21ſt of the ſame month the duke of Somerſet capitulated [u], againſt the opinion of ſome of the officers, who maintained, it was not yet time. Falaiſe [w], Domfront, and Cherbourg were beſieged at once, and the campaign ended in Normandy with the taking of Cherbourg [x], which ſurrendered the 12th of Auguſt. Thus in two campaigns, Charles became maſter of the whole province, without a ſingle town remaining in the hands of the Engliſh. 1450. The duke of Somerſet ſurrenders Caen. Monſtrelet. J. Chartier. Hall.

The parliament met at Weſtminſter the 6th of November, and about the ſame time the duke of Somerſet having nothing more to do in France came into England. He was blamed for the loſs of Normandy, and particularly of Caen, where he was accuſed of not having done his duty. Theſe complaints were ſo publickly made, that the commons could not help taking notice of them. They petitioned the king to ſend the duke of Somerſet to the Tower, that his conduct might be examined. Henry not thinking proper to diſoblige the commons at ſuch a juncture, granted their requeſt. The populace of London were ſo tranſported with joy, when they heard the duke was in the Tower, that they immediately roſe and plundered his palace. They would have proceeded farther, if the king had not ſpeedily put out a proclamation to diſperſe them. Nevertheleſs, ſome of the moſt audacious continued the tumult, till one of the moſt inſolent was beheaded. The parliament was no ſooner up, but the duke of Somerſet was releaſed, and aſſumed at court the poſt enjoyed by the duke of Suffolk. The parliament meets. The duke of Somerſet arrives in England. Cotton's Abridg. He is ſent to the Tower. His palace is plundered. He comes out of the Tower, and is prime miniſter.

The Engliſh not having been able to prevent the loſs of Normandy, were ſtill leſs able to defend Guienne, which was more remote. King Charles improving the preſent juncture, had now ſent his troops into that province, where this ſame year his generals took Bergerac, Genſac, Montferrand, Chalais, St. Foi, which made but a very faint reſiſtance. The ſeaſon being far advanced, hindered them from purſuing their conqueſts. Charles takes ſeveral places in Guienne. Monſtrelet.

[u] Through the earneſt intreaties of his wife, who had like to have been killed by a ſtone ſhot, that fell between her and her children. The duke of Somerſet was not governor of this town; for the duke of York, the owner, had appointed ſir Davy Hall, captain general, ſir Robert Vere, governor of the caſtle, and ſir Henry Radford, of the dungeon. Hall, fol. 155.

[w] Of which Andrew Trollop, and Thomas Cotton, Eſquires, were governors. Idem. fol. 156.

[x] Thomas Gonvile, was governor. Ibid.

1450. During the winter, the earl of Orval, of the houſe of Albret, making inroads to the very gates of Bourdeaux, the mayor ſallied out with ten thouſand men to attack him. How inferior ſoever Orval might be in number of troops, he ſtood his ground againſt this undiſciplined militia, ſlew great part of them, and took many priſoners.

The earl of Orval beats the trained-bands of Bourdeaux. Monſtrelet.

1451. In April 1451, the army of France, commanded by the baſtard of Orleans, earl of Dunois and Longueville, was forty thouſand ſtrong. That general preſently became maſter of Montguion in Saintonge. Then, May the 16th, he beſieged Blaye, and carried it the 21ſt. Not only there was no Engliſh army in the field, but moreover, no manner of appearance, that the court of England effectually thought of defending Guienne. The French general improving ſo favourable a juncture, divided his army into four bodies, the moſt conſiderable of which he commanded himſelf. He gave the command of the other three to the earls of Foix, Pontievre, and Armagnac. All theſe generals made ſeveral conqueſts with eaſe. Libourn, Caſtillon, Dacs, Rioure, Bourg, ſurrendered in a ſhort time. Fronſac, the ſtrongeſt place of the province, held out but three days; however, the caſtle made a brave defence.

Great progreſs of the French in Guienne. Monſtrelet, Hall.

Bourdeaux and the reſt of Guienne treat with Charles. Monſtrelet.

The inhabitants of Guienne ſeeing themſelves thus deſerted by the king of England, thought it time to provide for their ſafety. The ſtates of the province being aſſembled at Bourdeaux in June, reſolved voluntarily to ſubmit to king Charles, and avoid the utter ruin they were threatened with. Purſuant to this reſolution, they concluded with the earl of Dunois a treaty, promiſing to ſubmit to the dominion of the king of France, if before the 24th of the ſame month, they were not relieved by an army able to give battle. The French general could grant that condition without fear, ſince he was well aſſured there was nothing ready in England for the aſſiſtance of Guienne. The army not appearing, all the towns of the duchy opened their gates to the French, except Bayonne, which refuſed to be included in the treaty. That place, the only one the Engliſh had left, was inveſted the 6th of Auguſt. The breach being large enough, on the 19th of the ſame month, the beſiegers were preparing to ſtorm, but the inhabitants ſaved them the trouble, by riſing in arms, and obliging the garriſon to capitulate. The French hiſtorians ſay, that a white croſs was ſeen in the air, juſt over the town, an evident ſign of God's protection to France.

Guienne ſurrenders to Charles, except Bayonne; which is forced to capitulate.

Whilſt the court of England careleſsly ſuffered Guienne to be loſt, they grew extremely uneaſy with regard to the duke

duke of York. As in the Kentiſh rebellion, Jack Cade had assumed the name of Mortimer, it was eaſy to perceive, his aim had been to ſound the people's inclination to the houſe of March. Conſequently it might be inferred that he had been encouraged by the duke of York, ſole heir of that family. Indeed the thing was palpable, but there was no evidence to convict the duke, becauſe Cade was ſlain. Beſides, in the people's diſpoſition with regard to the court, they would infallibly have joined with the duke of York, if, by being publickly attacked, he had been forced to ſtand upon his defence. Mean while, as he was ſuſpected of forming ſome plot in Ireland, and of intending to bring an army of Iriſh into England, the king ſent orders to the ſheriffs of Wales, Shropſhire, and Cheſhire, to be in a readineſs to hinder his landing. This precaution produced ſeveral ill effects. In the firſt place, it ſhewed that the court was afraid of the duke of York, which it would have been proper to conceal, for fear of giving the people occaſion to inquire into the reaſon. In the next place, the duke found he ought to be upon his guard; whereas, if the court had feigned not to know his deſigns, they might have drawn him into ſome ſnare, or induced him to make ſome falſe ſtep, which would have given them an advantage. In fine, he was thereby furniſhed with a pretence to complain, ſince he was ſo far from being convicted of any deſign againſt the king, that he had not taken any apparent ſtep, on which an accuſation could be grounded. Accordingly, he wrote to the king, complaining of this ſuſpicion, which he feigned to conſider as extremely injurious, and as a mere pretence for his ruin. The king ſent him a very civil anſwer, giving him ſome ſort of ſatisfaction, but revoked not his orders.

1451.

The court's uneaſineſs with regard to the duke of York.

The king orders his landing to be oppoſed. Stow.

Ill effect of this precaution.

The duke complains to the king. His anſwer.

Though Cade's enterpriſe had miſcarried, the duke of York had reaped the benefit he propoſed. The great number of people that embarked in it, diſcovered how much the nation was diſpleaſed with the queen and the miniſtry, and that the memory of the rights of the houſe of March was not entirely aboliſhed. So, inſtead of being diſcouraged, he entertained freſh hopes. He judged, if the ſhadow only of one of his family was capable of cauſing ſo great a multitude to take up arms, much more would the people be attached to a prince of the blood royal, ſole heir of that houſe. Mean while, not to be too haſty in the execution of a project of ſuch conſequence, he reſolved, before any attempt, to conſult his friends. The time of his government of Ireland being expired, he embarked for England, but when

The duke perſiſts in his deſigns in ſpite of all difficulties.

He returns to England. Biondi.

1451. when he would have landed in Wales, found at the port the militia in arms ready to oppoſe him. He landed, notwithſtanding, at another place, which was not ſo ſtrongly guarded. He did this the more boldly, as he had only his own ſervants with him, and had yet given his enemies no hold. After that, he repaired to London, from whence the court was gone ſome time before in progreſs to the weſtern counties.

He concerts meaſures with his friends. Biondi.

The duke of York was impatiently expected at London. His friends had frequently conferred together in his abſence, but could not come to any reſolution without him. His principal adherents were, John Mowbray duke of Norfolk, Richard Nevil earl of Saliſbury, ſon-in-law to the general of the ſame name [y], ſlain before Orleans, Richard Nevil his ſon, who was ſhortly after earl of Warwick, by his marriage with Anne Beauchamp, daughter of the earl of Warwick, who died in France, Thomas Courtney earl of Devonſhire, though brother-in-law of the duke of Somerſet [z], and Edward Brook baron of Cobham [a]. With theſe lords, the duke, immediately after his arrival, concerted meaſures to accompliſh his deſign. The reſult of their conſultations was, that the duke ſhould retire into Wales, where the family of March had always had a great intereſt; that he ſhould privately be aſſured of ſeaſonably raiſing an army, by means of his friends; that he ſhould then write to the king, to advertiſe him of the people's diſlike of the miniſtry, and particularly of the duke of Somerſet.

Stow.

He retires into Wales, and writes to the king to reform the government. Stow.

In purſuance of this reſolution, the duke repairing into Wales, and taking all his meaſures, writ to the king, "that "all the kingdom was diſſatisfied, becauſe traitors were "screened from juſtice, and that he took the freedom to ad-"viſe him to prevent the ill conſequences of the publick "diſcontent. That the ſpeedieſt means was to order the

y Son-in law of Thomas de Montacute earl of Saliſbury, in right of whoſe ſole daughter and heir, named Alice, he had the title of earl of Saliſbury. He was eldeſt ſon by a ſecond wife to Ralph Nevil earl of Weſtmoreland. Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 302.

z Rapin, by miſtake, ſays ſon-in-law. He married Margaret Beaufort, ſiſter of Edmund duke of Somerſet.

a Of theſe five, the two firſt were drawn to engage with the duke of York, by reaſon of their affinity with him. For the ſaid duke had married Cecile, ſiſter of the earl of Saliſbury. And John duke of Norfolk took part with the earl of Saliſbury, as being the ſon of his ſiſter Catherine, but more in the behalf of his father, who was baniſhed, and of his uncle, who was beheaded at York in the reign of Henry IV. The earl of Warwick's diſcontent was occaſioned by a quarrel between him and the duke of Somerſet. As for the earl of Devonſhire, and the lord Cobham, it does not appear what induced them to declare againſt Henry VI. Biondi. p. 165.

"guilty

"guilty to be brought to their trial, and particularly the "duke of Somerſet, who having been impeached by the "commons, was reſtored to favour without any examina- "tion. In fine, that if he would give the nation that ſa- "tisfaction, he offered to aſſiſt in the execution of ſo good "a deſign." The miniſtry eaſily perceived, the duke of York ſought an occaſion of quarrel. But as in their preſent ſituation, they durſt not act haughtily, it was judged proper, the king ſhould ſend the duke a civil anſwer, which would diſappoint him of the pretence he wanted. Accordingly the king in his letter told him, he had reſolved ſome time ſince to reform whatever was amiſs in the government; and for that purpoſe intended to appoint a certain number of virtuous and able counſellors, of whom he was deſigned to be one: that as for the traitors mentioned in his letter, he did not mean to let them go unpuniſhed, but the affair being of very great conſequence, required mature deliberation: that as for the duke of Somerſet in particular, he ſhould not be excuſed from anſwering the accuſations laid to his charge. 1451.

The king ſends him a mild anſwer. Ibid.

Though this anſwer deprived the duke of York of all pretence to take up arms, he imagined however, the king's bare refuſal to remove or puniſh the miniſters complained of, was a ſufficient warrant. He did not expect ſo mild an anſwer. Mean while, as he had taken his meaſures to raiſe an army, he did not think proper to break them, or ſuffer himſelf to be decoyed by a moderation which might be as well feigned as real. So, putting himſelf at the head of his army, he marched towards London. But he found the queen had not been ſo negligent as he expected. Upon notice of the duke's retiring into Wales, ſhe had ordered troops to be levied in the king's name, without diſcovering however for what they were intended. The duke therefore was no ſooner upon the march, but he heard the king was advancing to give him battle. Though he wanted neither courage nor experience, he thought he ſhould not venture a battle with the king, without having a more plauſible pretence than what he had uſed to cover his deſigns. His aim was to gain the people; but to fight the king without a more ſpecious reaſon was not the way to compaſs his ends, though he could even have been ſure of victory. Beſides, looking upon the city of London as able to incline the balance to his ſide, he judged that before all things he ought to ſecure that metropolis. For this reaſon, when he heard the king was coming againſt him, he ſuddenly altered his rout, and by ſpeedy marches got before him, and appeared before London, where 1452.

The duke marches to London with an army. Hall. Stow.

The king goes out to meet him.

1452. he expected to be received with open arms. But he had the mortification to find the gates ſhut, the inhabitants not thinking proper to declare for him, whilſt the king was ſo cloſely purſuing him with a ſuperior army. He was forced therefore to paſs the Thames at Kingſton, and encamp on Burntheath [b], twelve miles from London. The king following him, marched over London bridge, and encamped about four miles from him.

London gates ſhut againſt the duke.

The two armies being ſo near one another, that nothing could prevent an engagement, the king ſent two biſhops [c], to know of the duke what had induced him to appear in arms. As the duke ſaw himſelf diſappointed of his hopes to gain London, he thought it adviſeable to ſhow ſome regard for the court, for fear of ruining his affairs by haſty reſolutions. In that belief he anſwered, he had never intended to ſhake his allegiance to the king, but only to remove from his perſon evil counſellors, of whom the duke of Somerſet was the chief; and if the king would put him into ſafe cuſtody, till he ſhould in parliament anſwer to what was objected againſt him, he was ready to diſmiſs his troops. He did not expect, his demand would be granted, ſince the king and queen were ſolely guided by the counſels of him, who was moſt concerned to have it rejected. He hoped thereby to throw all the blame on the court, and demonſtrate to the people, that the miniſtry did not ſcruple to expoſe the kingdom to a civil war, for the ſake of a man odious to the nation. But for once he was the dupe of his own policy. The king took him at his word, promiſed to ſend his enemy to the Tower, and even ordered him to be immediately arreſted. The duke of York was ſurpriſed at this condeſcenſion. He would have been very glad to recede from his engagement. But as he could not do it without laying himſelf too open, he thought he ſhould run ſome riſk, rather than hazard the loſs of the people's good-will, on which he built all his expectations. So, without heſitation, he diſbanded his troops, and came to court, not vouchſafing even to take any precaution for his ſafety. When he was in the king's preſence, he accuſed the duke of Somerſet with great warmth, and endeavoured to perſuade the king, that he was a traitor, and had ſacrificed the intereſt of the kingdom to his ambition and avarice. Upon theſe words, the duke of Somerſet, who was concealed behind the hang-

The king ſends to know why the duke had taken up arms. Hall.

The duke offers to ſubmit if Somerſet is ſent back to the Tower. Hall. Stow.

He is taken at his word.

He diſmiſſes his troops, and comes and accuſes the duke of Somerſet, who ſuddenly appears and accuſes him. Hall. Biondi.

[b] A mile from Dartford in Kent. Hall, fol. 163.

[c] The biſhops of Winchester and Ely, with the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick. Ibid. Stow's Ann. p. 393.

ings,

ings, ſuddenly ſtept forth to anſwer him, and accuſed him of conſpiring to dethrone the king. The duke of York ſeeing his enemy before him, and in the king's apartment, whom he thought in ſafe cuſtody, found he was amuſed, and perceived his danger. Nevertheleſs, without ſhowing any concern, he modeſtly complained of the king's breach of promiſe, by the ſuggeſtions of the duke of Somerſet, on whom he caſt the baſeneſs of the fraud. Immediately after, the king diſmiſſed the duke of York, and ordered him to be apprehended as ſoon as he was out of his preſence. [d]. 1452.

The duke of York is apprehended.

If the duke of York's enemies had dared to gratify their reſentment, he would never have freed himſelf from the ſnare he had imprudently fallen into. But the poſture of affairs, and the diſpoſition of the people, affording juſt occaſion of fear, they durſt not proceed againſt him. Two other reaſons helped likewiſe to ſave him. It was rumoured at court, that the young earl of March his ſon, attended by all the friends of his family, was advancing with a ſtrong body of troops to deliver his father. So, for fear the duke's army, which was lately diſbanded, ſhould join his ſon's troops, the court was obliged to take a gentler courſe. On the other hand, the Gaſcons had ſent deputies to the king, to offer to reduce Guienne to his obedience, if he would ſend them ſupplies. At ſuch a juncture it was believed, as the duke of York's blood could not be ſpilt without involving the kingdom in a civil war, there would be a neceſſity of detaining the troops intended for Guienne, and thereby a favourable opportunity loſt of recovering that province. Theſe conſiderations induced the queen and the duke of Somerſet, to give the duke of York his liberty, though their own, the king's, and the whole houſe of Lancaſter's intereſt, required he ſhould be ſacrificed to their ſafety. Perhaps all the calamities, England afterwards endured, might by that means have been prevented. However, as the queen and miniſters were willing, as far as in them lay, to ſecure themſelves againſt his deſigns, they obliged him to take an oath to the king, whereby he ſwore to remain his faithful ſubject till death, and never to take up arms againſt him. This done, the duke of York re-

Reaſons which hindered the court from putting him to death. Hall. fol. 164.

He is ſet at liberty.

He takes an oath to the king; Hollingſh. Stow.

[d] And, ſoon after, the king aſſembled a great council at Weſtminſter, to hear the accuſations of the two dukes one againſt another. In this council, the duke of Somerſet, who foreſaw what ſoon came to paſs, exhorted the lords, and others there preſent, to cauſe the duke of York, by force or otherwiſe, to confeſs his offence; that, being attainted of treaſon, he might be executed, and his children put under arreſt, as enemies of the kingdom. Hall, fol. 163.

1452. tired to his caſtle of Wigmore [e], and the duke of Somerſet enjoyed without a rival, the authority he had acquired at court.

and retires to Wigmore. Hall.

Whilſt Henry was employed at home, in oppoſing the attempts of the duke of York, Charles had no leſs an enemy to encounter in his own kingdom. The dauphin his ſon, a prince of a turbulent temper, created him great uneaſineſs by his behaviour towards him. For ſome time paſt he had reſided in Dauphiné, where he acted as ſovereign, regardleſs of the king his father's orders, executing them no farther than he pleaſed. He had even the raſhneſs, to demand of the duke of Savoy his daughter Violante in marriage; and the duke complied with his requeſt, without either vouchſafing to acquaint the king with it. Provoked at this proceeding, Charles put himſelf at the head of thirty thouſand men, and marched towards Lyons, bent upon chaſtiſing his ſon, and puniſhing the duke of Savoy's preſumption. But the revolution which happened at the ſame time in Guienne, cauſed him to take other meaſures.

Quarrel between king Charles and the dauphin.

The Gaſcons, who had been for three hundred years without interruption, under the dominion of the kings of England, had ſubmitted to king Charles, only becauſe they were neglected by the Engliſh. As ſoon as the French army had quitted Guienne, the lords of the country in concert with the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, reſolved to return to their ancient ſovereigns [f]. For that purpoſe, they deputed the lords of Candaſe and l'Eſparre, to contrive the means at London. The troubles raiſed by the duke of York, had for ſome time hindered the court from attending to that affair. But when they were appeaſed, the queen and council, after mature deliberation, judged that nothing ſhould be neglected to accompliſh the enterpriſe. The ſucceſs, they expected, might redeem their credit, and gain them an intereſt with the people, which they wanted to ſupport themſelves againſt their enemies. Talbot, the valiant earl of Shrewſbury, who was returned from a voyage into Italy, was choſen for the expedition. Though he was fourſcore years old, he readily accepted an employment, which gave him opportunity, once more, before his death, to do his king and country a conſiderable ſervice. As diligence was abſolutely neceſſary, he embarked what troops were ready, conſiſting of ſeven hun-

The Gaſcons offer to return to the king of England. Hall.

This offer is accepted. J. Chartier. Monſtrelet.

Talbot ſent into Guienne. Monſtrelet. Hall. Act. Pub. XI. p. 313, 321.

[e] In Herefordſhire.

[f] Induced thereunto by heavy taxes and impoſitions laid on them by the French; and becauſe they were more hardly uſed than they were wont to be by their former maſters the Engliſh. Monſtrelet, fol. 59.

dred

dred men at arms [g], upon a promiſe that the reſt deſigned for him ſhould quickly follow. He ſailed the 18th of October, and on the 21ſt landed near Bourdeaux. Next day he appeared before the city, and as every thing was prepared to receive him, he was introduced at a gate of which the citizens had the guard. The French garriſon, who had not heard of his arrival, ſurpriſed at this unexpected accident, would have retired at another gate, but were almoſt all taken. 1452. He is let into Bourdeaux. Monſtrelet. Hall.

The promiſed reinforcement being arrived from England a few days after [h], the earl of Shrewſbury took the field at the head of ſeven thouſand men. With that little army he reconquered ſome of the towns of Guienne, among others Fronſac and Caſtillon, as rapidly as they were loſt. If winter had not prevented him from purſuing his conqueſts, he would have made himſelf maſter of all Guienne. He retakes ſeveral places in Guienne. Monſtrelet.

Charles, who was then at Lyons, hearing the ill news, did not think proper to perſiſt in the execution of the deſign he had formed. The affair of Guienne ſeemed to him of greater importance. So, ſuddenly altering his reſolution, he permitted the dauphin to marry the princeſs of Savoy, and gave one of his daughters to the young prince of Piedmont. At the ſame time, he reſolved to ſend all his troops into Guienne the next ſpring. Mean while, he diſpatched before a body of ten thouſand men, under the command of Chabanes, and the earl of Pontievre. Theſe two generals being arrived in Saintonge, beſieged Chalain and Caſtillon, whilſt the earl of Clermont followed them, with the reſt of the army deſigned for Guienne. Chabanes was employed in the ſiege of Chalain till June, after which, he joined Pontievre before Caſtillon, which ſtill made a vigorous defence. The dread inſpired by the earl of Shrewſbury's valour and experience, made them uſe the precautions ſeldom practiſed in thoſe days, of making lines, and defending the avenues of their camp with palliſadoes. 1453. Charles ſent ten thouſand men into Guienne. Caſtillon beſieged. J. Chartier. Hall.

The earl of Shrewſbury was at Bourdeaux, with ſix or ſeven thouſand men, in ſuſpence, what courſe he ſhould take with regard to the ſiege. He was deſirous to relieve the place, but was afraid of meeting many difficulties, as well by reaſon of the intrenchments of the French, as of the ſuperio- Talbot goes and attacks them. Monſtrelet. Hall.

[g] Between four and five thouſand men. Idem. fol. 41.

[h] It conſiſted of four thouſand men; among which were the lord Camois, the baſtard of Somerſet, John, lord Talbot, viſcount Liſle, the lord Molyns, the lord Haryngton, ſir John Hayward, ſir John Montgomery, ſir John Vernon, &c. Ibid. Hall, fol. 165.

1453. rity of their number. On the other hand, knowing the earl of Clermont, was advancing with all ſpeed, he conſidered, it muſt be done, before the arrival of theſe freſh troops, after which, it would be too late, ſince he would have all the forces of France to oppoſe. In fine, having taken this laſt reſolution, he left Bourdeaux with all his army, and approaching the French camp, attacked them with the ſame vigour, as the Engliſh had ſhown at the battle of Azincourt, and on ſeveral other occaſions. He ſoon defeated four thouſand men, commanded by Chabanes, without the intrenchments, drove them into the camp, and, in ſpite of the beſiegers cannon, which ſwept away his men by whole files, forced their lines, and entered with the flying troops. Thus the Engliſh relate it. But the French only ſay, the lines were like to be forced, when the Engliſh were attacked in the rear, by a body of French horſe. This cooled their ardour, and obliged their general to diſcontinue the attack of the lines, and face thoſe that preſſed him behind. This motion gave the French an opportunity to draw all their troops out of the camp. So, the earl of Shrewſbury, who had not above five thouſand men left, was reduced to the neceſſity of making two fronts, and withſtanding ten thouſand. At length, the Engliſh finding themſelves overpowered by numbers, began to give ground. At the ſame time, the earl of Shrewſbury was wounded in the thigh with a muſquet ball, and his horſe killed under him. In this condition, not being able, by reaſon of his wound, to remount, he bid ſir John Talbot [i], his ſon, to retire, and ſave himſelf for another occaſion, where he might be ſtill ſerviceable to his country. But Talbot rather than baſely fly, choſe to die by the earl his father, who alſo, preſently after, reſigned his laſt breath. The Engliſh loſt two thouſand men, but their moſt conſiderable loſs was their general [k].

He is defeated and ſlain. Monſtrelet. Hall.

After the defeat, Caſtillon ſurrendered on the 16th of July [l]. A few days after, the the earl of Clermont being arrived, and the king come to the camp, the army was divi-

The end of the war in France, with the loſs of Guienne. Monſtrelet.

i He was eldeſt ſon by Margaret, the earl's ſecond wife, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, and created viſcount L'Iſle. by Henry VI. The earl's eldeſt ſon, by Maud, his firſt wife, was alſo called John, who ſucceded him in his honours. Dugdale's Baron. vol. I. p. 330.

k He was buried at Whitchurch in Shropſhire, where a noble monument is erected for him in the ſouth wall of the chancel. In his epitaph, he is ſtiled, earl of Shrewſbury, lord Talbot, lord Furnival, lord Verdon, lord Strange of Blackmore, and marſhal of France. Ibid. p. 330. Hall, fol. 166.

l Monſtrelet ſays, the battle wherein the lord Talbot fell, was fought July 17, fol. 57. But his epitaph ſays it was the 7th. See Dugdale, p. 330.

ded into four bodies, which beſieged at once Cadillac, Libourne, Fronſac, and Bourdeaux. Fronſac and Libourne, reſiſted only a few days, but the caſtle of Cadillac maintained a ſiege of two months. After the taking of that place, the whole army joined before Bourdeaux, which capitulated the 17th of October, and the garriſon had liberty to return into England. Thus, of ſo many conqueſts made by the Engliſh in France, ſince Edward III. there remained only Calais and Guiſnes; poor remains of ſo many provinces, ſeveral whereof, had belonged to their kings by hereditary right, and the reſt were acquired by ſo many victories, and at the expence of ſo much blood! 1453.

Henry falls ſick. Act. Pub. XI. p. 347.

Whilſt the French were thus ſucceſsfully carrying on the war in Guienne, Henry was ſeized at London [m], with a long and dangerous ſickneſs, which often gave occaſion to believe he would never recover. At the ſame time, the queen was delivered, on the 23d of October [n], of a prince chriſtened Edward. This prince was inauſpiciouſly born, ſince it was at the very time, the Engliſh loſt all their poſſeſſions in France. His birth gave riſe to ſeveral reports, injurious to the queen's honour. There were ſome ſo hardy as to ſay publickly, he was not the king's ſon. Others maintained, he was ſuppoſitious, becauſe the queen had never before been with child, though married nine years. In fine, ſome there were, who, without queſtioning the queen's honour or honeſty, took occaſion from this prince's birth to hope well for the future. Their reaſon was, becauſe the queen, having a ſon, would be more firmly attached to the intereſt of England, thereby plainly intimating, what they thought of her former conduct.

Birth of Edward, the king's ſon. Hall. Stow.

Reports to the queen's diſadvantage,

Thomas Bourchier archbiſhop of Canterbury. Stow.

Cardinal Kemp, tranſlated from the ſee of York to that of Canterbury, dying in December this year, Thomas Bourchier, brother of the earl of Eſſex [o], was elected archbiſhop. He was a prelate of eminent merit, and was afterwards made chancellor, and then honoured with the dignity of cardinal.

[m] He was taken ill at Clarendon, in Wiltſhire, where he lay ſick a conſiderable time, and then was removed to London. Stow, p. 397. Hall, fol. 167.

[n] According to Hall, and other hiſtorians, it was on the 13th. fol. 166. Stow, &c.

[o] Henry Bourchier, ſon of William, by Anne, daughter of Thomas of Woodſtock, (ſixth ſon of Edward III.) was not created earl of Eſſex till June 30, 1 Edward IV. He was made viſcount in 25 Henry VI. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 129. See above, p. 309, note p; and read there thirty inſtead of ten.

1453. The war in France, which had laſted thirty-eight years, being ended, the remaining events of this reign, conſiſt only of the quarrels between the houſes of Lancaſter and York; the firſt of which, had for device, a red, and the other a white roſe. Theſe devices are famous for the vaſt torrents of Engliſh blood, ſhed upon their account. The troubles raiſed by the duke of York, ſeemed entirely ſuppreſſed, ſince his reconciliation with the king; but they were quickly renewed with ſo much more fury, as the Engliſh were no longer diverted by a foreign war. I am going to give as brief an account as poſſible, of the events occaſioned by the duke of York's pretenſions, which ended at length, in the ruin of the king, and the whole houſe of Lancaſter.

The civil war is renewed in England. Hall. Stow.

The rights of the houſes of York and Lancaſter.

The duke of York had renewed his oath to the king, but it was only to free himſelf from the danger, his imprudence had thrown him into. He was no leſs reſolved to maintain his pretenſions, and to take the advantage of the king's incapacity, and the people's diſaffection for the queen and her miniſters. To conſider only the laws and cuſtoms of the realm, his title was indiſputable. He was deſcended from the third ſon [p] of Edward III. whereas, Henry came only from the fourth ſon [q] of the ſame prince. It is true, it was by a daughter, but there was no ſuch thing in England as the Salic law, to exclude him upon that account. On the contrary, in the reign of Richard II. Roger, earl of March, his grandfather by the mother's ſide, was declared by the parliament, preſumptive heir of the crown, in caſe Richard died without iſſue. And even ſince the houſe of Lancaſter was on the throne, the parliament, as was related in the reign of Henry IV. had confirmed by a ſolemn act, the right of the daughters and their deſcendants. And yet, Henry VI. was no uſurper. It was now above fifty years, ſince the houſe of Lancaſter had held the crown, by the authority of the parliament, who ſettled it on the family of Henry IV. So, the duke of York could pretend to the crown, only on ſuppoſition, that the parliament had not power to alter the ſucceſſion. For this reaſon, he could not openly diſcover his intention, without directly attacking the privileges of the parliament, of which the Engliſh nation has ever been jealous. Beſides, he ſtood in need of the parliament to ſucceed in his deſign. But how could he gain the parliament to his ſide, if he offered to queſtion the validity of their acts? On the other hand, he was to break through a fifty years poſſeſſion, confirmed by the una-

Difficulties of the duke of York's attempt.

[p] Lionel, duke of Clarence. [q] John, duke of Lancaſter.

nimous

nimous conſent of the people, and become ſtill more authentick by the glorious advantages, procured the nation by the late king Henry V. 1453.

His advantages.

Theſe obſtacles were ſufficient to divert the duke of York from his enterpriſe, if, on the other hand, the preſent conjunctures had not encouraged him to purſue it. Henry was a prince unable of himſelf, to oppoſe the duke's efforts againſt him. Though he was not hated by the people, he was little eſteemed. He was looked upon but as the ſhadow of a king, who only lent his name to the queen and his miniſters. Nevertheleſs, the ſole name of king, would have been capable to keep the people in ſubjection to thoſe that were at the helm, had they not made an ill uſe of their power, as is too commonly done by thoſe, who are in the like ſtation. But the authority uſurped by the queen, and the duke of Somerſet, was not the only cauſe of the diſcontent of the Engliſh. When they conſidered that all the conqueſts of Henry V. and Guienne itſelf, which had been for three hundred years, under the dominion of England, were loſt in a few years, they could not forbear caſting the blame upon thoſe, that governed in the king's name. Normandy had been taken from England, in two campaigns only, under the duke of Somerſet's regency, whilſt he was actually on the ſpot to defend it. He was accuſed likewiſe, of having been too haſty in ſurrendering Caen. On the other hand, it was conſidered, that during the regency of the duke of Glouceſter, the affairs of France were kept upon a tolerable foot; and yet, the queen to gratify her paſſion, had diſpatched that prince out of the way, in a baſe and violent manner, and thereby, been the occaſion of all the ſubſequent loſſes. So, the king was conſidered as a prince, uncapable of retrieving the honour of the nation, and reſtoring the affairs of the kingdom to a flouriſhing ſtate, the queen as too well affected to France, and graſping at the whole authority in England; and the duke of Somerſet as a greedy miniſter, who ſought only to enrich himſelf at the expence of the publick. It was farther, and loudly complained, that to preſerve his authority, the duke filled the higheſt poſts with his creatures, without any regard to their merit and parts. This laſt article made a deep impreſſion on the minds of the people. They could not, without indignation, ſee the council filled with vicious perſons, and all the places of the kingdom poſſeſſed by men of no principles. This gave occaſion to ſuſpect, that the queen's and miniſtry's aim, was to hinder religion, honour, virtue, love of country, from inducing thoſe, that were in the publick poſts, to

1453. oppoſe the abuſes and diſorders, ſpread over the kingdom. This diſpoſition of the people gave the duke of York ſo great advantages, that he thought, he ſhould improve them, not by acting directly for himſelf, but under colour of procuring the good of the people, in obliging the king to make uſe of other miniſters. He knew, if he could remove his enemies from the council, and introduce his creatures, it would not be difficult to purſue the execution of his deſigns.

The earl of Saliſbury and Warwick chief friends of the duke of York. Hall.

As ſuch an undertaking could not be accompliſhed without the aſſiſtance of friends, he engaged ſeveral lords in his plot, ſome under colour of turning out the duke of Somerſet, who was generally hated and envied, others by diſcovering to them his moſt ſecret purpoſes. Among theſe laſt, the two Nevils, father and ſon, were the principal. The father, who bore the title of earl of Saliſbury, was eminent for his virtues and conſummate prudence. The earl of Warwick his ſon was univerſally eſteemed for his valour, and adored by the people for his engaging behaviour [r]. He knew how to conduct himſelf ſo well, that he ſeemed to have ſolely in view the welfare and glory of the nation [s]. Hitherto, he had affected between the two parties a neutrality, which by rendering him agreeable to the people, had taken from the miniſters not only all pretence of deſtroying him, but even all occaſion of ſuſpecting him. Theſe two lords, with ſome others, conſulting with the duke of York, concerning the means to accompliſh his project, agreed, it was not yet time to diſcover his intention; that, on the contrary, he ſhould behave very ſubmiſſively to the king, in order to efface the ill impreſſions, his former conduct might have made in the minds of the people. The frankneſs wherewith he had diſbanded his troops, and his new oath to the king, were very proper to inſtill a belief that he had no ill deſign.

The duke of York conſults with his friends.

Advice given the queen and duke of Somerſet for their ruin.

The parliament had been ſummoned to Reading, but by reaſon of the king's relapſe, it was adjourned to Weſtminſter for February the 14th [t]. In that interval, the duke of York's private friends, who pretended to be of the court party,

[r] Hall ſays of him, that by reaſon of his engaging behaviour, and of his liberality and good houſekeeping. "He "in was in ſuch favour and eſtimation, "emongeſte the common people, that "thei judged him able to do all "thynges, and without hym, nothing "to be well doen." fol. 167.

[s] This is he that was commonly called the ſtout earl of Warwick.

[t] This parliament firſt met at Reading, on March 6, 1452; and on the 18th, was prorogued to the 20th of April, at Weſtminſter, where it aſſembled accordingly; from whence, on July 2, it was prorogued to November 7, at Reading; and from thence to February 14, 1453, at Weſtminſter: but

party, intimated to the queen and the duke of Somerſet, that in the preſent diſpoſition of the people, it was to be feared, the parliament would come to very diſagreeable reſolutions: that whilſt the king was in health, they could act in his name, becauſe all orders were ſuppoſed to iſſue from him; but that the caſe was not the ſame during his ſickneſs: that their authority being wholly grounded upon the king's will, there was reaſon to fear that the royal will no longer appearing, the parliament would nominate other governors: that therefore, it was proper to admit into the council the duke of York, the two Nevils, and ſome other of the moſt popular lords, in order to ſhow that thoſe who governed did not ſeek to ingroſs all the power. This advice was built upon ſuch plauſible reaſons, that the queen and the favourite could not help falling into the ſnare. So, the duke of York, the two Nevils, and ſome others of their cabal were called to the council before the parliament met. They were no ſooner admitted, but they became ſuperior, ſo that thoſe who before managed all had no longer any credit. 1453.

The firſt notable ſtep of theſe new counſellors was to arreſt the duke of Somerſet in the queen's bed chamber, and ſend him to the Tower. Mean while, the parliament was farther prorogued to the 15th of March, to give the duke of York and his friends time to concert meaſures with the members. The duke of Somerſet ſent to the Tower. Hall.

Two days before the meeting of the parliament, the council empowered the duke of York to hold it in the king's name. In the beginning of the ſeſſion, the commons ſent to the houſe of lords an accuſation againſt the duke of Somerſet for ſuffering Normandy to be loſt during his regency, and by his fault. April the 2d, the great ſeal was was given to the earl of Saliſbury. Next day, the parliament appointed the duke of York, protector of the realm, defender of the church, and firſt counſellor of the king, with this limitation, till the young prince Edward, the king's ſon, was of age to exerciſe that high office. Hence it appears, firſt, 1454. The duke of York is made protector, Act. Pub. XI. p. 346. Cotton's Abridg.

but notwithſtanding, it appears that it then met at Reading, whence it was adjourned to Weſtminſter for Feb. 14.—In the firſt ſeſſion, the commons granted the king one tenth and a half, and one fifteenth and a half; tunnage and poundage during life; the ſubſidy of wools, viz. twenty three ſhillings and four pence for every ſack, of denizens; and five pounds of aliens; and ſo of other ſtaple ware in proportion. They alſo granted the king, of every merchant not born within the realm, who was no denizen, and kept houſe, forty ſhillings per annum: and of every ſuch merchant as ſhall remain within the realm but ſix weeks, twenty ſhillings: and of every merchant alien, being no denizen, ſix pounds thirteen ſhilling and four pence yearly, during the king's life. Cotton's Abridg. p. 649, 650.

that

1454. that it was believed, the king's indiſpoſition would laſt as long as he lived, and that it affected his underſtanding more than his body. In the next place, by reſerving that office for a child of ſix months, who was to exerciſe it when of age, the parliament ſhowed their intention to preſerve entire the rights of the houſe of Lancaſter, though the duke of York was declared protector. Generally on theſe occaſions there is too much or too little done, and from thence ſpring civil wars. If the parliament had openly declared againſt the houſe of Lancaſter, very likely at ſuch a juncture it would have found but few friends. On the other hand, if inſtead of placing the duke of York ſo near the throne, care had been taken to check his ambition, which was but too manifeſt, doubtleſs he would have loſt many of his adherents, and perhaps the civil war, which laid waſte the kingdom, being avoided. But it is very hard for a parliament at ſuch junctures to act with freedom, and according to reaſon and equity.

and governour of Calais. Act. Pub. XI. p. 351, 359.

The Duke of York having all the power in his own hands, removed the duke of Somerſet, who was ſtill in the Tower, from the government of Calais, and by the king's letters patent, placed himſelf in his room. Every one imagined, the accuſation againſt the impriſoned duke would be vigorouſly proſecuted. But the affair was ſuffered to lie dormant, and ſeemingly unregarded all the reſt of the year. Probably, the evidences againſt him appeared inſufficient.

1455. The king reſumes his authority. Stow.

In the beginning of the year 1455, the king finding himſelf a little recovered of his long illneſs, the authority conferred on the duke of York ceaſed of courſe, ſince it was wholly founded on the king's inability, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition, to govern the kingdom himſelf. The duke of York's affairs were not ſufficiently ripe to enable him to diſpute with the king the right of reſuming his authority, though it was in effect only to replace it in the hands of the queen. The firſt effect of this change was the duke of Somerſet's releaſe. On the 5th of February the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Wiltſhire [u], and two knights [w], offering to be his pledges, their offer was accepted, and the governor of the Tower was ordered to releaſe the priſoner. A month after, theſe lords were diſcharged from their ſure-

The duke of Somerſet is releaſed. Act. Pub. XI. p. 361. Hall. Stow.

[u] James Boteler or Butler, ſon of James, the fourth duke of Ormond in Ireland, was created earl of Wiltſhire, 2 Hen. VI. and was now alſo by his father's death duke of Ormond. Dugdale.

[w] Sir Thomas de Roos, and ſir William de Fitzwaren. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XI. p. 361.

tios,

ties, without any ſentence intervening. As the duke was apprehended by order of council, it was ſuppoſed, he could be releaſed by the ſame authority. But there was much to be ſaid againſt this ſuppoſition. The impeachment of the houſe of commons ſince intervening, it could not be pretended that the king had power to releaſe him before he was legally acquitted. However, the court had no regard to this reaſon. After the king had reſumed the government, the duke of York and his party had no longer any credit in the council, where the queen and the duke of Somerſet bore an abſolute ſway. So prevalent was the king's bare name to give a new turn to affairs. 1455.

Mean while, ſome of the moſt prudent lords dreading the ill conſequences of the quarrel between the two dukes, endeavoured to reconcile them. It was the intereſt of both to ſhow, that they acted not from ambitious motives; for their aim was to gain the people. Wherefore, they both conſented to chooſe arbitrators, and ſubmit to their deciſion, under penalty for him that refuſed of paying to the other twenty thouſand marks. But it was on condition, that the ſentence of the arbitrators ſhould be pronounced before the 20th of June. The duke of York and Somerſet put things to arbitration. Act. Pub. XI. p. 263.

Whilſt people were in expectation of the ſentence, the duke of Somerſet repreſented to the king, that he was removed from the government of Calais upon a bare accuſation that was never determined; and it was not juſt, his adverſary ſhould remain cloathed with his ſpoils, ſince their difference was not yet decided. Upon this remonſtrance, the king took from the duke of York the government he had conferred on him for ſeven years. Then under colour of obſerving a perfect neutrality between the two rivals, he declared himſelf governor of Calais. In the act whereby the duke of York was removed, it was ſaid to be done at the duke's own requeſt. But the duke taking it as an heinous affront, withdrew from court, where he found his affairs began to be in an ill ſituation. The duke of York removed from the government of Calais. March. Hall. Biondi. Act. Pub. XI. p. 363.

He retired into Wales, not only to ſcreen himſelf from the attempts of his enemies, but with deſign to levy an army, and have it in his power to attack them. He was very ſenſible, the queen and the duke of Somerſet being abſolute maſters of the king's perſon, had an advantage of which nothing but force could deprive them. So, without farther conſideration, he reſolved to take up arms. The court's proceedings in releaſing the duke of Somerſet without giving the nation any ſatisfaction, made him imagine, he ſhould be ſtrongly He retires into Wales, and raiſes an army. Hall.

1455. Hall. Hollingſh. Stow.

ſtrongly ſupported when he came to uſe that pretence. He was not deceived in his expectations. In a ſhort ſpace, he ſaw himſelf at the head of a numerous army, and in condition to make head againſt the king, who had likewiſe prepared himſelf, and was marching directly towards him to give him battle [x]. The two armies met near St. Albans on a level ground, where nothing hindered their engaging. The duke of York, to ſhow, he had taken up arms ſolely for the good of the publick, ſent and offered the king to diſmiſs his troops, if the duke of Somerſet was delivered to juſtice, to be condemned if guilty, or acquitted if innocent. But the court knowing this to be only a vain pretence, and that one time or other the quarrel muſt be decided by arms, rejected the offer, and the battle was fought the 31ſt of May [y].

The firſt battle of St. Albans. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The king's army is defeated, and the duke of Somerſet ſlain. Stow.

The earl of Warwick, who commanded the duke of York's vanguard, expecting this anſwer, attacked the king's army, whilſt the court was waiting for new propoſals from the malecontents. The attack, which was as vigorous as ſudden, put the royal army into ſuch a diſorder, that it was not in the duke of Somerſet's power to repair it. At the ſame time, the duke of York improving the advantage, advanced likewiſe from his quarter, not to give the enemies time to recover themſelves. He preſſed them ſo briſkly, that the royal army was defeated in a few moments, with the loſs of five thouſand men [z], without making any conſiderable reſiſtance. The duke of Somerſet was killed on the ſpot, with the earl of Northumberland [a], the earl of Stafford, eldeſt ſon

[x] In the king's army (conſiſting of about two thouſand men) were, Edmund Beaufort, duke of Somerſet, Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, and the earl of Stafford his eldeſt ſon, Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, James Butler, earl of Wiltſhire and Ormond. John Beaufort, earl of Dorſet, Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke, Thomas, lord Clifford, the lords Sudley, Barnes, Roſſe, and others. They ſet out from Weſtminſter, May 20 or 21, came to Watford that night, and the next day to St. Albans. The king ſet up his ſtandard in a place called Goſelow, or Sandiford, in St. Peter's ſtreet. In the mean time, the duke of York had encamped in Keyefield, having with him John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk, Richard Nevil, earl of Saliſbury, Richard, earl of Warwick, William, lord Faulconbridge, Edward, lord Cobham, &c. and not above three thouſand men. Before they came to an engagement, propoſals for an accomodation paſſed between the king and the duke, but to no purpoſe. Hall, fol. 168. Stow, p. 398, 399. Hollingſhead, p. 1287, 1288.

[y] All Hiſtorians ſay, it was on the 23d. See Hall, fol. 168. Hollingſhead, p. 1288. Biondi, p. 162, &c.

[z] So ſays Stow, p. 400. Hall hath above eight thouſand, fol. 168. But Hollingſhead, with great probability thinks, it ſhould be but eight hundred, p. 1288. There were ſix hundred ſlain on the duke of York's ſide. Stow, p. 400.

[a] Henry Percy, ſon of Hotſpur, by the eldeſt daughter of Edmund Mortimer,

ſon of the duke of Buckingham, the lord Clifford, and ſeveral other lords and officers of note [b], all firmly attached to the houſe of Lancaſter. The duke of Buckingham receiving a wound retired out of the battle [c], and by his retreat compleated the diſorder among the king's troops. 1455.

Mean time, the king, who was wounded in the neck with an arrow, ſeeing himſelf deſerted in the rout of his army, retired to a little houſe which was preſently inveſted. The duke of York having notice of it, haſted thither with the earl of Saliſbury, and preſenting themſelves before him on their knees, told him, ſince the publick enemy was dead, he ſaw none there but perſons ready to obey him in whatever he ſhould pleaſe to command them. The king upon theſe words recovering a little from his fright, cauſed by the duke's approach, intreated him for God's ſake to put a ſtop to the ſlaughter, aſſuring him, he was ready to give him all the ſatisfaction he could reaſonably deſire. Whereupon, the duke ordered a retreat to be ſounded, and the army enjoined to ſhed no more blood. Then, he conducted the king to St. Albans, from whence they returned together to London. The king falls into the hands of the duke of York, who treats him with reſpect. Stow. Hall. Hollingſh.

Shortly after, Henry called a parliament, which met in July [d]. The King being then relapſed, the duke of York was commiſſioned to hold it in his name. The parliament, which at ſuch a juncture could ſcarce be compoſed of any but the duke of York's adherents, made the following declaration: "That the government had been ill managed by "the queen and the duke of Somerſet, who had abuſed the "king's goodneſs and confidence: that the late duke of "Glouceſter had been unjuſtly accuſed: that all the alienations of the crown lands made ſince the firſt year of the "preſent reign, ſhould be revoked: that the duke of York, "the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, or any that had liſted "under their banners, were not guilty of rebellion in taking "up arms againſt the king, ſince it was neceſſary to free his The parliament meets, Cotton's Abridg. Hall. Stow. and condemns the queen's and Somerſet's management, and juſtifies the duke of York.

mer, earl of March: he left iſſue nine ſons, (of whom Henry, then thirty three years of age, ſucceeded him) and two daughters. Dugdale's Baron. vol. I. p. 281.

[b] Of whom forty eight were buried in the abbey of St. Albans. Stow, p. 400. Hall, fol. 168.

[c] As did alſo Thomas Thorp, chief baron of the exchequer. Stow, p. 400.

[d] July 9, at Weſtminſter.—In this parliament it was enacted, that whereas there were fourſcore attornies or more, in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and the city of Norwich, moſt of whom had no other thing to live upon but their practice, and the major part were not of ſufficient knowledge; that therefore from henceforth, there ſhould be but ſix common attornies in the county of Norfolk, the ſame number in the county of Suffolk, and two in the city of Norwich, upon pain of forfeiting twenty pounds. Statutes, 33 Hen. VI. c. 7.

"perſon

1455. "perſon' from captivity: that, on the contrary, the blame "was to be laid on the duke of Somerſet and his adhe- "rents, who concealed from the king the duke of York's "letter, which might have prevented the diſorders." Then, the parliament petitioned the king to nominate a protector becauſe of his indiſpoſition, which hindered him from attending to the affairs of the publick. This petition was repeated ſeveral times, without the king's returning an anſwer. Not that he had reſolved to reject it. He was no more at liberty to follow his own councils, than when he was under the guardianſhip of the queen and the duke of Somerſet. But the duke of York had a mind the nomination ſhould not appear forced. At length, the parliament being prorogued to the 12th of November, the ſame day the king ſigned a patent wherein he ſaid, That having been frequently petitioned by his parliament to nominate a protector, he appointed the duke of York for that important office, till he ſhould be removed by the parliament, or the young prince of Wales be capable of it [c]. Then, after a month's ſeſſion, the parliament was prorogued to the 14th of January.

The king is petitioned to name a protector.

The parliament is prorogued.

The king makes the duke of York protector.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 369, 370.

1456. Whilſt the duke of York was thus enjoying the advantage he had gained upon his enemies, there were not idle. The queen, who knew his deſigns, was too much concerned as well for her own, as the king's and her ſon's ſake, not to try to diſappoint them. Henry duke of Somerſet [f], ſon of him ſlain at St. Albans, and the duke of Buckingham, were equally deſirous of revenging, the one his ſon's, the other his father's death. In fine, all the princes and lords allied to the houſe of Lancaſter, or attached to its intereſts, ſeeing the duke of York taking large ſteps towards the throne, were prepared to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to ſtop his progreſs. Mean while, the duke of York lived in a ſecurity which aſtoniſhed his very enemies. He perceived, it would be very dangerous openly to aſpire to a crown, which had been fifty ſix years in the houſe of Lancaſter. Wherefore he choſe to wait, till time ſhould produce a favourable opportunity to aſſert his right. Above all things, he wanted to gain the people's affection, without which he was ſatisfied, all his endeavours would be fruitleſs. So, to demonſtrate he was not ſwayed by paſſion or intereſt, he left the king and queen at

Project againſt the duke of York.

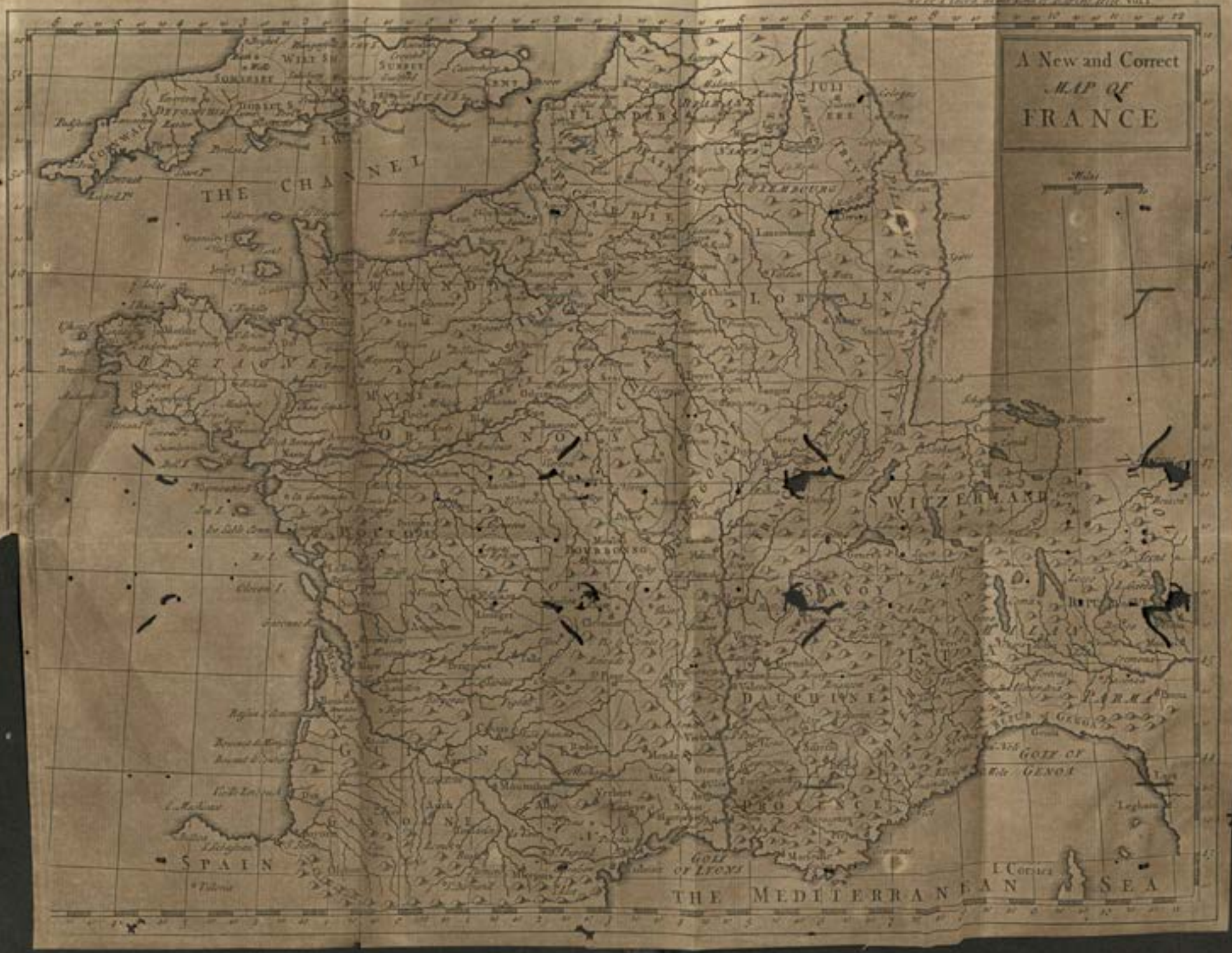
Hall.

His unconcernedneſs prejudicial to his affairs.

[c] A ſalary of four thouſand marks was allowed the duke, for his office of protector. Ibid.

[f] He bore the title of earl of Mortague in his father's life time.

full


A New and Correct
MAP OF
FRANCE
Miles
THE CHANNEL
SWITZERLAND
SAVOY
DAUPHINE
PROVENCE
GOLF OF GENOA
GOLF OF LYONS
SPAIN
THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
I. Corsica

full liberty. He imagined, it was not in their power to deprive him of the protectorſhip, which, according to his patent, he was to enjoy till removed by the parliament. But he had to deal with an able and enterpriſing princeſs, who was not diſcouraged at the obſtacles ſhe met in her way. 1456.

The king being recovered, the duke of York's enemies reſolved to diveſt him of his dignity of protector, which gave him ſo great a power. It would have been eaſy for him to foreſee, the pretence of the king's recovery might be uſed as it was once before, if he had not been blinded by the clauſe in his patent. But the clauſe whereon he relied was a weak fence againſt the attempts of his enemies. The parliament being reaſſembled, the king went in perſon and declared, that being by God's grace in good health, and able to reſume the reins of the government, he did not think the kingdom any longer wanted a protector. Then he deſired the parliament to conſent that the duke of York might be diſmiſſed from that office. Whether the parliament thought the king's demand reaſonable, or the members had been gained unknown to the duke, it was immediately reſolved to grant the king's requeſt. The ſame day the king ſent the duke an order to reſign the protectorſhip. The king recovers. The duke of York is diſmiſſed from the protectorſhip. Feb. 23. Act. Pub. XI. p. 373.

The duke of York and his party were amazed at this proceeding. They eaſily perceived the combination was too ſtrong to be broken. So, making, as it is ſaid, a virtue of neceſſity, they feigned patiently to ſubmit to the king's and the parliament's orders. However, under colour of having no farther buſineſs at court, they retired into the country. But the duke of York, and the earls of Saliſbury [h] and Warwick, kept within diſtance of each other in Yorkſhire. He withdraws from court. Ib. p. 388.

Shortly after there was a ſedition at London, occaſioned by a ſudden quarrel between two merchants, an Engliſhman, and an Italian [i]. The mob riſing in favour of the Sedition at London. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

[g] February 25. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XI. p. 370.

[h] He was made chancellor, at the ſame time that the duke of York was appointed protector, but they were both deprived of their offices at the ſame time. Hall, fol. 169. Stow, p. 400, 401.

[i] The ground and riſe of this quarrel was thus: an Engliſh merchant's ſervant that had formerly been in Italy, and blamed, or puniſhed for wearing a dagger at his girdle, meeting an Italian merchant's ſervant with one in Cheapſide, queſtioned him about it; and words ariſing, the Engliſhman ſnatched the dagger from the Italian, and broke it about his head. Whereupon a great tumult enſuing, the mob rifled the houſes of ſeveral Italian merchants; but three were executed for this riot. Fabian. Stow, p. 401. Hall, fol. 169, 170. He calls them merchants.

1456. Engliſhman, the king impowered the dukes of Exeter and Buckingham to bring the guilty to a trial; but the populace would not ſuffer them to execute their commiſſion.

The queen takes the king into Warwickſhire. Hall. Stow.

The queen ſuſpecting the tumult to be raiſed by the duke of York's adherents, and not thinking the king ſafe at London, carried him to Coventry, under colour of taking the air. But beſides this, ſhe had another motive of no leſs importance: and that was, to inſnare at once the duke of York, and the two earls his friends, who were all three retired into the north. She was informed, that though they were ſeparated in appearance, they had on divers pretences, frequent conferences together, at which ſeveral other lords of their party were preſent. As ſhe could not doubt, it was to concert meaſures againſt the king, ſhe believed ſhe ſhould have them in her power, if ſhe could draw them to Coventry, where they would not find the ſame protection as at London. To that end, ſhe ſent them letters under the king's own hand [k], requiring their preſence at court, where their advice was wanted in an affair of the utmoſt importance.

She tries to draw the three lords to court. Act. Pub. XI. p. 401.

They are like to be intrapped. Hollingſh. Stow. Hall.

The duke of York had not yet done any thing openly, which ſhewed, that he aſpired to the crown. This was a ſecret between him and his principal friends. It is very true, the court was perſuaded of it, but it was not poſſible to convict him. Hitherto he had varniſhed his actions with the good of the publick, and for that very reaſon was formidable to the court. But though it was not eaſy to condemn him legally, he could not be ignorant, there were ſpeedier and more certain ways to diſpatch him, and that his enemies were not over ſcrupulous. Beſides, though he had artfully concealed his deſigns from the people, he could not think of deceiving the queen, who was too much concerned not to diſcover them. Notwithſtanding theſe conſiderations, which ſhould have created a jealouſy in the three lords who had received the king's letters, they reſolved to go to him. They flattered themſelves that Henry being at length ſenſible of the miſmanagement of the queen and the miniſtry, required their aſſiſtance, in making ſome alterations at court. But whilſt they were on the road to Coventry, their private emiſſaries undeceived them, by warning them of their danger. This advice cauſing them to take other meaſures, they thought proper to ſeparate. The duke of York withdrew to his caſtle of

But upon notice of the queen's deſigns they retire. Hall. Stow.

[k] Under the privy-ſeal. [l] Hall, fol. 171.

Wigmore,

Wigmore, in the marches of Wales, and the earl of Salisbury to his ſeat [at Middleham] in Yorkſhire [l]: as for the earl of Warwick, he went directly to Calais, of which he was made governor after the battle of St. Albans. The queen was extremely vexed at her diſappointment, but her comfort was, ſhe had ſeparated the three lords, and ſo rendered them leſs formidable to her. 1456.

The fears and jealouſies of both parties were a little interrupted during the year 1457, by foreign affairs. As the Engliſh had formerly taken advantage of the diſſentions in France, to make conqueſts upon that kingdom, Charles VII. thought he ſhould not neglect the opportunity, which the quarrels of the Engliſh court ſeemed to offer him. For that purpoſe, he prepared two fleets which were to invade England, in two different quarters. The firſt ſailing to the Downs, plundered the town of Sandwich [m]. The other ſerved [Foy] a little town of Cornwall, in the ſame manner. But this was all they did worth remarking. Probably, they were too ill provided to venture upon more important attempts. So, it was properly but a kind of bravado to inſult the Engliſh in their own country, after their expulſion out of France. 1457. The French invade the coaſts of England. Hall. Stow. P. Daniel. Monſtrelet.

About the ſame time the Scots made likewiſe an inroad into the northern counties, and carried away ſome booty. Indeed, there was a truce concluded in 1453, between England and Scotland till the 21ſt of May this year, on condition, that when the term was expired, which ever of the two kings intended to renew the war, he ſhould give the other one hundred and eighty days notice. But ſo many outrages had been committed on both ſides, that neither party thought themſelves obliged to obſerve the treaty. The very laſt year, the two kings had ſent each other abuſive letters, full of haughtineſs and contempt. However, whether the Scots intended only to revenge ſome particular injury, or for ſome other reaſon, the truce was renewed from the 6th of July this year, to that day twelve- The Scots invade the northern parts. Act. Pub. XI. p. 327, p. 383. Truce renewed with Scotland. p. 389, 407.

l This lordſhip came to the Nevils by Mary, daughter and coheir to Ralph Fitz-Randulph, lord of Middleham, who was married to Robert de Nevil, one of the anceſtors of the earl of Salisbury. This Robert de Nevil, frequenting the company of a certain lady in Craven in an adulterous manner, was ſurprized by the lady's huſband, who in revenge cut off his genitals, which threw him into ſuch exceſſive grief, that he died, June 6, 1271, 55 Henry III. Dugdale's Baron. vol. I. p. 292.

m They landed there Auguſt 28, with four thouſand men. P. Daniel, tom. VI. p. 292.

1458. month, 1459, and afterwards prolonged to the 6th of July 1463.

The two parties are outwardly reconciled.

The affairs with the foreign enemies being ended, domeſtick quarrels were going to be renewed, if ſome peaceful perſons had not uſed their endeavours, to prevent the fatal conſequences of theſe diviſions. It was eaſy to ſee that the two parties, in deciding their quarrel by arms, could not but ruin the kingdom, and occaſion in the end ſome ſad revolution. Neither party was ſo ſuperior, as to promiſe themſelves certain victory. Succeſs depended on the events of the war, too doubtful for either to build any reaſonable hopes upon. The duke of York was ſenſible, it was no eaſy thing to diſpoſſeſs by force, a king that had been on the throne thirty five years. The truth is, Henry was little eſteemed by his ſubjects, on account of his incapacity: but he gained their affection by his innocent life, and good intentions, though ill ſupported by his ſlender abilities. On the other hand, the queen, the new duke of Somerſet, who held his father's poſt, the reſt of the miniſtry, and the whole houſe of Lancaſter, were in a very tottering
Hall. ſtate. The French and Scots took advantage of theſe quarrels to invade the kingdom, and all the miſcarriages were laid upon thoſe who governed in the king's name. The court ſaw plainly, the duke of York uſed this pretence to excite the people againſt them. Though hitherto he had not made all the progreſs, he could have wiſhed, he ſaw himſelf, however, able very ſoon, to make a much more conſiderable. Theſe reaſons, added to the king's inſtances to adjuſt theſe differences, moved the queen and the duke of Somerſet, at length to ſend the duke of York an offer
Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. of a ſincere reconciliation. This firſt ſtep being taken, the king deſired the duke of York and his friends to repair to London; a place by them unſuſpected, in order to endeavour an agreement. He writ them a letter with his own hand, promiſing upon his ſalvation, he would do them no injury, and that his intention was ſincere.

Such an invitation could not be rejected, without openly declaring himſelf, which the duke of York was unwilling to avoid. So, the lords of his party reſolved to accept it. They were jealous however of the queen, who on her part, had as little confidence in them. It may be, they were both equally in the right. Very likely, each party hoped to reap ſome advantage from this proceeding, with-
Hall. out intending however to alter their firſt projects. Mean while, to remove all fears, it was agreed, that both parties might

might be attended with a certain number of armed followers. Nay, the king gave the earl of Warwick leave, who was to come from Calais, to bring with him four and twenty foreigners, beſides Engliſh [n]. 1458.

Every thing being thus ſettled, the lords of both parties came to London in January, but the earl of Warwick arrived not till February. They were lodged in two different quarters [o], to avoid the diſorders which their being together might occaſion. The mayor of London [p] rode every night round the city with his trainbands, to the number of ten thouſand. The king and queen entered the city the 27th of March, and lodged in the biſhop's palace, at an equal diſtance from both parties. Hollingſh. Hall. Stow.

Mediators being choſen with unanimous conſent, ſuch was the diſpoſition of both ſides, that on the 3d of April a reconciliation was made [q] to the common ſatisfaction of the king, the queen, the parties concerned, and the whole kingdom. The ſubſtance of the agreement was, that all animoſity being laid aſide, the lords ſhould live together in peace and concord, and in perfect obedience to the king's commands. But to avoid all occaſion of complaint, it was agreed, that the duke of York, the earls of Saliſbury and Warwick, with ſome others of that party, ſhould be admitted into the council [r]. Then the 5th of April was appointed for a publick thankſgiving-day, for the reconciliation, by a ſolemn proceſſion to St. Paul's church [s]. The king and queen, and all the lords were preſent, and walked two and two, one of each party, in token of a perfect uni- Hollingſh. Stow. The duke of York and his friends readmitted into the council. Solemn proceſſion. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

[n] He brought with him ſix hundred men in red coats, embroidered with white ragged ſtaves before and behind. The earl of Saliſbury brought five hundred. The duke of York four hundred. The dukes of Somerſet and Exeter eight hundred. The earl of Northumberland, the lords Egremont and Clifford fifteen hundred. Stow, p. 403.

[o] The duke of York at Baynard's-caſtle, which belonged to him; the earl of Saliſbury at his own houſe, called the Herber; and the earl of Warwick at his houſe near the Grey Friers. The duke of Somerſet and his friends were lodged without Temple-Bar, Holbourn, and other places in the ſuburbs. Hall, fol. 171. Stow, p. 403. Hollingſh. 1292. The former party held their conſultation at the Black Friers; and the latter in the Chapter Houſe at Weſtminſter. Ibid.

[p] Sir Godfrey Bullen, anceſtor of two famous queens; Ann, ſecond wife of Henry VIII, and queen Elizabeth, their daughter.

[q] Through the perſuaſions of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and other prelates. Hall, fol. 172. Hollingſh. p. 1292. Stow, p. 403.

[r] This agreement paſſed the great ſeal, March 24. Hollingſh. p. 1293.

[s] Our hiſtorians ſay, it was March 25. Stow. p. 404.

1458. on [1]. The duke of York led the queen by the hand, who publickly gave him marks of confidence and esteem.

The duke of York and his friends retire from court.

It appeared, however soon after, that this confidence, of which so great shew was made on both sides, was far from being restored. The duke of York and his two principal friends still fearing some treachery from their reconciled enemies, withdrew from court on divers pretences. The duke and the earl of Salisbury went to York, and the earl of Warwick to his government of Calais. The English historians say, the earl being admiral of the channel, equipped fourteen ships, to give chase to some Spanish corsairs, who infested the narrow seas, and meeting them, sunk several, and brought six to Calais. But probably they were mistaken, since the collection of the publick acts gives us quite another idea of that affair. It is true, we find there complaints from the republicks of Genoa and Lubeck to the king against the earl of Warwick, and that the king appointed commissioners to take informations. But in the commission there is no mention of Spanish ships. It even appears that the engagement was occasioned by an accidental quarrel between the ships of Genoa and Lubeck, and those which were conveying the earl of Warwick with his retinue to Calais, This does not shew they were pyrates, or that the earl of Warwick attacked them designedly, be this as it will, upon the complaint he was forced to return to England to answer for himself, and staid six or seven weeks.

The earl of Warwick seizes upon some foreign ships.

Act. Pub. XI. p. 406, 415.

He comes to England to justify what he had done.

Quarrel between his and the king's servants. Hall. Stow.

Whilst the earl was at London, it happened one day, whilst he was present at the council, that one of his people quarrelled with a servant of the king's, and wounded him: Whereupon the rest of the king's domesticks arming themselves, some with swords, others with clubs or other weapons, ran to revenge their comrade. As they could not find the aggressor, they fell upon the rest of the earl of Warwick's retinue. In short, they even assaulted his person as he was returning from the council to his barge, which waited for him on the Thames. The assault was so violent, that he very hardly escaped to his barge, after seeing several of his attendants killed on the spot. He did not doubt but this was a contrivance of the queen to dispatch him, without appearing in it herself. He was confirmed in his opinion, when he heard the king had or-

He is attacked, and hardly escapes.

He is ordered to be seized. Hall.

[1] Before the king went hand in hand, the duke of Somerset and earl of Salisbury; the duke of Exeter and earl of Warwick: And behind the king came the queen and duke of York. Hall, fol. 172. Stow, p. 404.

ordered

dered him to be arreſted and ſent to the Tower. He had notice timely enough to diſappoint thoſe who were ſent to apprehend him. It is very difficult to decide, whether the queen contrived the quarrel to diſpatch him, or whether it happened by accident. However, the order to apprehend him, though he himſelf had reaſon to complain, made him ſenſible that the beſt way to be ſecured from the plots of his enemies would be to attack them with open force. With a mind full of reſentment at the affront, he went to the earl of Saliſbury his father, and without delay, they repaired together to the duke of York, to conſult what was to be done in that juncture. From what had lately paſſed, they concluded, the reconciliation at London was only a ſnare to ſurprize them the more eaſily, and deſtroy them one after another. Perhaps they were not ſorry for having this excuſe to juſtify their reſolution of acting openly, as not being able to rely any more on the promiſes of the court. Purſuant to this ſcheme, the earl of Warwick ſpeedily returned to Calais to ſecure that place, not queſtioning that there was a deſign to take it from him.

1458.

He takes meaſures with his father and the duke of York.

He returns to Calais. Hall.

Mean while, the duke of York and the earl of Saliſbury took meaſures to execute their projects. They agreed whilſt the duke was levying an army in Wales, the earl ſhould advance towards London at the head of five or ſix thouſand men [u], and openly demand ſatisfaction for the injury done to his ſon. As this deſign could not be executed without the queen's knowledge, the lord Audley [w] was commiſſioned to raiſe troops [x], and oppoſe the earl of Saliſbury [y]. Audley in a very ſhort time was at the head of ten thouſand men, and in condition to march towards Lancaſhire, through which the earl of Saliſbury was to paſs. But he found the earl was already advanced as far as Shropſhire, where the two armies met. The earl of Saliſbury, though but half as ſtrong as the enemy, did not think proper to retreat, but reſolved to make uſe of ſtratagem to obtain a victory, which otherwiſe he could not expect. Audley being encamped on Blore-heath near a little river, Saliſbury poſted himſelf on the other ſide, as

1459.

The earl of Saliſbury marches towards London with an army.

The lord Audley is ſent againſt him. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The battle of Blore-heath. Audley is ſlain.

u Four or five thouſand. Hall, fol. 173.

w James Tuchet, grandſon of John Tuchet, by Joan, daughter and heir of Nicholas Aldithly or Audley of Heleigh, who died without iſſue male. Wherefore the poſterity of the ſaid John and Joan had the title of lord Audley. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 8.

x Becauſe his ſignory and power lay in thoſe parts. Hall, &c. Ibid.

y And ordered to bring the earl dead or alive. Ibid.

1459. if he meant to guard the paſs, and hinder his being attacked. Then ſuddenly feigning a fear, he retired in the night, marching ſo, as at break of day his enemies could ſtill ſee the rear of his army. This retreat, which ſeemed to be with precipitation, inſpiring the royaliſts with ardor, they began to paſs the river in diſorder, imagining they had nothing to do, but to purſue the flying enemy. But whilſt they were in this confuſion, ſome being over the river, others in the water, and others ready to paſs, the earl of Saliſbury returned and fell upon the troops already paſſed, who had ſcarce time to draw up. The fight laſted however four or five hours, becauſe the king's troops were ſupported by thoſe that were continually paſſing. But as this could not be done without confuſion, the royal army was at length put to rout with the loſs of two thouſand four hundred men. Audley himſelf was ſlain with all the principal officers [z].

Hall. Hollingſh.

Saliſbury joins York. The court raiſes an army.

The earl of Saliſbury having thus opened a paſſage joined the duke of York, who was raiſing troops in Wales. It would have been too dangerous to continue his march towards London, becauſe the court had now aſſembled a great force at Coventry. The queen, who ſtill commanded in the king's name, uſed all poſſible endeavours to have a ſtrong army. She ſaw plainly, there was nothing to be done without a great ſuperiority. On the other hand, the duke of York and the earl of Saliſbury were no leſs intent upon procuring all poſſible aſſiſtance in order to withſtand the forces that were preparing againſt them. They ſent word to the earl of Warwick, it would be very neceſſary to come and join them, and try to bring them ſome troops. Upon this advice, Warwick left Calais under the Government of William Nevil lord Falconbridge his uncle, and took with him part of the garriſon, of which he gave the command to Sir Andrew Trollop, who had ſignalized himſelf in the wars of France [a].

The duke of York prepares alſo.

The earl of Warwick joins the duke of York.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

[z] The Cheſhire men were the greateſt ſufferers, who wore that day little ſilver ſwans, the prince of Wales's badge, which the queen had ordered to be diſtributed to all the gentlemen of that country. Hollingſh. p. 1295. Stow, p. 404. This battle was fought on September 23, about a mile from Drayton in Shropſhire, on Blore heath, which lies in Staffordſhire, where, at the head of the river Sow, a ſtone is ſet up in memory of James lord Audley there ſlain. Camb. Add. to Stafford.——The moſt eminent perſons ſlain in this action, beſides the lord Audley, were, ſir Thomas Dutton, ſir John Dunne, ſir Hugh Venables, ſir Richard Molineux, ſir John Heigh, &c. Hall, fol. 163. Hollingſh. p. 1293.

[a] And to ſir John Blunt. Hall, fol. 174.

It

It was ſeven months after the battle of Blore-heath, before the two parties had drawn all their forces together. October was come, and no motion yet made on either ſide. At length the king departed from Coventry, where he had aſſembled his troops, and marched towards Wales in queſt of the male-contents, who were encamped about Ludlow. When he came to Glouceſter [b] he made a halt, and ſent an offer of pardon to the rebels [c] provided they would lay down their arms. They anſwered they could no longer rely on ſuch promiſes, which were intended only to ſurprize them, as was viſible in what had happened at London to the earl of Warwick, that nevertheleſs, they were ready to ſubmit to the king, if ſome expedient could be found for their ſafety. Upon this anſwer the king ordered his army to advance. At the ſame time, he gave the duke of Somerſet a patent to be governor of Calais, in the room of the earl of Warwick. But it was eaſier to give the duke that government in parchment, than to put him in poſſeſſion.

1459. The king marches towards the malecontents. Hall. He offers them a pardon. They demand ſecurity. Hollingſh. Stow. The king makes Somerſet governour of Calais. Act. Pub. XI. p. 436, 439.

The king having advanced with deſign to give battle, the Yorkiſts ſent him a very ſubmiſſive letter, praying him to conſider, that they had taken up arms only in their own defence, againſt the attempts of their enemies: that this intention appeared, in their keeping themſelves in a corner of the kingdom, without undertaking any thing, being determined not to fight unleſs forced: that they deſired only the redreſs of the grievances introduced into the government, to the great oppreſſion of the people by the fault of the miniſtry. Laſtly, they beſought the king, to look upon them as loyal ſubjects, who had formed no deſign againſt his perſon, and to reſtore them to favour. Letter of the malecontents to the king. Hollingſh. Stow.

The letter had a quite contrary effect to what they expected. Their enemies not queſtioning but fear had made them talk thus, advanced within half a mile of them, with a reſolution to give them battle next day. At the ſame time, they found means to diſperſe in the enemy's camp the king's proclamation, offering pardon to all the adherents of the rebellious lords, provided they would lay down their arms. The proclamation had a ſurpriſing effect. The duke of York's troops imagining the king offered a pardon, by reaſon of the ſuperiority of his forces, and that there was no time to loſe to take the benefit of it, immediately began to diſ- They are deſerted by their troops. Hollingſh.

[b] To Worceſter ſays Hollingſh. p. 1296. Stow, p. 405.

[c] By Richard Beauchamp, biſhop of Saliſbury. Ibid.

band

1459. band themſelves. Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded the detachment of the garriſon of Calais, put the whole army in diſorder, by flying in the night to the king's camp with the troops under his command. This deſertion, which increaſed every moment, threw the leaders into ſo terrible a conſternation, that fearing to be delivered to the king as ſoon as day ſhould appear, they choſe to ſave themſelves by flight. The duke of York taking with him the earl of Rutland his ſecond ſon, embarked for Ireland. The earl of Warwick fled towards Calais, and the earl of Saliſbury ſpeedily followed him, with the earl of March, eldeſt ſon of the duke of York [d]. The young prince was then nineteen years old. The generals being retired, the reſt of the officers and ſoldiers thus abandoned were reduced to the king's mercy, who was pleaſed to pardon all, except a few that were executed for an example.

Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The duke of York flies into Ireland. Warwick and Saliſbury to Calais. Hall.

The parliament being aſſembled in December [e], declared the duke of York and his adherents guilty of high treaſon. Their eſtates were confiſcated, and they and their poſterity pronounced incapable of inheriting to the fourth generation. We ſee here a remarkable inſtance of the variableneſs of the parliament, according as the face of affairs was altered. I ſhall have frequent occaſion hereafter to take notice of many the like inſtances.

The duke of York and his adherents are attainted. Cotton's Abridg. Hollingſh. Stow.

Upon the breaking up of the parliament, the duke of Somerſet embarked with a body of troops [f], in order to take poſſeſſion of his government of Calais, but the garriſon firing upon him, he was obliged to land elſewhere and retire to Guiſnes, from whence he made frequent incurſions about Calais. But thoſe little ſallies were not capable of rendering him maſter of ſo ſtrong a place.

The duke of Somerſet is repulſed at Calais. Hall. Hollingſh.

1460. The queen finding the earl of Warwick would not be deprived of his government, equipped a fleet to tranſport ſuccours to the duke of Somerſet. This fleet, well provided with all things, lay at Sandwich in expectation of a fair wind. The earl of Warwick having notice of it, ſent a body of troops privately from Calais, under the command of

The queen ſends him ſupplies, which are carried off to Calais.

[d] Theſe three lords came into Devonſhire, where, by the means of John Dinham, who was high treaſurer in the reign of Henry VII, they brought a ſhip at Exmouth, and ſailed to Guernſey, and from thence to Calais. Hall, fol. 174. Hollingſh. p. 1297.—After this, the king committed the cuſtody of the northern parts to Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and John lord Clifford. Hall, fol. 175. Hollingſh. p. 1297.

[e] It met November 20. Cotton's Abridg. p. 661.

[f] In October; with Henry, lord Roos, and the lord Audley. This laſt was taken priſoner by the garriſon of Calais. Stow, p. 406.

sir John Dinham, who arriving at Sandwich about break of day, surprised most of the officers in their beds [g]. As soon as he had them in his power, he found means to gain the soldiers and mariners, and carried the king's ships to Calais [h]. 1460. Hall. Hollingsh. Act Pub. XI. p. 430.

The earl of Warwick made use of these ships to convoy him into Ireland, where he went to concert measures with the duke of York for their common defence. After he had been about a month [i] on the voyage, he met in his return the duke of Exeter [k], admiral of England, who waited to take him in his passage. But the royal fleet were so little inclined to fight against him, that the duke of Exeter fearing to receive some disgrace, thought not proper to attack him. Warwick consults with York. Hall. Act Pub. XI. p. 449. The duke of Exeter durst not attack him.

The queen and the ministers doubted not that the interview of the duke of York and the earl of Warwick would produce a fresh rebellion. For that reason, at a council held upon the occasion, it was resolved, strict search should be made in all the counties and towns of the kingdom for the adherents of the duke of York, and that such should be suppressed as favoured him most, and were best able to serve him. It was not questioned, but that method would put an effectual stop to his ambitious pursuits. Pursuant to this resolution, James Butler Earl of Wiltshire, and the lord Scales [l], were empowered to enquire out those that bore arms for the malecontents in the late rebellion, and to punish them according to law. These two lords began to execute their commission, in some of the towns [m] which had most openly declared for the duke of York, and condemned several persons to death. Kent, of all the counties of the kingdom, had most reason to dread the court's resentment. Upon all occasions that county had shewn a very strong attachment to the duke of York, and what had been done there in favour of Cade was not yet forgot. So, the inhabitants of Kent perceiving by what was practised in other places, that their ruin was unavoidable, began early to think The court resolves to be rid of the Yorkists. Stow. Act. Pub. XI. p. 445. A commission to that purpose. Stow. Kent alarmed at it, Stow.

g Richard Woodvil, earl of Rivers, the admiral, and his son anthony, were both taken prisoners. Hall, fol. 175. Hollingshead, p. 1298.

h The ships that had brought the duke of Somerset to Flanders, revolted also, and went over to the earl of Warwick, at Calais. Hall, fol. 175. Hollingsh. p. 1297.

i He went, and came back, from Calais to Dublin, in less than a month, Hall, ibid.

k Henry Holland.

l Thomas, lord Scales. Anthony Woodvil, son of the earl Rivers, marrying Elizabeth, daughter and heir of this Thomas, lord Scales, of Nucals, was thereupon, 2 Edward IV, declared lord Scales. Dugdal's Baron. vol. II. p. 231.

m In Newbury, a lordship belonging to the duke of York, Dugdale.

of

1460. of means to prevent it. To that end, they ſent word to the lords at Calais, if they would make a deſcent in their country, they ſhould be received with open arms, and the inhabitants were ready to venture their lives and fortunes with them.

and invites over the lords at Calais.

They ſend Falconbridge before; Hollingſh. Stow.

This overture was very agreeable to the lords. However, not to embark raſhly in the affair, they ſent the lord Falconbridge to be aſſured of their ſincerity. Falconbridge meeting at ſea with ſir Simon Montfort, who was appointed to guard the coaſt, attacked him, and taking him priſoner with many other officers, ſent them all to Calais. Upon their arrival, the earl of March ordered Montfort, with twelve of his captains, to be beheaded by way of retaliation for his father's adherents, who had been executed in England. Such cruelties are almoſt unavoidable in civil wars.

Who ſends back word how the people ſtood affected. Hollingſh.

Falconbridge being come to Sandwich, found the inhabitants of that place and of the whole county of Kent ſo well affected to the lords, that he writ to Calais, there was no time to be loſt; that the county of Kent was going to be ruined, if not ſpeedily relieved; and that in the terror the people were under, it was not to be doubted, that ſeveral other counties as well as Kent would riſe againſt the court, if they could hope to be ſupported. This juncture appearing very favourable, the lords at Calais reſolved to improve it, and took care to inform the duke of York, who ſtill remained in Ireland. Before they ſailed, a manifeſto was diſperſed in Kent and in the neighbouring parts [a], declaring, that the ſole motive of their taking up arms was to free the poor people from the oppreſſion they groaned under, and to ſecure their liberties and privileges. It was added, that they did not queſtion but all honeſt Engliſhmen would aſſiſt in the execution of ſo good a deſign. The manifeſto had ſuch an effect, that the lords arriving at Sandwich with fifteen hundred men only, found there a body of four thouſand conducted by the lord Cobham [o]. With that reinforcement they began their march towards London, knowing the citizens were ready to receive them. And indeed the gates being opened to them, they entered the city at the head of forty thouſand men, their army increaſing to that number in ſo ſhort a march. The archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhops of London, Lincoln, Ely, Exeter, declared for them.

The lords publiſh a manifeſto. Stow, p. 406.

They arrive at Sandwich. Their army is increaſed to forty thouſand. They are admitted into London. Hollingſh.

[a] Stow, who hath it at length in his annals, ſays, it was directed to the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and to the commons of England, p. 407.

[o] With whom were John Guildford, William Peche, Robert Home, and many other gentlemen. Hall, fol. 176. Hollingſhead, p. 1298.

Mean

Mean while, the queen who was at Coventry was not idle. She had endeavoured to hinder the entrance of the malecontents into London, by ſending the lord Scales with a good body of troops. But the mayor had refuſed him admittance even before the arrival of the lords. Scales being thus repulſed, had thrown himſelf into the Tower; from whence he threatened to demoliſh the city with his cannon, if the rebels were received. But his threats were not capable of frightening the citizens. In the mean time, the king and queen were aſſembling their forces at Coventry with all poſſible diligence. As ſoon as their army was ready to march, they gave the command to the duke of Somerſet lately returned from Guiſnes, and the duke of Buckingham. But this was only for form's ſake, the queen herſelf being really general, ſince every thing was done by her orders, though the king was preſent in perſon. The young earl of March, hearing the queen was marching to London, departed thence with twenty five thouſand men to give her battle, before ſhe ſhould grow ſtronger. He left at London the earl of Saliſbury, with good part of his troops, and took with him the earl of Warwick and the lord Cobham, who ſerved as his lieutenants [p]. At his departure from London, the lord Scales ordered the Tower cannon to fire upon the city, and did ſome damage [q]. But by the earl of Saliſbury's care to prevent his having any proviſions, he was himſelf reduced to great ſtreights.

1460.

The queen tries in vain to prevent them. Hall. Hollingſh.

She aſſembles her forces at Coventry, and marches towards London. Act. Pub. XI. p. 455. The lords go to meet her. Hall.

Hall. Hollingſh. Stow.

The queen paſſes a river to fight them. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

The queen advancing towards the malecontents, incamped on a plain near Northampton, with a little river [r] behind her, which ſhe had haſtily paſſed, leſt the enemies ſhould make uſe of it to avoid fighting: ſo deſirous was ſhe to decide the quarrel by a battle. But this precaution was not only unſerviceable to her, but, as will be ſeen preſently, very prejudicial. The earls of March and Warwick likewiſe advancing, encamped the 17th of July between Toceſter and Northampton. The ſame day, they ſent the biſhop of Saliſbury to the king, beſeeching him to ſuſpend his indignation, and conſider with them of an agreement without bloodſhed. But the court perceiving it to be only a general propoſal, in-

p He had alſo with him the lords Falconbridge, Clinton, Bourchier, Bergavenny, Say, and Scrope, the archbiſhop, &c. Stow, p. 408. Hall, fol. 176.

q With him, in the Tower, were the lords Veſſy, Lovel, Delaware, Kendal; ſir Humphry Hampden, ſir Thomas, and ſir John Brune, ſir Gervaſe Clifton, ſir Thomas Tyrrel, &c. Stow, ibid.

r The river Nyne. Hall, fol. 176.

tended

1460. tended merely to ſave appearances, would by no means give ear to it. So, both ſides prepared for battle.

The court rejects the ſubmiſſion of the lords.

On the 19th of July [s], the Yorkiſts advanced towards the king's army. The earl of Warwick commanded the right wing, the lord Cobham the left, and the earl of March was in the center. The dukes of Somerſet and Buckingham were at the head of the royaliſts, whilſt the queen kept at ſome diſtance to obſerve what ſhould paſs, and give orders accordingly. The king remained in his tent, waiting the iſſue of a battle, which probably was to ſecure or deprive him of the crown for ever. The fight began not till two in the afternoon, the lords having firſt publiſhed in their army, a ſtrict charge not to hurt the king's perſon, to ſpare the common ſoldiers, and to fall upon the officers only. The battle laſted two, ſome ſay five, hours, with great fierceneſs and obſtinacy on both ſides, till at length the lord Grey of Ruthen, who commanded a conſiderable body of the king's army, ſuddenly went over to the malecontents. This unexpected defection quite diſheartened the royaliſts. Apprehenſive that other bodies would follow their example, they began by degrees to give ground, and at laſt were routed with the loſs of ten thouſand men. The river which was in their rear cauſed the ſlaughter to be greater than it would have been, if the vanquiſhed could have more eaſily taken to flight; beſides that, many were drowned in endeavouring to repaſs the river. The duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewſbury, ſon of the renowned Talbot, the lord Beaumont [t], and ſeveral other nobles and officers of diſtinction were ſlain on the ſpot. The queen, the young prince of Wales, and the duke of Somerſet fled without reſting into the biſhoprick of Durham, ſo great was their fear of being delivered to their enemies. The unfortunate king, who continued in his tent, fell once more into the hands of the victorious lords, who paid him however all the reſpect he could have required of them, had he been in his greateſt proſperity. This deference was ſome comfort to him in his preſent condition, which would have been more worthy of pity, if his natural imbecillity had not rendered him inſenſible of good and bad fortune. Immediately after the battle,

The royal army is defeated and the king taken. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Hall. Hollingſh.

The queen flies to Durham.

The king is treated with reſpect. Stow.

[s] The ninth, ſays Hall, ibid. and Hollingſhead, p. 1299.

[t] Humphry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, John Talbot, earl of Shrewſbury, John de Beaumont, the firſt viſcount in England, created 18 Henry VI. as alſo Thomas, lord Egremont, ſir William Lucy, &c. The king's cannon were rendered unſerviceable in the battle, by reaſon of the great rains that fell that day. Hall, fol. 176. Hollingſh. p. 1299. Stow, p. 409.

he

he was honourably conducted to Northampton, where he resided some time. After that, on the 16th of August [u], he came to London, surrounded with a crowd of lords, who, a few days before, were in arms against him. Mean while, the queen not thinking herself safe in Durham, privately retired with eight persons only into Wales [w], where she would never have been sought. Shortly after, she left that retreat, and with the prince her son fled into Scotland. 1460. and conducted to London. The queen retires into Wales. Hall.

Upon the king's arrival at London, he called a parliament for the 2d of October [x]. They who governed him wanted that delay, in order to send for the duke of York, who was still in Ireland. They took care to acquaint him with what had passed, and desired him to repair to London with all possible speed, that he might be there at the opening of the parliament, or sooner, if the wind would permit. In that interval, they acted in the king's name, and made him sign all the orders which agreed with their interest. In the collection of the publick acts, there is a patent, confirming to the earl of Warwick the government of Calais, and an order to the duke of Somerset to resign him that of Guisnes: And moreover, the king's declaration, acknowledging the duke of York and his adherents, for good and faithful subjects, as having given undoubted proofs of their loyalty not only in words but in deeds. A parliament is called. Hall. Stow. The king's declaration in favour of the duke of York. Act. Pub. XI. p. 459, 460.

Whilst England was thus in combustion, James II. king of Scotland prepared to make an irruption. It was the duke of York, that after his retreat into Ireland, had by some advantageous offers, engaged him to break with Henry, in expectation of reaping some benefit himself from that diversion. Though last year, James had concluded with England a four years truce [y], he believed, he ought to improve this opportunity. Indeed, he alledged several reasons to colour his invasion, but the circumstances of England was the sole and real motive of his preparations. Be this as it will, a few days after the battle of Northampton, he entered England at the head of an army and besieged Roxborough, but had not time to make any great progress. One of his own cannon happening to burst, he was killed with a splin- The king of Scotland besieges Roxborough. Ib. p. 426. p. 461. He is killed by the splitting of a cannon. Buchanan.

[u] The 16th of July. Hall, fol. 177. Stow, ibid.—On the 19th the Tower was delivered to the earl of March. Ibid.

[w] To the castle of Hardlag, or Harden: she was plundered, in the way, of her goods and baggage, to the value of ten thousand marks. Ibid.

[x] It met the seventh. See Cotton's Abridg. p. 665.

[y] A five years truce, from July 6, 1463, to July 6, 1468. Rymer's Fœd. tom. XI. p. 426.

ter

1460. ter on the 4th of Auguſt. James III. his eldeſt ſon, then but ſeven years old, was his ſucceſſor. The queen his widow, who was in the army, carried on the ſiege till the town was ſurrendered.

Charles VII. dies, and is ſucceeded by Lewis XI.

The death of James II. had been preceded ſome days, by that of Charles VII. king of France. It is pretended, he ſtarved himſelf for fear of being poiſoned by the dauphin his ſon, who mounted the throne of France after him by the name of Lewis XI.

The duke of Yorke arrives, and goes to the parliament. He expects in vain to be aſked to ſeat himſelf on the throne. Hall. Hollingſh.

The duke of York could not reach London till two days after the opening of the parliament. He rid directly to Weſtminſter, and alighting from his horſe, went to the houſe of lords, where he ſtood ſome time under the canopy of ſtate, with his hand on the throne, expecting as it were to be deſired to ſeat himſelf there. But the ſilence of the houſe was a plain indication, his intention was not univerſally approved. At the ſame time, to encreaſe his confuſion cauſed by their ſilence, the archbiſhop of Canterbury approaching him [z], aſked him whether he would not go and pay his reſpects to the king. With what caution ſoever the duke had hitherto behaved, he could not forbear changing countenance at that queſtion, and telling the archbiſhop, he knew no perſon to whom he owed that honour. Upon theſe words, he immediately withdrew to his own houſe. He was too diſcerning not to perceive, he in vain expected to be intreated to accept of the crown. So, without concealing his ſentiments any longer, he ſent next morning a writing to the parliament, containing the reaſons on which his pretenſions were built. As they have been frequently mentioned, it will be needleſs to repeat them. It ſuffices to ſay, that he claimed the crown as heir of the houſe of March. This affair was very warmly debated in parliament [a], according to the knowledge and inclinations of the members. To relate all the arguments alledged pro and con, would be very tedious, but as this is a matter of great moment, it will not be improper to give the ſubſtance of the objections to the duke of York's claim, and the replies of his friends. I muſt not, however, forget to remark, that both ſides referred to the

He ſends the parliament a memorial to juſtify his claim. Cotton's Abridg. p. 665. Stow.

[z] This queſtion was not put to him now, while he was ſtanding under the canopy of ſtate; but at another time. And though he and the king were both lodged in the palace at Weſtminſter, yet for no prayer or interceſſion would he once viſit the and him, till things were brought to a concluſion. Hall, fol. 181.

[a] The hiſtorians ſay, that it was debated by divers lords, both ſpiritual and temporal, with many grave and ſage perſons of the commonality, daily aſſembled at the Black Fryars, and other places.

deciſion

deciſion of the parliament, which they equally acknowledged for the ſole judge of the affair. 1460.

In the firſt place it was ſaid, when Henry IV. grandfather of the preſent king, took poſſeſſion of the throne, no perſon offered to oppoſe him. Arguments Pro and con.

The duke of York's friends replied, that as Edmund, earl of March, who was then alive, could not diſpute it, without manifeſt danger, his ſilence could not be interpreted for conſent.

II. It was alledged on the king's behalf, that Henry IV. his grandfather, had received the crown by the parliament's authority. To this it was anſwered, the duke of York did not pretend to take poſſeſſion, without the ſame authority, as appeared in his memorial directed to both houſes. But, as the parliament had ſtrong reaſons to proceed contrary to cuſtom, in favour of the houſe of Lancaſter, ſo they had at preſent as ſtrong, to do the duke of York juſtice. They who talked thus, took care not to diſpute the parliament's authority, at a time, when they meant to make uſe of it, to place the duke of York on the throne. But, probably, they did not ſpeak upon this ſubject, all their thoughts.

III. The reſignation of Richard II. was pleaded in behalf of the houſe of Lancaſter.

Anſwer was made, by denying that Richard's reſignation concerned that houſe in particular, or even the perſon of Henry IV. But, ſuppoſing it ſo, it was not in the power of a captive king, juſt going to be depoſed, to appoint a ſucceſſor.

IV. It was objected againſt the duke of York, that the earl of Cambridge, his father, having been executed for high treaſon, his poſterity were rendered incapable of any inheritance.

The duke's adherents anſwered, he had been reſtored to his honours, and all his birth rights, and acknowledged for duke of York, and earl of March, by the king himſelf, and the whole kingdom.

V. It was further urged, that the houſe of Lancaſter had enjoyed the crown above ſixty years.

To this it was replied, that preſcription was no plea againſt the right of ſucceſſion to the crown, which was a natural right, and not to be deſtroyed by a poſitive law.

VI. Laſtly, it was repreſented in the king's favour, that having now reigned thirty eight years, and all along led an

1460. innocent life, without giving any perſon cauſe to complain, it would be a great cruelty to deprive him of the crown.

This argument ſeemed very ſtrong: but the duke of York's friends replied, that Henry being incapable of governing by himſelf, to leave him in poſſeſſion of the crown, was acting rather for the queen and the miniſters, who abuſed his name and authority, than for him. Moreover, the whole kingdom was not to be ruined for his ſake, or a wrong to be committed for a motive of charity.

It is decreed that the king ſhould enjoy the crown during life. Cotton's Abridg. p. 666. Stow. p. 409. Hall.

It may eaſily be judged, that theſe and ſeveral other reaſons, alledged by the two parties, were enlarged and diſplayed to the beſt advantage, eſpecially in the parliament, where there are generally many perſons of great abilities. This was a very proper ſubject to exerciſe the ingenious, difficult in itſelf, and ſtill more ſo, by the preſent ſituation of affairs. At length, after a debate of ſeveral days, it was reſolved [b], that Henry ſhould enjoy the crown during his life, and the duke of York be declared his ſucceſſor. This reſolve was paſſed into an act of parliament, declaring, that notwithſtanding the duke of York's indiſputable title to the crown, he had freely conſented, that Henry ſhould poſſeſs it for his life, and promiſed to ſwear allegiance to him as his lawful ſovereign. But if the king ſhould any way break this agreement, then the crown ſhould immediately devolve to the duke of York, or his lawful heirs [c].

The duke of York conſents to the decree. Hall.

Inſtances of his moderation.

Very likely, this agreement did not anſwer the duke of York's expectations. He was contented however, becauſe he perceived it would be very difficult to obtain more, without open force. It cannot be denied, that he behaved with a moderation very uncommon in ſuch caſes. In his preſent circumſtances, and according to the rule generally followed by parliaments, to declare for the ſtrongeſt, nothing was more eaſy for the duke, than to cauſe the crown to be adjudged to him immediately. He had at his command a victorious, and at that time, irreſiſtible army. Beſides, moſt of the members of parliament were in his intereſt, and pro-

[b] On October 31. Hall, fol. 182.

[c] The parliament ſettled alſo on the duke of York ten thouſand marks; viz. five thouſand for himſelf, three thouſand five hundred for his eldeſt ſon Edward earl of March, and fifteen hundred for his other ſon the earl of Rutland. Cotton's Abridg. p. 667. Stow, p. 410.——In this parliament was the following ſtatute made, that women being of the age of fourteen years, at the time of the death of their anceſtors, ſhall, without queſtion or difficulty, have livery of their lands and tenements deſcended to them: for ſo the law of this land will that they ſhould have. Statut. 39 Henry VI. c. 2.

bably

bably, after acknowledging his title to be indiſputable, they would not have wanted much ſollicitation to proceed one ſtep farther, and place him on the throne. It is therefore manifeſt, if the parliament ſhowed any regard for Henry, it was, becauſe they thought themſelves at liberty to uſe that equity, notwithſtanding the victorious army which might have offered them violence, if the duke would have puſhed his advantages. It muſt be farther obſerved, that the duke of York, was older than the king, and therefore naturally could not expect to out-live him. And yet, thoſe who have writ the hiſtory of theſe troubles, have given a diſadvantage-ous turn to all they have ſaid concerning this prince. The reaſon may be eaſily gueſſed. The houſe of York enjoying the throne but twenty four years, we have no hiſtorian in that interval, all thoſe we have being later, and writing ſince the reſtoration of the houſe of Lancaſter, in the perſon of Henry VII. This muſt be always remembered in reading the hiſtory of theſe civil wars. 1460.

Hiſtorians have been partial to him.

The day after paſſing the forementioned act, a proceſſion was made at St. Paul's, where the king was preſent, with his crown on his head, attended by the duke of York [d]. Proceſſion at St. Paul's. Hall. Stow.

After this agreement, the king continued the ſame. Though it was eaſy for him to perceive, what prejudice the late ſettlement brought to his family, and particularly to the prince of Wales, his ſon, he lived quietly in his ſervitude, without thinking of means for his deliverance. Satisfied with whatever the duke of York was pleaſed to ſuggeſt, he wholly gave himſelf up to devotion, and left the publick affairs to thoſe who managed them in his name. Thus the duke finding himſelf abſolute maſter of the government and perſon of the king, cauſed him to ſign an order, requiring the queen to repair to him. The duke was ſenſible, this order would be to no purpoſe. But his aim was, to render her criminal, by her refuſing to obey the king, and thereby to juſtify his intended proceedings againſt her. He thought her without reſource, and in that belief imagined, he had only to find ſome pretence, to lay an inſuperable obſtacle to her return, in order to be freed from ſo dangerous an enemy. But he relied too far on his own good fortune, and the queen's weakneſs. Inſtead of being diſcouraged at the ill ſituation of the king's affairs, ſhe was now returned into England, with the prince of Wales, her ſon, and had aſſembled in the north,

The duke is abſolute maſter of the government. Hall. Hollingſh.

The king orders the queen to repair to him. Hall. Hollingſh.

She levies an army in the north. Hall. Hollingſh.

[d] And on the Saturday following, Richard duke of York, was, by ſound of trumpet, proclaimed heir apparent to the crown of England, and protector of the realm. Hollingſh. p. 1303. Stow, p. 411.

1460. an army of eighteen thouſand men [e]. The better to engage the people of thoſe parts to her intereſt, ſhe had cauſed to be reported, that they were allowed to plunder the country on the ſouth of the Trent. Probably, this chiefly conduced to her gathering ſo great a number of troops.

The duke of York goes againſt her with five thouſand men only. Hall. Hollingſh.

The duke of York had been informed of the queen's endeavours to levy an army, but did not know ſhe had made ſo great a progreſs, and yet, thought he could not be too ſpeedy to prevent the execution of her deſigns. He departed therefore from London [f], with four or five thouſand men only, leaving orders with the earl of March, his ſon, to lead the reſt of the army into Wales to refreſh them, and then come and join him. As he advanced towards the north, he received the mortifying news of the queen's ſucceſs, in the levying of troops. At length, being arrived near Wakefield, in the county of York [g], he heard the queen was advancing towards him, at the head of eighteen thouſand men. Whereupon he reſolved to retire to his caſtle of Sandal, till the arrival of the earl of March. He knew, the queen, who had no artillery, could not force him in that caſtle, which was well fortified, and did no queſtion but the earl his ſon would ſpeedily come to his relief.

He retires into Sandal-caſtle.

The queen provokes him to fight. Hall.

The queen was extremely troubled to ſee her enemy thus ſecured from all attack. As ſhe was then much ſuperior in number of troops, if the duke would have fought, ſhe might have flattered herſelf with undoubted ſucceſs. But it was not certain, that after the earl of March's arrival, ſhe ſhould be in the ſame ſituation. For that reaſon, ſhe neglected nothing to provoke her enemy, and induce him to come out of his retreat. As ſhe did not deſpair of accompliſhing her deſign, ſhe placed a body of troops in ambuſh, behind a hill [h]. Then ſhe appeared before the walls of Sandal, provoking the duke all manner of ways, one while threatening him, another while ſending him defiances, and upbraiding him, that a man who aſpired to the crown, ſhould ſuffer himſelf to be thus ſhut up by a woman.

[e] Or, according to others, twenty-two thouſand. Hall, fol. 182. Hollingſh. p. 1303. Among whom were the dukes of Exeter and Somerſet, the earl of Devonſhire, the lords Clifford and Roſſe. Hall, ibid.

[f] On Decemb. 2, leaving the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Warwick to take care of the king. Hall, ibid. Hollingſh.

[g] On Decemb. 24. Hall, fol. 182.

[h] She is ſaid to place an ambuſh on each ſide Wakefield green, under the command of the lord Clifford and the earl of Wiltſhire. Her main army was led by the dukes of Somerſet and Exeter. Idem, fol. 183. Stow, p. 413.

The

The duke of York had hitherto acted with great prudence and conduct. During the wars in France, where he had often commanded in chief, he had shown no less wisdom, than true valour. But, on this occasion, he unfortunately suffered his courage to prevail, contrary to the opinion of his friends [l], who advised him to despise those vain reproaches. Probably, his hatred to the queen led him, as it were against his will, to commit an unpardonable fault, in a general of so established a reputation. This at least, was the motive ascribed to him by the historians. For my part, if I may be allowed to speak my opinion, I own I think it improbable. I should rather believe, the want of provisions forced him to a battle, in order to avoid the danger, to which he was exposed. So, if he committed a fault, it was in shutting himself up in a castle, instead of returning, or meeting his son, who could easily join him. Be this as it will, he marched out of Sandal, and drew up his men on Wakefield green, imagining that his courage and experience would supply the defects of his army. He was no sooner drawn up, but he saw himself attacked by the queen's troops, which being more numerous than his, had a great advantage over him. Whilst he was pressed in the front by his enemies, stronger than himself, the ambushes rose, and attacked him in the rear. That unexpected assault bred such confusion among his troops, that within half an hour they were routed, and himself slain, valiantly fighting. The young earl of Rutland, his second son, not above twelve years of age, flying with his governor, was overtaken by the lord Clifford, who plunged his dagger into his breast, notwithstanding the earnest intreaties of the governor, to spare the young prince's life [k]. Afterwards, the same lord Clifford finding the duke of York's body, cut off the head, and crowning it with a paper crown, fixed it on the end of his lance, and presented it to the queen, who ordered it to be placed on the walls of York [l].

1460.

The duke resolves to fight. Hall. Hollingsh.

The battle of Wakefield, where the duke of York is slain. December. Hall. Hollingsh. Stow.

The earl of Rutland killed by Clifford. Hall. Hollingsh.

Thus fell the duke of York, above fifty years old [m]. It may be said, never was prince so near a throne, and not in

[l] Particularly sir Davy Halle, and the earl of Salisbury. Hall, fol. 182.

[k] He is said to have killed that day so many with his own hand, that he was thenceforward called the butcher. His father, Thomas lord Clifford, having been slain in the battle of St. Albans by the duke of York, this lord Clifford (as Grafton says) swore, he would not leave one branch of the York line standing. Leland Col. vol. I. p. 45.

[l] Besides the duke of York, there fell in this battle his two bastard uncles, sir John, and sir Hugh Mortimer, sir Davy Halle, sir Hugh Hastings, sir Thom. Nevil, &c. and two thousand eight hundred persons more, Hall, fol. 183.

[m] His corps was first interred at Pontefract, but afterwards in the collegiate church of Fotheringhay. The duke of

1460. it, and that it lay in his own breaſt to take poſſeſſion, had he been willing to uſe the power he had in his hands. I ſhall not undertake, either to condemn, or juſtify his pretenſions. I leave the reader to paſs his own judgment, upon the grounds already explained in ſeveral places. Unhappily for this prince, the Engliſh hiſtorians that wrote when the reſtoration of the houſe of Lancaſter, was ſtill freſh, I mean in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. have put an ill conſtruction on all his actions. Thoſe that came after them, not content with taking the facts as they found them related, have likewiſe copied the reflections, and even the very invectives. They have thereby all unanimouſly given the cauſe for the houſe of Lancaſter, inſtead of leaving their readers at liberty to paſs an impartial judgment upon ſo difficult a caſe, the deciſion whereof, ſhould the ſame thing happen again, would be no leſs perplexing at preſent, than it was formerly.

Remark on the partiality of hiſtorians to the houſe of Lancaſter.

The earl of Saliſbury beheaded. Hall. Hollingſh.

The earl of Saliſbury having the misfortune to be taken priſoner in the battle, was carried, notwithſtanding his wounds to Pontefract, where he loſt his head on the ſcaffold [n]. The queen ordered it to be ſet on a pole, near the duke of York's.

The earl of March reſolves to maintain the quarrel. Stow. Hall.

Such was the ſucceſs of this battle, fought on the laſt day of December, near Wakefield [o], from whence it took its name. The battle ſeemed to have firmly reſtored the affairs of the king and queen, and yet it ſerved only to haſten their deſtruction, and ſooner advance the houſe of York to the

Somerſet (his chief opponent) ſaid of him, that if he had not learned to play the king by his regency in France, he had never forgot to obey as a ſubject, when he returned to England. By Cecily, daughter of Ralph Nevil earl of Weſtmoreland, he had, as ſome ſay, eight ſons, (Henry, who died young; Edward earl of March, afterwards king Edward IV; Edmund earl of Rutland; John, William, and Thomas, who all died young; George duke of Clarence; and Richard duke of Glouceſter, afterwards king Richard III.) and four daughters. Dugdale's Baron. vol. II. p. 161. Sandford. p. 391, 392——402.

[n] His body, with that of Alice his wife, ſole daughter and heir to Thomas Montacute earl of Saliſbury, and his ſon Thomas (ſlain in the battle) were, in 2 Edw. IV, Feb. 16, buried at Biſham abbey in Berkſhire. He had iſſue four ſons, (Richard earl of Warwick, John marquiſs of Montague, ſir Thomas, George biſhop of Exeter, chancellor of England, and then archbiſhop of York,) and five daughters. Dugdale's Baron. vol. I. p. 303.

[o] A town in the Weſt-Riding of Yorkſhire, famous for its cloth trade, largeneſs, neat buildings, markets; and for the bridge upon which king Edward IV. built a very neat chapel, in memory of thoſe that were cut off in this battle. The carved work of ſtone upon the chapel, was very beautiful, but is now much defaced. On the right-hand of the road from Wakefield to Sandal, there is a ſquare plot of ground hedged in from a cloſe, whereon (before the civil war between king Charles and the parliament) ſtood a croſs of ſtone, where the duke of York was ſlain. The owners are obliged by tenure to keep up that hedge. Camden.

throne

throne. The earl of March, hearing of the defeat and death of the duke his father, was not diſcouraged. On the contrary, he reſolved to maintain the quarrel, let what would be the conſequence, and loſe his life, or execute his father's deſigns. After what had paſſed, there was no medium, one of the two houſes muſt neceſſarily be eſtabliſhed, upon the ruins of the other. The earl was then in Wales [p], ready to march to the aſſiſtance of his father. His army was then three and twenty thouſand ſtrong, beſides what was left at London, under the command of the earl of Warwick, for the defence of the metropolis. So, finding himſelf ſtrong enough to go in queſt of the queen, he wiſhed for nothing more ardently, than an opportunity to revenge his father's death. 1461. Hall. Hollingſh.

Whilſt the earl of March was taking this reſolution, the queen advanced towards London, with deſign to ſecure that great city, which alone could influence the fortune of either party. But hearing on the road, that the earl of March began to move, ſhe detached Jaſper Tudor, earl of Pembroke [q], to oppoſe the new enemy, whom ſhe did not imagine to be ſo ſtrong as he was. The earl of March, being informed of the queen's motion towards London, altered his courſe, and inſtead of going to meet her, took likewiſe the road to London, in order to prevent her. But having advice of the detachment ſent againſt him, he did not think proper to come between the two armies of his enemies, which muſt have happened, had he continued his rout. So, coming to a ſudden reſolution, he returned to meet the earl of Pembroke. He met him near Mortimer's croſs, in Herefordſhire, and as he was much ſuperior in number of troops, eaſily defeated him, and ſlew three thouſand eight hundred of his men. The earl of Pembroke had the good fortune to eſcape. But Owen Tudor, his father, according to ſome, or more probably his younger brother [r], being taken priſoner, was beheaded, with ſeveral others, in revenge for the earl of Saliſbury. The queen marches towards London, and ſends Pembroke againſt the earl of March. Hall. Hollingſh. Stow. Pembroke is defeated. Owen Tudor is beheaded.

[p] He was then at Glouceſter, from whence he removed to Shrewſbury. Hall, fol. 183. Hollingſh. p. 1304.

[q] And James Butler earl of Ormond, with a body of Welſh and Iriſh. This battle was fought on February 2. Hall, fol. 183. Hollingſh. p. 1304.

[r] Owen Tudor the ſon, was a monk of Weſtminſter. See above, p. 409, note f. Hall, fol. 184. Hollingſh. and Stow, ſay, it was ſir Owen Tewther (or Tudor) father of the earl of Pembroke. And indeed there is no manner of improbability or contradiction in ſuppoſing it to have been him. For from the year 1423, or 1424, when it is probable he was married, to 1460, there are but thirty-ſix or thirty ſeven years; and ſuppoſing he was twenty or twenty-five when he married, he might very well live till 1460, and not have been a very old man.

1461. The news of the defeat reaching the queen on the road, prevented her not from continuing her march towards London. She believed, that appearing at the gates of the city with a victorious army, ſhe ſhould ſo aſtoniſh the inhabitants, that they would of themſelves, expel the earl of Warwick. Indeed, the earl himſelf ſeems to have been of that mind, ſince he choſe rather to fight the queen, than remain in London, which doubtleſs, he would not have done, had he been ſecure of the city. The queen being arrived at St. Albans, received certain advice, that the earl of Warwick was marching towards her with his army, reinforced with a body of Londoners, and bringing the king with him. The queen's army conſiſted of northern troops [s], who committed ſuch monſtrous ravages, that it was one of the chief reaſons, why the Londoners choſe to join the earl of Warwick. If theſe troops had entered the city, they would have had every thing to fear from ſuch gueſts.

The queen keeps on her march to London. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh. The earl of Warwick goes out to fight her.

He is defeated at Bernard's heath. Feb. 17. Hall. Stow.

The two armies meeting near St. Albans, on Bernard's heath, began a fight, which at firſt was very fierce on both ſides. But Lovelace, who commanded one of the wings of Warwick's army, either through treachery, or for ſome other reaſon, not engaging in time, victory declared for the queen, and the vanquiſhed loſt two thouſand eight hundred men [t]. She had withal the ſatisfaction to free the king, whom the earl of Warwick durſt not venture to leave at London. She uſed her victory with the barbarity too common in civil wars, beheading ſeveral perſons of diſtinction, particularly the lord Bonville [u] and Sir Thomas Kiriel, though the king had granted them their lives.

The queen frees the king.

Her troops plunder St. Albans. Stow. Hollingſh.

As her troops had voluntarily liſted in her ſervice, without her having wherewithal to pay them, ſhe could not hinder them, after the victory, from plundering the town of St. Albans. Theſe northern ſoldiers declared, they had taken up arms only upon the promiſe of having the plunder of the country ſouth of the Trent. This declaration inſpired the inhabitants of London, and the neighbouring country, with a terror very prejudicial to the queen. Proviſions being grown very ſcarce in her army, by reaſon of the great licentiouſneſs of her troops, ſhe ſent to the mayor of Lon-

She demands proviſions of the mayor of London.

[s] Welſh, Scots, and Iriſh, beſides Engliſh. Stow, p. 413.

[t] Two thouſand three hundred; and no man of note amongſt them, except ſir John Grey, of Groby, firſt huſband of Elizabeth Woodvile, married afterwards to king Edward IV. Hall, fol. 184.

[u] He was one of thoſe who had the cuſtody of the king, after he was taken at St. Albans, and had ſtayed with him at his requeſt, and upon promiſe of being ſafe. Hall, fol. 184.

don

don for a ſupply, who not daring to deny her at ſuch a juncture, ordered ſeveral carts to be loaded. But as they were going out of the gate, the mob ſtopped them, and told the mayor they would not ſuffer proviſions to be ſent to an army, which was come on purpoſe to plunder the country. The mayor not being able to help the diſorder, made his excuſe to the queen [w], and gave her hopes of being received into the city, as ſoon as the people were appeaſed. 1461.

The mob oppoſe it. Hall. Stow.

Whilſt the queen at St. Albans was treating with the mayor of London, the earl of March was advancing with all poſſible diligence, to inſpire the Londoners with a reſolution to keep their gates ſhut againſt the queen, on account of the approaching aſſiſtance. And indeed, the news of his march did not a little contribute to prolong the negotiation between the queen and the mayor, which ruined her affairs. When ſhe heard the earl of March was approaching, and had ſtrengthned his army, with the remains of the earl of Warwick's [x], ſhe choſe to retire into the north. Beſides that, ſhe was inferior to her enemy, ſhe was juſtly apprehenſive of not being received into London, and of being obliged to join battle at the gates of the city, too well inclined to favour her enemy.

The earl of March approaches London. Hall. Stow.

The queen retires towards the North.

The earl of March, overjoyed that the queen voluntarily gave him up the metropolis, entered as in triumph, the beginning of March. He was received with the acclamations of the citizens, who, ſeveral years ſince, had been going to declare againſt the court. The caution, wherewith the late duke of York had thought fit to proceed, had been ſo much to his prejudice, that his ſon's friends judged it abſolutely neceſſary to place him at once on the throne. After ſundry conſultations, they reſolved not to be expoſed to the delays of a parliament, but to proceed to an extraordinary election, firſt by the people, and then by the nobles. They were of opinion, that method could be juſtified by the act of parliament, confirming the agreement between the king and the duke of York, and that it was unneceſſary to ſtay for a freſh confirmation.

The earl enters London. Hall. Stow.

His friends reſolve to place him on the throne.

Purſuant to this reſolution, the earl of Warwick [y] drew up his army in St. John's fields amongſt throngs of people,

[w] By the recorder, the ducheſs of Bedford, the lady Scales, and ſome biſhops. Hollingſh. p. 306. Hall, fol. 184.

[x] Which he met at Chippingnorton, in Oxfordſhire. Ibid. Stow, p. 414.

[y] This was done on March 2, by the lord Falconbridge, who took the muſters. See Hall, fol. 185. Stow, p. 415.

whom

1461. whom ordering to be caſt into a ring round him, he read aloud the agreement between the king and the duke of York, with the act of parliament, whereby it was confirmed. That done, he told the people, Henry had notoriouſly violated the agreement, and ſo forfeited, according to the act of parliament, his right to the crown. But after all, I do not ſee upon what foundation he could charge the king with the queen's proceedings, ſince he was all the while as a priſoner at London: Neither was he any more his own maſter after he was with the queen. Be this as it will, the earl of Warwick raiſing his voice, aſked the people, who ſtood round him, whether they would have Henry of Lancaſter for king? The whole multitude crying out, no, no: he then aſked, whether according to that ſettlement, they would have Edward, ſon of the late duke of York, to reign over them? To which, all the people anſwered with acclamations, expreſſing their conſent.

Extraordinary election of the earl of March. Hall. Stow. Hollingſh.

Aſſembly of the chief men who adjudged him the crown. Hall. Stow.

This firſt ſtep being taken, and the people's mind (as was pretended) ſufficiently known, a great council was called of the biſhops, lords, gentlemen and magiſtrates, in and about London [a]. Edward being preſent in the aſſembly, ſet forth his title to the crown, as well by birth, as by the forementioned agreement, and deſired it might be adjudged to him. It would have been great boldneſs, to diſpute his pretenſion at ſuch a juncture. So, with one conſent the aſſembly declared, that Henry of Lancaſter having forfeited his right of enjoying the crown during life, by the breach of the ſolemn agreement with the duke of York, ratified by the parliament; it was devolved to Edward, eldeſt ſon of the duke of York. Upon this declaration, the crown was offered the duke, who accepted it, modeſtly confeſſing his inſufficiency; and adding, that though his youth and inexperience made him apprehenſive of taking upon him ſo weighty a charge, he would however, with God's aſſiſtance, uſe his utmoſt endeavours to render his people happy. On the morrow, he went in proceſſion to St. Paul's, [and from thence, was conducted in great ſtate to Weſtminſter-Hall,] where he ſat in the king's ſeat, with the ſcepter of St. Edward in his hand [b]. The archbiſhop of

Hall.

Hall.

[a] Which met at Baynard's caſtle. Hall, &c. ibid.

[b] Then he went in proceſſion, under a canopy, to the abbey, and was placed in the choir as king, whilſt Te Deum was ſung; after which he made the uſual offerings. That done, he returned by water to St. Paul's, and lodged in the biſhop's palace. Ibid. fol. 185. Stow, p. 415. Rapin, by miſtake ſays, he ſat in the king's ſeat at St. Paul's, with the Scepter in his hand.

Canterbury

Canterbury having aſked the people, whether they would have Edward earl of March for king, the people anſwered with loud acclamations. Then the king took the homage of the lords that were preſent. The ceremony concluding with ſinging Te Deum, Edward was conducted with great ſolemnity to the biſhop's palace, where Henry uſed to lodge, when he was within the walls of the city. Next day, being the 5th of March, he was proclaimed in London, and the neighbouring towns, by the name of Edward IV. 1461.

Thus ended the reign of Henry VI. which had laſted thirty-eight years and a half, without his ever intermeddling with the adminiſtration of the publick affairs. It does not even appear, that he was, upon any occaſion, much moved with events, which however were for the moſt part, ſuch as would affect a prince of a different character. He was fitter for a private life, than a crown. His great and only defect was a natural imbecility, which rendered him incapable to govern of himſelf. Ever ruled by thoſe who managed the affairs in his name, his capacity reached not to ſee the conſequences of the counſels given him, which to him ſeemed always good. Herein, he was different from the king his father, whoſe genius was always ſuperior to that of his miniſters. As to the reſt, he was chaſte, temperate, extremely religious, abhorring injuſtice and cruelty. It was theſe virtues that have ſerved for foundation to the praiſes beſtowed on him by ſeveral hiſtorians, and which have made ſome conſider him as a true ſaint. Indeed, theſe virtues would have rendered him an accompliſhed prince, had they been attended with the qualifications of a ſovereign. But being alone, they ſerved only to make him an honeſt man, and withal, a very indifferent king, not to ſay worſe. His incapacity rendered him contemptible to his ſubjects. But the innocency of his Life, never ſuffered their contempt to turn to hatred.

End of Henry's reign.

His character.

During the firſt years of his reign, his affairs were in a proſperous ſtate, becauſe they were managed by the dukes of Bedford and Glouceſter, his uncles, princes of great abilities, and who had his intereſt at heart. And, if even in their life-time, his affairs began to decline, it may be ſaid to be owing, not ſo much to their fault, as to ſome unforeſeen accidents, which all the prudence in the world could not have prevented. After the death of the duke of Bedford, Henry ſuffered himſelf to be governed by the cardinal

Cauſes of the decay of the Engliſh affairs in Henry VI's reign.

1461. cardinal of Wincheſter, and the duke of Suffolk, who, acting not by the ſame motives, and regarding only their own affairs, compleated his ruin. Afterwards, queen Margaret by her uncommon abilities, might have reſtored his affairs, but the king's glory, and the nation's intereſt, were leaſt in her thoughts. Her ſole view, was to graſp all the power, and uſe the king's name to authorize her paſſions. The miniſters ſhe employed, were all of the ſame character. It is not therefore ſtrange, that the king's affairs ſhould run ſo ſwiftly into confuſion. The death of the duke of Glouceſter, will be an indelible ſtain in Margaret's reputation, and unhappily, that crime reflected but too much upon the king himſelf, ſince he had not the reſolution to oppoſe it, or puniſh the authors. Accordingly, it was manifeſt, that heaven took publick vengeance of that murder, by the civil wars which enſued, and which occaſioned the ruin of the king, the queen, the prince their ſon, and the whole houſe of Lancaſter.

Henry VI. was thirty-nine years and about a quarter old, when he was diſpoſſeſſed of a crown, which he had enjoyed almoſt from his very birth [b]. He ſtill lived long enough to be the ſport of fortune, as will be ſeen in the following reign. Edward his ſon, prince of Wales, was in his nineteenth year, at the time of this cataſtrophe [c].

[b] In the firſt parliament of his reign, the queen mother came and ſat among the lords, with the young king in her lap.

[c] The moſt remarkable things during this reign were theſe: the art of printing being found out at Mentz, in Germany, by John Guttenbergen, was brought into England by William Caxton, of London, mercer, who firſt practiſed the ſame in the abbey of Weſtminſter, in 1471. Hall, fol. 170. Stow's Ann. p. 404.

In the 23d year of this reign, it was enacted in parliament, that when wheat was ſold for ſix ſhillings and eight pence the quarter; rye for four ſhillings; and barley for three ſhillings; it ſhould be lawful to export the ſaid kinds of corn into foreign parts without licence.—In the year 1454, there was ſuch plenty of corn, that a quarter of wheat was commonly ſold for twelve or fourteen pence; and a quarter of malt for ſixteen or ſeventeen pence at moſt. Stow's Ann. p. 398.

Queen Margaret began Queen's college in Cambridge, which was finiſhed by Edward IV's queen her enemy.—archbiſhop Kemp, built the divinity ſchool at Oxford, as it now ſtands, and St. Paul's croſs.—William Eaſtfield, mayor of London, built at his own charge the water conduit in Fleet-ſtreet; and John Wells, mayor of London, the conduit, commonly called the ſtandard in Cheap.—In the year 1446, ſir Simon Eyre, mayor of London, built Leadenhall, to be a common garner for the city. Stow's Survey, B. V. p. 120.—In 1453, ſir John Norman, mayor of the ſame, went by water to Weſtminſter to take his oath; being the firſt that went in that manner. For before that time they rode on horſeback. Idem. p. 121.

I. In this and the two foregoing reigns, the parliament was reformed in many particulars, as appears by the ſtatutes. Firſt, in point of elections, the parliament

parliament 7 Henry IV, and (25 Henry VI,) ordained, "That the election "of knights ſhall be at the next county court, after the writ delivered to "the ſheriff, and that the names of "the perſons elected ſhall be returned "by indenture, between the ſheriff and "the electors." This the ſheriff was to do, under penalty of one hundred pound, and a year's impriſonment, without bail or mainpriſe, beſides damages for falſe returns, (11 Henry IV. 8 Henry VI. 23 Henry VI.) Thus the election was reduced, but the perſons were not as yet, for hitherto any Engliſhman had right to give or receive a vote, whereſoever he reſided. But (1 Hen. V. 8 Hen. VI.) the parliament reduced theſe alſo to their proper counties, or elſe rendered them uncapable to vote or ſerve for any county: and the like order was made for the boroughs, (23 Henry VI.) "That "no perſon muſt ſerve for any city or "borough, nor give vote in electing "ſuch as ſhall ſerve for that town, "unleſs they be both free and reſiants "within that city or borough." This was a ſeaſonable law, for the times of Henry IV had taught men, that a king that hath ſoldiers diſperſed over the kingdom, can eaſily ſway the county courts, and make ſuch parliaments as they pleaſe. However, this was not enough: for all electors, though of the meaneſt ſort, could do as much hurt with their vote, as thoſe of the beſt ſort could do good by theirs. This made elections much ſubject to confuſions and parties, and rendered the parliament leſs conſiderable. Hence (in 8 Hen. VI.) it was ordained, "That "no man ſhould give his vote in elec-"tions in the county, unleſs he had "forty ſhillings yearly in free lands or "tenements, and this is to be teſtified "upon oath of the party." And more plainly, two years after (10 Hen. VI.) it was ordered, "That the ſaid "lands ſhould be within the county." Thus the freemen yielded up their liberty of election to the freeholders, poſſibly not knowing what they did. But this change was no leſs good than great. 1ſt, It prevented parties, tumults, and bloodſhed; for the preface of the ſtatute ſhows, the meaneſt hold himſelf as good a man, as the greateſt in the county. 2dly, Where the multitude prevails, the meaner ſort are ſuperior; and theſe (generally ignorant,) cannot judge of perſons, nor times; but being, for the moſt part, led by faction or affection, rather than by right underſtanding, make ſuch elections as are either inconvenient, or injurious to the ſtate. 3dly, There is no leſs equity in the change than policy. For what can be more reaſonable, than that thoſe men only ſhould have their votes in election of the common council of the kingdom, whoſe eſtates are chargeable with the publick taxes and aſſeſſments, and with the wages of thoſe perſons that are choſen for the publick ſervice? But above all, this advancing of the freeholders was beneficial to the freemen of England, though perhaps they conſidered it not. Firſt, it abated the power of the lords and great men, who held the inferior ſort at their devotion, and much of their poſſeſſions by their will. 2dly, It raiſed the ſpirit of the meaner ſort to publick regards, and by a kind of ambition, to aſpire to the degree of a freeholder, in order to be ſomewhat in the commonwealth. And thus leaving the meaneſt rank, rack'd to the very dregs, they become leſs conſiderable, and more ſubject to the coercive power; whilſt, in the mean time, the freeholder, now advanced to the degree of a yeoman, becomes no leſs careful to maintain correſpondency with the laws, than he was induſtrious to attain his degree. Laſtly, to bind all the reſt, a negative law was made, (23 Hen. VI.) That the perſons elected in the county, muſt not be of the degree of a yeoman, but of the moſt noted knights, eſquires, or gentlemen of the county, which tacitly implies, it was too common to advance thoſe of the meaner ſort. The perſon thus agreed upon, his entertainment muſt be accordingly; and therefore the manner of taxing in full county, and levying the rate of wages for their maintenance, is reformed and ſettled (23 Hen. VI.) And laſtly, their perſons are put under the protection of the law in an eſpecial manner; and a penal law is made (11 Hen. VI.) againſt force upon their perſons,

perſons, either in going to, or attending the parliament. Thus, even in theſe times of confuſion, a foundation was laid of a more uniform government in future times, then England hitherto had ſeen.

II. In the firſt year of Henry VI, a pound weight of gold, of the old ſtandard, was coined into forty five rials of ten ſhillings, or a proportionable number of half rials, and quarter, or farthing rials, at five ſhillings, and two ſhillings and ſix pence. Theſe rials gave him crowned with an imperial crown, ſeated on the throne, with a ſcepter and globe, inſcribed, HENRICUS. DEI. GRA. REX. ANGL. ET. FRAN. DNS. HIB. Reverſe, the arms of France and England, quarterly, IHESUS. AUTEM. TRANSIENS. &c. (See fig. 1.) By the ſame indenture, inſtead of nobles, and half nobles, were coined ſixty ſeven and a half to the pound, angels, at ſix ſhillings and eight pence, or a proportionable number of angelets, at three ſhillings and four pence. Conſequently the pound troy, was coined into twenty two pounds

pounds ten ſhillings, by tale. The angels were impreſſed with Michael and the dragon. HENRIC: DI: GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRA. Reverſe, a ſhield, with the arms of France and England quartered, in a ſhip, having a croſs for a maſt, on one ſide the letter H, on the other the roſe. PER. CRVCE. TVA. SALVA. NOS. XRE. R&D. (See fig. 2.) The ſalut was a French coin, like his father's, and very much reſembled the ſilver groat, which he likewiſe coined in that kingdom, ſaving that the groats wanted the angel and virgin over the ſhield, and inſtead of CHRISTVS. VINCIT. had SIT. NOMEN. DOMINI. BENEDICTVM. By the indenture of the ſame firſt year of Henry VI, the ſilver money was of the old ſtandard, one hundred and twelve groats to the pound, making in tale thirty ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence, or a proportionable number of half groats, ſterlings, halfpence, and farthings. Theſe are diſtinguiſhed from all his predeceſſors, by the crown, he being the firſt of our monarchs that bore the arched crown, with globe and croſs upon it. (See fig. 3.) Theſe were moſt coined at London, but there were other mints at York, Briſtol, and Dunwich, Dublin, Canterbury, and at York with the keys. The halfpenny has likewiſe the king's head very fair. H. D. G. ROSA. SIE. SPA. By indenture, the fourth of this reign, the value of gold was brought down again to ſixteen pounds thirteen ſhillings and four pence, and the ſilver to thirty ſhillings. By another indenture of the laſt year of this reign, it was raiſed again to thirty ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence, and ſo continued for near fifty years. In the thirty ſeventh of this reign, braſs mony was firſt coined in Ireland, but there is no perfect account from any author that has ever ſeen it.

A diſſertation on the maid of ORLEANS.

THE actions of Joan of Arc, commonly called the maid of Orleans, made formerly a great noiſe in the world. We find them diſperſed in the hiſtories of France and England, with circumſtances all ſavouring of prodigy. Moſt of the writers upon this ſubject have ſcarce left their readers the liberty of reaſoning and judging. They have expreſly decided, ſome, that Joan of Arc was inſpired by God, others, that ſhe was an inſtrument of the devil. But even in this difference, they all agree to inſinuate, that what ſhe did could not be performed without a ſupernatural aſſiſtance. However, impartial and unprejudiced readers find great difficulties in both theſe opinions. As they do not ſee wherein religion can be concerned in Joan's actions, they think it equally hard to believe, that God ſhould either ſupernaturally raiſe this maid in favour of Charles VII. or give the devil an extraordinary power to make her his inſtrument, to ruin the affairs of the Engliſh in France. Hence ſeveral have been induced to embrace a third opinion, that the pretended inſpiration of Joan of Arc, was only a contrivance thought proper to produce the effect, it did indeed produce. This diverſity of opinions, joined to the marvellous viſible in the actions of a country girl, very naturally raiſes a curioſity to know what may be relied on. Wherefore I am perſuaded, it will not be unacceptable fairly to examine the matter, with the ſole view of diſcovering, as far as poſſible, the truth. As I deſign to be as brief as the thing will allow, omitting the learning ſuch a ſubject is capable of, I ſhall only relate the facts and teſtimonies which may clear the affair, and afterwards make ſome remarks upon the whole. They who are impatient to purſue the hiſtory of England, may diſpenſe with reading this diſſertation, without fear of loſing any thing abſolutely neceſſary to be known.

It muſt firſt be obſerved, that we have but one ſingle cotemporary author, who gives an account of the maid of Orleans. All the after writers have added ſomething to what he relates, in order to embelliſh their hiſtory. Monſtrelet is the author I mean. He was one of the retinue of Philip the good, duke of Burgundy, and had himſelf ſeen the girl. But he is extremely reſerved in what he ſays. He never gives

gives his own opinion, and the reaſon is very evident. For Joan making her appearance when the duke of Burgundy was in alliance with England, Monſtrelet, with all of that party, did not believe her inſpired. But as he writ not his chronicle till after the duke was reconciled to king Charles, he thought it not proper to combat in his writings the general opinion of the French, who were then his maſter's friends. On the other hand, as probably, in changing his party, he had not changed his opinion of Joan, he took care to ſay nothing, to make it thought he was under the ſame prejudice with the reſt of the French. It ſeems to me therefore that Monſtrelet may be taken for a guide, who, whatever his opinion was, had ſaid nothing to render him ſuſpected. The truth is, he never ſays either that Joan was, or was not inſpired.

The ſame author has inſerted in his chronicle a letter written in the name of Henry VI. to the duke of Burgundy, to acquaint him with what paſſed at the trial and condemnation of the maid of Orleans. This letter might be juſtly ſuſpected of partiality, if the facts it contains did not, for the moſt part, agree with the records of the trial mentioned hereafter. So, this letter is a farther means to help us to diſcover the truth.

We have a third means which is both the ampleſt and moſt conſiderable, Joan's examination and anſwers, of which the famous Stephen Paſquier, has given us the particulars. Paſquier ſays, he had Joan's original trial four whole years in his hands, and what he has related was faithfully extracted. But we muſt carefully diſtinguiſh what Paſquier ſays as of himſelf, from the records of the trial. He was ſo prejudiced in favour of Joan, that he could not help being angry with thoſe of his countrymen, who did not believe her inſpired. He ſays, they were worſe than the Engliſh, and extremely injurious to the honour of France. So, conſidering only his private opinion, he may be ſaid to have juſtly rendered himſelf ſuſpected to one of the parties. But the trial itſelf is an original piece beyond all ſuſpicion, ſince we find there word for word, Joan's own anſwers to the articles ſhe was examined upon.

Monſtrelet's chronicle, the king of England's letter to the duke of Burgundy, and the trial of the maid, are the three evidences which muſt be examined, in order to paſs a true judgment upon the affair. As to the facts diſperſed in the hiſtories of France and England, which are not drawn from theſe three fountains, I do not think they ought to be much regarded. It is evident, that the hiſtorians have copied,

without any previous examination, thoſe that writ before them, and that ſeveral have induſtriouſly embelliſhed their ſubject, by relating more wonders than there really were. If ſome are to be credited, Joan worked miracles, foretold future events, knew ſecrets unknown to all but the king, her heart was found whole and entire amongſt the aſhes of her funeral pile, and out of the flames which conſumed her body, was ſeen to fly a white dove, the emblem of her chaſtity. According to theſe hiſtorians, Joan had the command of the convoy which entered Orleans, and led the beſieged to the aſſault of the Engliſh forts. By her ſole advice the battle of Patay was fought, and to her valour the French were indebted for their victory. In a word, they pretend Joan did all, and leave king Charles's generals only the honour of following her, and fighting under her banner. In all this they doubtleſs exceed the truth. The ſureſt way is to keep to the three forementioned authorities, which it will be neceſſary to examine. I ſhall begin with Monſtrelet, and cite ſome paſſages of his chronicle, eſſential to the point in hand, for it would be tedious to copy all he has ſaid concerning the maid.

Monſtrelet. vol. II. fol. 41.

"Now in the year above mentioned, came to the king at "Chinon, where he reſided, a young damſel about twenty "years old [a], called Joan, clothed and dreſſed like a man. "She was born in the parts between Lorrain and Burgundy, "at a place called Droimy [b], not far from Vaucouleur. "This Joan was long a ſervant at an inn, and had the cou"rage to ride the horſes to water, and likewiſe to perform "other feats which young girls are not uſed to do. Being "turned away, ſhe was ſent to the king by a certain "knight, called ſir Robert de Baudrencourt, captain under "the king, at Vaucouleur, who furniſhed her with horſes, "and four or five attendants. She ſtiled herſelf Pucelle "[or maid] inſpired with divine grace, and ſaid ſhe was "ſent to the king, to put him in poſſeſſion of his kingdom, "of which he was wrongfully deprived. She was in a very "mean condition. She was about two months in the king's "palace, whom ſhe ſeveral times admoniſhed to furniſh her "with men and aid, and ſhe would repulſe his enemies, and ex"alt his dominion. In the mean time, the king and his coun"cil gave no great credit to whatever ſhe ſaid, but took her

[a] She was then twenty ſeven years of age; for in her examination in the year 1431, ſhe declared ſhe was twenty nine years old, conſequently when ſhe came to the king in 1429, ſhe was twenty ſeven years of age. Rapin.

[b] It ſhould be read Dompre. Rapin.

"for

" for a mad woman, and not well in her ſenſes. For to " ſo great princes and other noblemen, ſuch or the like " words are very doubtful and dangerous, as well on account " of the wrath of our lord chiefly, as of the ſlander from the " talk of the world. All her words were in the name of " God, and therefore many of thoſe that ſaw and heard her " ſpeak, were ſtrongly perſuaded ſhe was, as ſhe herſelf " ſaid, inſpired by God. She was ſeveral times examined by " notable clerks, and other learned men of great authority, " that her intention might be more fully known. But ſhe " always kept to her point, ſaying, if the king would believe " her, ſhe would reſtore him to his dominions. —— When " ſhe came before the king, there were preſent the duke of " Alenſon, the king's marſhal, and ſeveral generals. For " the king had held a council concerning the ſiege of Or- " leans, and from thence went to Poictiers, and the maid " with him. Shortly after, the marſhal was ordered to car- " ry proviſions and other neceſſaries to Orleans. Joan " would go with him, and requeſted ſhe might have a ſuit " of armour and man's clothes, which ſhe was furniſhed " withal. Preſently after, ſhe ſet up her ſtandard, and went " to Blois, where the rendezvous was, and from thence to " Orleans with the reſt. She was always compleatly armed. " In this expedition many came and liſted under her. And " when ſhe was arrived at Orleans, ſhe was made very wel- " come, and many people were overjoyed at her coming."

This is all Monſtrelet ſays of the maid, to her entry into Orleans. It may be obſerved, it was not ſhe that commanded the convoy, but only that ſhe attended the marſhal with ſome who had liſted under her. As to the ſtorming of the forts, it ſeems at firſt from what he ſays of it, that Joan commanded in all the ſallies. But afterwards he ſays: " And notwithſtanding that in theſe three aſſaults, Joan is " reported by common fame to have had the chief command, " yet all or moſt part of the noble knights and captains were " in them, who during the ſiege, were in the city of Or- " leans, and behaved each for his part, valiantly, as warri- " ors ought to do on ſuch occaſions." He does not fail however, highly to commend her valour in ſeveral places. For inſtance, ſpeaking of the march of the French army, after the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, he ſays: " Joan was ever " in the front before her ſtandard. And in all the marches, " her fame was ſpread, as if there had been no other warrior " but herſelf."

Monſtrelet, fol. 43.

fol. 44.

After his deſcription of the battle of Patay, he adds theſe words; "and eſpecially Joan acquired on ſuch occaſions fol. 45. "ſo great praiſe and reputation, that all people imagined, "the king's enemies would be no longer able to reſiſt her, "and that ſhortly by her means the king would be reſtored "to his whole kingdom."

In fine, not to cite too many paſſages of this author, it will ſuffice to obſerve, that when he mentions the inſpiration of the maid, he never ſays what he himſelf thinks, but always, that ſhe called herſelf inſpired. He is ſo very cautious, that in ſpeaking what the duke of Burgundy ſaid to her, when he went to ſee her after ſhe was taken, he pretends not to remember it, though he was himſelf an ear witneſs. His words are theſe: "The duke went to ſee her at the place "where ſhe was lodged, and ſpoke to her ſome words, "which I have forgot, though I was preſent." It is eaſy to ſee, the duke's words were reproaches for ſeducing the people, and menaces upon that account. But Monſtrelet chooſes rather to be ſilent, than to ſay any thing pro or con.

fol. 57. He relates moreover, that a few days before, Joan threw herſelf into Compiegne, ſhe had fought a captain of the duke of Burgundy's called Franquet d'Arras, and having taken him priſoner, cut off his head. But he does not ſay, whether juſtly or not, contenting himſelf with relating the fact, without giving his opinion.

When he comes at laſt to her condemnation, he ſo expreſſes himſelf, that he does not diſcover his own ſentiments. He only tranſcribes the king of England's letter to the duke of Burgundy upon that occaſion. As that letter is an original which may help to diſcover the truth, it will be proper to inſert it at length.

Moſt dear and well beloved uncle.

Monſtrelet. vol. II. fol. 70. Hall. fol. 113, 114. "THE fervent affection which we are ſenſible you have, "as a true catholick, for our holy mother church, and "for the advancement of our faith, juſtly exhorts and admoniſhes us to notify to you in writing, what, to the honour of our ſaid holy mother church, to the ſtrengthening "of our faith, and to the extirpation of peſtilent errors, "has been lately in this our city of Roan, ſolemnly tranſacted.

"It is now well known almoſt every where by common "fame, how the woman who called herſelf Joan the maid, "had, for above three two years, contrary to the divine

" law, and the condition of her ſex, wandered about in
" man's clothes, a thing abominable to God, and in ſuch
" dreſs, brought to our and your mortal enemy, and to
" whom and to thoſe of his party, churchmen, nobles and
" commons, ſhe frequently intimated, ſhe was ſent from
" God, preſumptuouſly boaſting to have perſonally and viſi-
" bly converſed with St. Michael, and great numbers of
" angels and ſaints of Paradiſe, at St. Catherine and St.
" Margaret. By this falſe intimation, and the promiſe of
" future victories, ſhe turned the hearts of many men and
" women from the truth, to fables and lies. She likewiſe
" wore arms appointed for knights and ſquires, and ſet up
" a ſtandard. Moreover, ſhe demanded with great bold-
" neſs, pride and preſumption, to bear the moſt excellent
" arms of France, which ſhe partly obtained, and bore in
" ſeveral incurſions and aſſaults, as did her brothers alſo,
" according to report: namely, azure, two flower-de-luces,
" or, and a ſword, the point upwards, crowned with a crown.
" In this ſtate, ſhe took the field, and led men at arms and
" archers in bands and great companies, to commit and ex-
" erciſe inhuman cruelties, by ſhedding human blood, by
" raiſing ſeditions and commotions among the people, lead-
" ing them into perjury, rebellion, ſuperſtition and errone-
" ous opinions; by diſturbing all true peace, and renewing
" mortal wars, by ſuffering herſelf to be honoured and reve-
" renced of many as a ſaint; and by working other damna-
" ble deeds, too tedious to relate, which however were well
" known in ſeveral places, and at which almoſt all Chriſten-
" dom was offended. But God taking pity on his faithful
" people, and not ſuffering them to remain long in danger,
" nor to continue in vain, pernicious, and novel opinions,
" which they had raſhly embraced, has permitted, through
" his great goodneſs and mercy, that this woman ſhould be
" taken in your army at the ſiege you were carrying on at
" Compiegne, and by your good means put into our power.
" And becauſe we were immediately required by the biſhop
" of the dioceſe where ſhe was taken, to deliver over to him
" as her ordinary eccleſiaſtical judge, this ſame Joan branded
" with the crime of high treaſon againſt the divine majeſty;
" we, as well out of reverence to our holy mother church,
" whoſe ordinances we juſtly prefer to our own will and
" pleaſure, as alſo for the honour and exaltation of our holy
" faith, delivered her to him to be brought to her trial,
" without ſuffering our ſecular judges to take vengeance upon
" her, as we might lawfully have done, conſidering the

" great damages and miſchiefs, the horrible murders, and " deteſtable cruelties, with innumerable other crimes, ſhe " had committed againſt us and our dutiful loyal people. " The biſhop joined with him, the vicar of the inquiſitor of " errors and hereſies: and calling in with them a great and " notable number of ſolemn maſters and doctors in divinity " and canon law, commenced with great ſolemnity and due " gravity the proceſs of this Joan. After he and the inqui- " ſitor, judges in the cauſe, had for ſeveral days examined " her, they ordered her confeſſions and aſſertions to be ma- " turely conſidered by the maſters, and doctors, and in ge- " neral by all the faculties of our moſt dearly beloved daugh- " ter the univerſity of Paris, before whom the confeſſions " and aſſertions were laid. By their opinion and determina- " tion, the judges found Joan guilty of ſuperſtition, witch- " craft, blaſphemy againſt God and his ſaints, ſchiſm, and " of greatly erring in the faith of Jeſus Chriſt. And in " order to reſtore her to the union and communion of our " holy mother church, to cleanſe her from her horrible and " pernicious crimes and wickedneſs, and to preſerve her ſoul " from eternal damnation, ſhe was frequently and long, " very charitably and calmly admoniſhed, to reject and caſt " away all her errors, and humbly return to the way and " paths of truth, or otherwiſe ſhe would greatly endanger " both ſoul and body.

" But the moſt pernicious and divided ſpirit of pride and " outrageous preſumption, which is always endeavouring to " deſtroy the union and ſafety of chriſtians, ſo ſtrongly poſ- " ſeſſed this ſame Joan, that notwithſtanding all the holy " doctrine or counſel, or other mild exhortation, adminiſtered " to her; her hardened and obſtinate heart would not be " humbled or mollified. She ſtill boaſted, that all ſhe had " done was performed by the command of God, and the " holy virgin, who had viſibly appeared to her. And what " is worſe, ſhe would recognize no judge on earth, except " God alone, and the ſaints in paradiſe, rejecting the judg- " ment of our holy father the pope, and of a general coun- " cil, and the univerſal church militant. Whereupon her " eccleſiaſtical judges ſeeing her perſevere ſo long, and ſo " obſtinately in her reſolution and purpoſe, ordered her to be " conducted to the church, before the clergy and people, " there aſſembled in great multitudes; in the preſence of " whom, her wicked purpoſes were ſet forth, expoſed and " declared, ſolemnly and publickly, by a notable doctor in " divinity, to the exaltation of our faith, the extirpation of

" errors,

" errors, the edification and amendment of chriſtian people. " After that, ſhe was charitably admoniſhed to return to the " union of holy church, and reform her faults and errors, " wherein ſhe was hardened. And therefore, the judges " proceeded to denounce upon her, the uſual and cuſtomary " ſentence in ſuch caſes. But before the ſentence was fully " declared, ſhe ſeemingly began to relent, crying out, ſhe " would return to holy church. This was readily and " gladly heard by the judges and clergy, who kindly re- " ceived her, hoping by that means, her ſoul and body " would be ſaved from perdition and torment. Then ſhe " ſubmitted to the ordinance of holy church, abjured with " her own mouth her errors and deteſtable crimes, and " made a publick recantation, ſigning the inſtrument with " her own hand. And thus, our compaſſionate mother holy " church, rejoicing over this penitent ſinner, glad to find " and reſtore this ſtrayed and loſt ſheep to the reſt of the " fold, condemned her to do penance in priſon. But hardly " was ſhe there, before the fire of her pride, which ſeemed " to be extinguiſhed, re-kindled into peſtiferous flames by " the ſuggeſtions of the enemy. And, preſently, the unfor- " tunate Joan relapſed into her former errors and follies, " which ſhe had abjured and recanted.

" For this reaſon, according to the decrees and orders " of holy church, ſhe was again publickly preached, that " ſhe might not hereafter infect the reſt of the members of " Chriſt. And, as ſhe was relapſed into her wonted " wretched crimes and faults, ſhe was delivered over to the " ſecular arm, and condemned to be burnt. Perceiving her " end to approach, ſhe plainly owned and confeſſed, that " the ſpirits which, ſhe ſaid, appeared to her ſeveral times, " were evil and lying ſpirits, and that their frequent pro- " miſes to free her were falſe. So ſhe acknowledged, ſhe " had been deceived and mocked by theſe ſpirits, and pur- " ſuant to her ſentence was carried bound to the old mar- " ket place in Roan, and publickly burnt in the ſight of all " the people."

Before we proceed to her trial, it will not be amiſs to ſee a letter, ſaid to be ſent by her to the king of England and his generals, before the ſiege of Orleans was raiſed. You have it as follows in the words of John de Serres, a French hiſtorian.

King of ENGLAND,

" Do juſtice to the king of heaven in his royal blood. " Reſtore to the virgin the keys of all the good cities you " have forced. She is come from God to demand the blood " royal, and is ready to make peace, if you are willing to " do juſtice, and reſtore what you have taken away. King " of England, if you will not do thus, I am chief of the " war. In what place ſoever I find your men in France, I " will make them depart, whether they will or no. If " they will ſubmit, I will take them to mercy. The vir- " gin comes from the king of heaven to drive you out of " France. If you will not obey, ſhe will make ſuch a ha- " vock as has not been known in France theſe thouſand " years. And be aſſured, the king of heaven will ſend to " her and her good men at arms, greater ſtrength than you " can have. Go in God's name into your own country. " Perſiſt not obſtinately in your opinion; for you ſhall not " hold France of the king of heaven, Son of the holy " Mary. But king Charles the right heir ſhall poſſeſs it, " to whom God has given it, and he ſhall enter Paris with " a noble train. You, William Poullet earl of Suffolk, " John Lord Talbot, Thomas lord Scales, lieutenants of " the duke of Bethford, and you duke of Bethford, ſtiling " yourſelf regent of France, ſpare innocent blood. Leave " Orleans at liberty. If you do not juſtice to thoſe you " have injured, the French will perform the nobleſt exploit " that ever was done in Chriſtendom. Hear this advice " from God and the virgin."

This letter, writ in a prophetic ſtyle, by a girl who pretended to be ſent from God, and appears ſo certain of the future, ought to contain nothing but what was afterwards found to be exactly true. And yet, there are predictions in it, which were never accompliſhed. For inſtance, it is not true, that ſhe drove one ſingle Engliſhman out of France. She farther affirms, ſhe will make ſo great a havock, as had not been known theſe thouſand years in France. Theſe words can relate only to the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, and the battle of Patay. But the firſt of theſe actions has nothing in itſelf extraordinary. That a garriſon ſhould make a ſally and drive the beſiegers from their poſts, is a thing too common to be reckoned a miracle. As to the battle of Patay, ſuppoſing Joan had commanded the French army, which

which ſhe did not, can that action be ſaid to deſerve to be expreſſed in the terms ſhe uſes? The Engliſh had only ſix thouſand, and loſt two thouſand five hundred. That defeat hardly bears any proportion to thoſe of the French at Creſſy, Poictiers, Azincourt, the firſt of which was but a hundred years before Joan's time, and the laſt but thirteen or fourteen.

It is further remarkable, that in her letter ſhe ſpeaks as if ſhe were actually at the head of the armies of France, ſince ſhe ſummoned the king of England to return her the keys of all the towns in his poſſeſſion. And yet, the letter muſt have been writ whilſt ſhe was only upon the march with the convoy deſigned for Orleans; which inſtead of commanding, ſhe obtained, ſays Monſtrelet, as a ſort of favour leave to accompany. I ſay nothing of her ſpeaking to the king of England, as if then a grown perſon, though he was but nine years old, exhorting him not to perſiſt in his opinion, nor of her admoniſhing him to depart out of France, though he was then in England; theſe things may be paſſed over as being in a prophetic ſtile, and taken as ſo many figures of ſpeech. But ſhe ſhould at leaſt have known the names of thoſe ſhe addreſſed herſelf to, and not have called the earl of Suffolk, Poullet, when his name was de la Pole. To miſtake the name of foreigners, may be eaſily excuſed in common perſons: but I do not know whether it is pardonable in one who pretended to ſpeak in the name, and by the authority of God. Theſe, and ſeveral other reaſons which it would be tedious to inſiſt upon, induce me to believe, this letter was compoſed after the event, by ſome perſon that knew the maid had really writ to the king of England, or the duke of Bedford, as we ſhall ſee preſently.

Let us proceed now to the proceſs of Joan of Arc, as we find it in Paſquier. I ſay to the proceſs, and not to the ſentiment of that author, who lived too long after her for his teſtimony to be of any great weight. It ſuffices to ſay, that he every where ſpeaks of her with great commendations, and believed ſhe was really inſpired and ſent from God to ſave France. Here follows her examination and anſwers, which I ſhall abridge as much as poſſible, without obſcuring the ſenſe.

In the firſt place, being charged to ſpeak the truth, ſhe replied, ſhe would ſay what concerned her father and mother, but not diſcloſe the revelations ſhe had told king Charles, though in eight days ſhe ſhould know whether ſhe might or no.

To

To the ſecond queſtion, concerning her name and family, ſhe anſwered, ſhe was of the village of Dompré, was called in her own country Jeanette, but in France, Joan of Arc. That her father's name was James of Arc, and her mother's Iſabella, &c.

That ſhe was then about twenty nine years old.

That ſhe was by trade a ſeamſtreſs and ſpinſter, and not a ſhepherdeſs.

That ſhe went every year to confeſſion.

That ſhe frequently heard a voice from heaven, and in the place where ſhe heard it ſaw alſo a light, which ſhe took for an angel. That the voice had often warned her to go into France, and raiſe the ſiege of Orleans. That ſhe ſhould go to Robert de Baudricourt, captain of Vaucouleurs, who would give her a guard to conduct her, which ſhe did accordingly.

She added, ſhe knew, God loved the duke of Orleans, and ſhe had received more revelations concerning him, than any perſon living, except the king.

Item, She confeſſed ſhe was engaged in a ſkirmiſh before Paris on a holy day, and being aſked whether that was right, ſhe anſwered, Go on.

Being aſked when ſhe heard the voice laſt, ſhe replied, Yeſterday three times, in the morning, at the time of veſpers, and when the Ave Maria bell rung in the evening.

Being aſked, whether ſhe had ever ſeen any fairies, ſhe anſwered, No, but that one of her godmothers pretended to have ſeen ſome at the fairy tree near the village of Dompré.

Being examined who they were that ſpoke to her, ſhe anſwered, St. Catherine, and St. Margaret, and ſhe had frequently ſeen and touched them ſince ſhe was in priſon, and kiſſed the ground on which they trod. Moreover, that ſhe conſulted them about her anſwers.

She ſaid further, ſhe had put on man's cloaths by the expreſs command of God, and was wounded in the neck before Orleans.

Item, That within ſeven years the Engliſh ſhould leave a greater pledge than that before Orleans, and loſe all they poſſeſſed in France.

That they ſhould ſuſtain in France a much greater loſs than what they had yet done by means of a great victory, which the French ſhould gain over them.

Being aſked, whether ſhe bore any coat of arms, ſhe anſwered, No, but only her ſtandard. That it was true,

the

the king had given her brothers a coat of arms, in a field azure, two flower-de-luces, or, and a crown in the middle.

She added, that her father dreamt ſhe would go with the ſoldiers, and for that reaſon kept her ſhort, and ſaid, he had rather ſee her drowned.

Then ſhe was charged with throwing herſelf headlong from the tower, in order to kill herſelf, whilſt ſhe was priſoner at Beaurevoir. She confeſſed the fact, but ſaid, her deſign was not to kill herſelf, but make her eſcape.

Whilſt her proceſs was in hand, ſhe deſired leave to hear maſs, and communicate at Eaſter. This was granted her upon condition ſhe would put on women's clothes, but ſhe choſe not to communicate, rather than do it on that condition.

She was taxed with ſuffering herſelf to be worſhipped; but ſhe replied, if ſome people had kiſſed her hand or clothes, it was without her conſent.

After theſe anſwers follow ſeveral others, which give occaſion to believe, they were made to as many interrogations ſuppreſſed by Paſquier.

That ſhe had talked with St. Catherine and St. Margaret at the fairy tree, and not with the fairies, as ſhe had been accuſed. That ſhe began at thirteen years of age to converſe with theſe ſaints.

That at twenty years old ſhe hired herſelf at Neufchatel in Lorrain to a woman that kept an inn, called la Rouſſe, and there led the beaſts to graſs, and watered the horſes, and ſo learned to ride.

That whilſt ſhe was there, ſhe had a law-ſuit about a marriage before the official of Thoul, and carried her cauſe.

That after ſerving five years, ſhe returned to her father, and againſt his will went to Baudricourt, who made no account of her for the two firſt months, but in the third gave her a guard of twenty knights, a ſquire, and four ſervants to conduct her to Chinon, where the king was.

The judges earneſtly preſſing her to put on woman's apparel: ſhe replied, ſhe deſired to have none of her ſex's clothes, but a ſhift after ſhe was dead.

Whereupon ſhe was told, ſhe ſhould be received to communion only in women's clothes, but ſhe refuſed to comply with that condition. However, ſhe conſented at laſt to take a woman's habit to hear maſs, provided ſhe ſhould be allowed to put on man's clothes again. But as that favour was refuſed her, ſhe declared ſhe would rather die than be dreſſed like a woman, contrary to God's expreſs command.

She

She ſaid likewiſe, ſhe had promiſed the king to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and cauſe him to be crowned.

She was taxed with being always againſt a peace, which ſhe owned, affirming, there could be no peace concluded, unleſs the Engliſh would leave France.

The proctor charging her with cauſing a ſword to be concealed in St. Catherine's church at Fierbois, and ſending for the ſame after ſhe had talked with the king, ſhe denied ſhe had ever uſed any frauds. She owned however, ſhe had heard three maſſes in that church.

Upon being accuſed of ſaying, ſhe was ſent from God to wage war, which was directly contrary to the will of God, ſhe anſwered, That in the letter ſent by her to the king of England and the princes of the blood, ſhe had firſt offered them peace. Paſquier ſays, the letter is copied in the trial. But as he thought not proper to tranſcribe it himſelf, one cannot be ſure it is the ſame inſerted by de Serres in his hiſtory.

Upon being charged with putting to death Franquet d'Arras her priſoner, ſhe replied, he was a known robber, and condemned to die by the bailiff of Senlis.

Upon the charge of having ſeveral times communicated in man's clothes, and kneeled to the voice which ſpoke to her, ſhe confeſſed it all.

The proctor accuſed her alſo of having ſeduced many people to ſuch a degree, that they reverenced her as a ſaint, cauſed prayers to be ſaid in the church to her honour, maintained, that next to the holy virgin ſhe was the greateſt of ſaints, and wore about them her image in lead or other metal. To this charge ſhe replied, that God ſhould be judge.

Upon the accuſation of uſurping dominion over men, by making herſelf chief of the war, ſhe anſwered, ſhe had done it to beat the Engliſh. Adding, her ſtandard was of linen or fuſtian, bordered with velvet, with a field ſemee of Fleur-de-lis, and in the middle, the image of God holding the world, ſupported by two angels in white, and underneath, Jeſus Maria.

Whereupon her judges upbraided her that ſhe was in the wrong to aſcribe unto God ſuch vanities, contrary to the reverence due to him, and aſked her, whether ſhe put her confidence in her ſtandard, to which ſhe replied, ſhe placed her confidence only in him whoſe image it bore.

After this ſhe was aſked, why ſhe held alone her ſtandard at the coronation of king Charles. She anſwered it was but

juſt,

juſt, that he who had been in trouble, ſhould be likewiſe in glory.

She was farther told, that being wounded before Paris, ſhe cauſed her armour to be hung up in the church of St. Denis out of oſtentation. She replied, ſhe did it from a motive of piety, according to the cuſtom of thoſe that were wounded in war.

Laſtly, She was aſked, if ſhe would ſubmit to the judgment of the church militant. She anſwered, ſhe would, provided the church did not enjoin her what was impracticable. That ſhe could not in any wiſe revoke what ſhe had ſaid concerning her viſions and revelations, and if the church affirmed they were illuſions, in that caſe ſhe would not refer it to the judgment of men, but to God alone.

The examination being ended, the judges drew a ſummary of her confeſſions. Containing,

I. That being thirteen years old, ſhe ſaw St. Michael, St. Catherine, St. Margaret, and a great company of angels.

II. That theſe ſaints adviſed her to go to king Charles, and to wear mens clothes.

III. That ſhe choſe rather not to hear maſs and communicate, than put on woman's apparel.

IV. That ſhe refuſed to ſubmit to the judgment of the church militant.

V. That ſhe pretended to foretel future contingencies.

VI. That ſhe knew ſaints by their voices, whom ſhe had never ſeen or heard before.

VII. That ſhe was expreſly commanded by God to wear mens clothes.

VIII. That ſhe caſt herſelf headlong from a tower, chuſing rather to die than remain in the hands of her enemies.

IX. That ſhe not only ſaw and heard, but likewiſe touched bodily St. Catharine and St. Margaret, and kiſſed the Ground on which they trod.

The proctor having taken his concluſions upon theſe articles, it was ſaid by the judges, that what Joan of Arc had done was all a cheat, and the invention of the devil to delude the poor people: that ſhe was guilty of diſobedience to her parents, and of idolatry to the diſhonour of the church, particularly, for chuſing rather to deprive herſelf of the body of our Lord than lay aſide men's clothes. At this ſentence were preſent

preſent the biſhops of Coutance and Liſieux, the chapter of the cathedral of Roan, ſixteen doctors, ſix licentiates, or batchelors in divinity, and eleven advocates of Roan.

The ſentence being ſent to the univerſity of Paris was confirmed by the faculties of divinity and the decrees, and Joan pronounced heretick and ſchiſmatick. Then the univerſity writ to the king and the biſhop of Bayeux to deſire ſhe might be put to death. It does not appear in Paſquier to what puniſhment ſhe was condemned by the firſt ſentence. All that can be ſaid is, ſhe was at leaſt excommunicated. However that be, Joan being carried into the church, and placed on a ſcaffold was publickly preached, as it was called in thoſe days. All theſe preparations ſtriking her with great dread, ſhe cried out aloud, ſhe would ſubmit to the judgment of God and the pope. But finding what ſhe ſaid was not ſufficient to revoke her ſentence or ſtop the publication, ſhe declared, ſhe would ſtand to the church's determination: that ſince ſo many wiſe and learned men affirmed her viſions came not from God, ſhe was willing to believe ſo too, which ſhe repeated ſeveral times. Then ſhe made a publick abjuration, inſerted in the trial, but Paſquier thought not fit to give the contents.

Upon her abjuration, another ſentence intervened, abſolving her from the bond of excommunication, and condemning her to perpetual impriſonment by way of penance. After that, ſhe put on woman's apparel. But as ſhe had all along been very obſtinate with regard to mens clothes, which ſhe wore, as ſhe ſaid, by God's expreſs command, it was thought proper to try whether her abjuration was ſincere, by leaving a man's habit with her in priſon. This expedient to her misfortune ſucceeded but too well, ſince ſhe was no ſooner alone, than ſhe put on the habit. On the morrow, being found in that dreſs, ſhe was aſked the reaſon. To which ſhe anſwered, ſhe had put on her former habit by the expreſs order of St. Catherine and St. Margaret, and had rather obey God than man. Whereupon, an information was entered againſt her in the eccleſiaſtical court, and being declared an heretick relapſe, ſhe was delivered over to the ſecular arm. Paſquier ſays nothing of her confeſſion (according to the king of England's letter, that ſhe was ſeduced by lying ſpirits, who had promiſed to ſet her free. Indeed, this confeſſion is directly contrary to the inferences Paſquier would draw from the records of the trial, namely, that Joan was inſpired by God. He only ſays, ſhe was ſentenced to be burnt, May the 31ſt, 1431. But as all

all the reſt of the facts, mentioned in the king's letter, exactly agree with the records of the proceſs, I do not ſee why Paſquier's ſilence ſhould cauſe this to be queſtioned.

Numberleſs reflections might be made upon the examination, anſwers, and behaviour of the maid. But not to tire the reader's patience, I ſhall content myſelf with the following remarks.

1. It is certain, Paſquier's view in what he has related of the trial was, to prove Joan's inſpiration. And therefore, prejudiced as he was, he made no ſcruple to curtail in ſeveral places the queſtions and anſwers. This manifeſtly appears, in that ſeveral of the anſwers have no connexion with the queſtions, nor with one another. For inſtance, what ſhe ſays in her anſwer to the ſecond queſtion concerning the duke of Orleans, neceſſarily ſuppoſes ſome other queſtion which Paſquier was pleaſed to omit.

2. It appears, that he has paſſed over in ſilence ſome of the anſwers. For example, it is ſaid in the ſummary of Joan's confeſſion, that ſhe had boaſted of ſeeing St. Michael, and yet it is not mentioned in the examination.

3. Paſquier would not tranſcribe Joan's letter to the king of England, or her abjuration: papers however of no leſs importance, than all he has produced. Much more unwilling was he to mention her confeſſion before ſhe died, that ſhe was ſeduced or deceived. Theſe omiſſions give occaſion to preſume that Paſquier ſought in Joan's trial not ſo much what might be of ſervice to diſcover the truth, as what he believed conducive to prove his opinion. And indeed, he multiplies words to draw from Joan's anſwers conſequences favourable to his notion, and to ſhow that her predictions were fulfilled, and her aſſertions all true. He labours chiefly to prove by very weak arguments, that the duke of Orleans was, as the maid affirmed, greatly beloved of God. Among other reaſons, he alledges this: that God had bleſſed that prince with two illuſtrious ſons, the one legitimate, afterwards king of France by the name of Lewis XII, the other natural, namely, the great general, known firſt by the name of the baſtard of Orleans, and afterwards by that of earl of Dunois and Longueville. But every one knows, this laſt was natural brother, and not ſon of the duke of Orleans mentioned by Joan. It is ſurpriſing that a man ſo verſed as Paſquier in the hiſtory of France ſhould be guilty of ſo groſs a miſtake.

Having related ſuch facts concerning the maid as cannot be denied, ſince they are ſupported by inconteſtable teſtimonies,

timonies, nothing more remains, but to examine the three opinions upon this affair, in order to embrace the moſt probable.

Moſt of the French writers maintain that Joan was really inſpired and ſent by God, and build their opinion upon theſe four principal reaſons. The firſt is, the poſſibility of God's working ſuch miracles. But this point may be granted them, and yet they not able to draw any inference from the poſſibility for the truth of the fact.

The ſecond is, Joan's own evidence, grounded upon her viſions of ſaints and angels. But this is the very thing in queſtion, and conſequently cannot be urged as a proof.

The third reaſon is taken from her knowing king Charles in diſguiſe among his courtiers. This does not deſerve notice. Suppoſing, as a great many believe, that Joan was perſuaded to act this part, it is eaſy to conceive, ſhe might be very well inſtructed to know the king, though ſhe had never ſeen him before.

The fourth is founded upon the accompliſhment of her prediction of the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, and the king's coronation, at a time when theſe events were extremely improbable. This reaſon, added to her uncommon valour on all occaſions is doubtleſs the ſtrongeſt that can be alledged for her inſpiration. However, the objections this argument is liable to, very much weaken if not wholly deſtroy it.

Firſt, It may be objected, it is ſhe herſelf, who ſaid in her examination, and after the event, that ſhe had foretold to the king, the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, and his coronation. We have obſerved, that Monſtrelet does not make her ſpeak ſo preciſely. He only makes her ſay to the king in general terms, that ſhe would exalt his dominions, and drive his enemies out of the kingdom; which however ſhe did not perform, ſince the Engliſh were not expelled out of France, till above twenty years after her death.

Moreover, Joan ſays in her examination, theſe two things were revealed to her by St. Catherine and St. Margaret. I do not mean to conſider here all the objections that may be made to this circumſtance. I am willing to ſuppoſe, God reveals ſometimes to the glorified ſaints what is to happen upon earth; that he commands them to aſſume a human ſhape to inform certain perſons thereof, and that Catherine and Margaret were of the number of thoſe glorified ſaints, though it cannot be aſſerted with certainty. But it

must

muſt be owned at leaſt, that God very rarely makes uſe of ſuch means, and when he does it is always for his own glory, or the good of his church, or in favour of ſome perſons very eminent for their holineſs. Now, in the war which was then waging in France, neither the glory of God, nor the honour of religion, nor the good of the church were directly concerned: and Charles VII, for whoſe ſake, according to the ſuppoſition, God did ſo great things, was far from being famous for holineſs of Life. The diſpute between the two kings and the two parties, was purely about temporal concerns. They both profeſſed the ſame religion, and could not tax one another either with ſchiſm or hereſy. It does not therefore appear, wherein it could be for the glory of God, or the advantage of religion or the church, that the realm of France ſhould be governed by a prince of the houſe of Valois, rather than by a king of England, deſcended by a daughter from the blood royal of France. A man may affirm, as much as he pleaſes, that the uſurpations of the Engliſh was ſo heinous and manifeſt, that God's honour was concerned to make them an example of his juſtice. This is ſuppoſing the thing in queſtion. One need only read what has been ſaid upon this point in the reign of Edward III to be ſatisfied, that the ſuppoſition is not ſo manifeſt as is pretended, but is liable to great difficulties. However, though it were undeniable that the Engliſh were real uſurpers, can it be affirmed, that God's honour is concerned to puniſh in an exemplary and ſupernatural manner, the heinous injuſtices committed in the world? How many uſurpations of provinces and kingdoms are to be met with in hiſtory, without the intervention of a miracle to puniſh the uſurpers? In fine Charles VII, or his ſucceſſors do not appear to have done religion any ſervice, to make it preſumed that God had it in view in what he did by Joan's means. Beſides the French in thoſe days were no better chriſtians, nor honeſter men than the Engliſh. As for the perſon of king Charles VII, for whoſe ſake, it is pretended, God miraculouſly raiſed up the maid, all knew him to have been very immoral. To ſay nothing of the duke of Burgundy's murder, committed by his order, and in his preſence, contrary to the faith of a treaty ratified with an oath, is it not certain, that at the very time Joan came to him at Chinon, he lived in open adultery with Agnes Sorrel in the eyes of his whole court? Are they princes of this character, whom God uſually honours with particular favours? If to all theſe reaſons be added Joan's confeſſion before her death, that ſhe was

deceived, it will be ſufficient to ſhow, ſhe was not really inſpired. But I inſiſt not on this confeſſion, becauſe it is a diſputable point, as being ſupported only by the teſtimony of her adverſaries.

I come now to the opinion of the Engliſh, who obſtinately maintain that Joan of Arc was a Witch, and acted by the inſtigations of the devil. I ſhall only briefly obſerve that this opinion is liable to the very ſame objections as the foregoing, ſince it is no leſs difficult to conceive why upon this occaſion, God ſhould have given ſuch power to the devil. So whatever has been ſaid concerning her inſpiration may be applied to her witchcraft, and retorted upon the Engliſh.

But there is a third opinion, which is not liable to ſo many difficulties. If it is ſuppoſed that in king Charles's extreme diſtreſs, himſelf, his queen, Agnes Sorrel, or ſome one of his miniſters, invented this contrivance, nothing will be more eaſy than to reconcile the events with ſuch a ſuppoſition. The buſineſs was to revive the courage of the French diſheartened by ſo many loſſes, and perhaps of the king himſelf, who was thinking of retiring into Dauphine. Is it any wonder, that ſuch an artifice ſhould be uſed for that purpoſe? This is at leaſt as poſſible as the apparition of ſaints, or as witchcraft. A country girl of good ſenſe, (as there are many) of an undaunted courage, and who knew how to ride, may have been choſen. She may have been taken from out of the kingdom, that ſhe might be the leſs known, and impertinent neighbours not obſtruct, by diſcovering her, the execution of the project. This being ſuppoſed, it will be eaſy to account for moſt of the things, which appear extraordinary in the maid. All the king ſays of her, and the ſecrets ſhe diſcloſes, will be only a conſequence of the cheat. Thoſe that are in the plot will not fail to extol her, and the reſt will be carried away by their authority.

It muſt not however be concealed, that ſtrong objections may be made to this third opinion, which it will be proper to anſwer.

The firſt is, that it is only a conjecture. I own it: but it is a very natural conjecture in a thing, where it is ſo difficult to diſcover the truth. The French ſay, ſhe was inſpired by God. This notion is demonſtrated to be full of difficulties, and highly improbable. The Engliſh affirm, ſhe was a witch, and acted by the inſtigations of the devil: this is no leſs hard to conceive. It is however certain, ſhe performed

formed great actions. What remains therefore in order to explain the cauſe of the revolution in France, but to have recourſe to natural means, ſince the ſupernatural are ſo doubtful, not to ſay worſe? In my opinion, this is a caſe, where if ever, conjecture is to take place.

The ſecond objection is taken from Joan's uncommon valour, which is repreſented as ſupernatural. To this it may be anſwered, much more was certainly aſcribed to her than ſhe deſerved, as appears by the teſtimony of Monſtrelet a cotemporary writer. A man muſt be very ignorant of the way of the world, not to know how apt we are on ſuch occaſions to run into exceſſes, and how capable ſuch a ſubject is of embelliſhment. It does not appear, by what Monſtrelet ſays, that Joan ever commanded in chief. If that author ſeems to ſay it in one place, he unſays it in another, as may be ſeen in the paſſages above-cited. It is true, the generals carried her with them and placed her at their head to confirm the ſoldiers prepoſſeſſion. So, ſhe had only to ſhow reſolution enough to keep always near them, and ſuch a reſolution cannot be accounted miraculous. And if the glory of all the ſucceſſes were aſcribed to her, where is the wonder, ſince it was for the advantage of the king and all his adherents.

The third objection is the ſtrongeſt, grounded upon the accompliſhment of Joan's predictions. She told the king, ſhe would cauſe the ſiege of Orleans to be raiſed, and himſelf to be crowned; which fell out accordingly. On ſuppoſition therefore, that the whole was a contrivance, it muſt be ſuppoſed withal, that ſhe had the gift of prophecy.

To this objection, it may be replied in the firſt place, that the aſſurance, wherewith the French hiſtorians have advanced that theſe predictions were before the event, is what gives it the moſt ſtrength. But it muſt be obſerved that of the two articles, namely, the raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans, and the king's coronation at Rheims, the firſt only is atteſted by Joan herſelf in her examination without any mention of the coronation. In the next place, this atteſtation comes after the event; neither can it be well proved, that when ſhe waited on the king, ſhe gave him any aſſurance of raiſing the ſiege of Orleans. As Monſtrelet relates it, Charles does not ſeem to have relied on her promiſes, when he undertook to ſend a convoy to Orleans. Monſtrelet ſays, he was reſolved to ſend a convoy to that city, and that Joan deſired to accompany it, which was granted her. Certainly, if

that deſign had been formed ſolely upon her promiſes, ſhe would have had no occaſion to deſire to be preſent at the execution, ſince in that caſe, ſhe would have been the principal actreſs.

But ſecondly, though Joan had foretold what is aſcribed to her, I do not know whether that will be a convincing proof. Upon ſuppoſition that ſhe was perſuaded to act this part, and had her leſſon given her beforehand, nothing was more natural than to make her tell the king, ſhe was commiſſioned to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans. The ſiege was then the cauſe of uneaſineſs to the king and the whole court. It was not known which way to ſave that important place, and conſequently, to give hopes of raiſing the ſiege was requiſite, in order to create a belief of Joan's coming from God. Herein nothing was hazarded but the reputation of a country girl, which would not have been regarded, had the affair proved unſucceſsful. As to the king's coronation, the hopes of that was likewiſe neceſſary to be inſtilled, ſince the raiſing the ſiege was but a means to attain the chief end, which was to eſtabliſh the king on the throne of his anceſtors.

In the third place, to Joan's predictions a very perplexing objection may be made. If ſhe was inſpired by God to foretel the future, how came ſhe to be miſtaken? She ſaid, ſhe would drive the Engliſh out of the kingdom, and yet they were not driven out till above twenty years after her death. She foretold, they would be expelled by a great victory gained over them by the French. Does not this raiſe the idea of a bloody battle, and an extraordinary victory? But where is this victory to be found after Joan's death? There is only that of Fourmigni, which happened twenty years after, and was, as I obſerved, very inconſiderable. She foretold likewiſe in her examination, that within ſeven years, the Engliſh ſhould leave a greater pledge than that before Orleans. I don't underſtand that expreſſion, unleſs it means the loſs of ſome battle. But there was no battle within that term. Let us however give the words the moſt favourable ſenſe we can, and underſtand them, if you pleaſe, of the loſs of Paris. But this event happened five years after the prediction. It is uſual for the Holy Ghoſt to to mark thus the ſpace of ſeven years inſtead of five? Was it more difficult for him to foreſee this event would happen in five, than in ſeven years?

Thus, all things conſidered, let the difficulties of the third opinion be compared with thoſe that ariſe from the appa-

apparitions of ſaints and witchcraft, and I imagine, they will be found to be leſs in this than in the two other opinions.

Beſides, the inſpiration of the maid was not ſo generally owned by the French themſelves, but that ſeveral queſtioned it. The conſtable Richemont being upon the march to join the king before Baugency, the king prepoſſeſſed that he was coming with ſome ill deſign, reſolved at firſt to go and fight him. But altering his mind, he ſent Joan to meet and receive him. As ſoon as ſhe ſaw him, ſhe alighted and embraced his knees: whereupon the conſtable ſaid theſe words to her, which plainly ſhow what he thought of her: "Joan, "I am told you deſign to fight me. I neither know who "you are, nor from whom you are ſent, whether from "God or the devil. If you come from God, I have no "reaſon to fear you, for he knows my intention as well "as yours. If you are from the devil, I have leſs rea"ſon to fear, and therefore do your beſt or your worſt."

The lord of Langey, in his treatiſe of military inſtitution, ſays that Joan's inſpiration was like Numa's pretended converſations with the nymph Egeria.

Others have affirmed, ſhe was perſuaded to act this part by the lords of the court. Du Haillan was of this opinion, who even relates ſeveral circumſtances, and then adds, "Some have taken it ill that I ſay this, and put the French "out of conceit with ſo holy and miraculous a thing, by "endeavouring now to turn it into fable. But I was wil"ling to ſay it, becauſe time, which diſcovers all things, "has diſcovered this to be a cheat. Beſides, it is not a "thing of that moment as to be received for an article of "faith."

Pope Pius II, under the name of Gobelin his ſecretary, after relating the ſtory of Joan and her exploits, adds, "It "is very difficult to affirm, whether this was the work of "God, or the invention of Man. Some think, the great "men at court contending for the command, ſome one "more wiſe than the reſt invented this contrivance, and "perſuaded Joan to ſay ſhe was ſent from God, that none "might ſcruple to ſerve under her."

In fine, there are French writers who have defamed Joan of Arc, and ſaid, ſhe was corrupted by Baudricourt, or according to others by the baſtard of Orleans, or by Xaintrailles, and that theſe three lords, with the duke of Alenſon contrived the whole plot. Polydore Virgil ſays, when Joan

found

found ſhe was condemned, ſhe pretended to be with child, and for that reaſon her execution was delayed for ſome months. In a word, among all the hiſtorians both antient and modern, who have ſpoken of the maid, there are no two to be found that agree in the facts concerning her.

But, ſuppoſing Joan's inſpiration to be a human Invention, it is not eaſy to determine, whether the king was in the ſecret or was himſelf deceived. It may be Joan herſelf was deceived by certain means but too frequently practiſed. For my part, I think this opinion very plauſible, conſidering the firmneſs wherewith ſhe anſwered her judges, when ſhe muſt have perceived her great danger. But after all, this is only conjecture.

I conclude from this inquiry that Joan's pretended inſpiration may juſtly be deemed a contrivance to revive the courage of the terrified French. It is true, the project ſucceeded doubtleſs beyond the expectation of the authors. However, it is not very ſtrange, the courage of the French ſhould be revived, when they thought to fight under the particular direction of heaven. This is not the firſt time that ſuch an invention has produced the like effect. We meet with inſtances in the hiſtories of the heathen nations. The feigned apparitions of the Pagan gods and goddeſſes, were not certainly the immediate works of the power of God, and yet, upon ſome occaſions, they produced wonderful effects.

Before I cloſe this ſubject, I cannot help reflecting on the barbarity exerciſed upon Joan. It is not poſſible to give any colour to that injuſtice. As Joan was not a native of France, Henry could not pretend ſhe was his ſubject, and conſequently could treat her only as a priſoner of war. Upon this ſuppoſition, he could much leſs puniſh her for a ſchiſmatick, heretick, or witch, though ſhe had been convicted. If the rule which the Engliſh would then have eſtabliſhed, was once received, every priſoner of war would be in danger of being condemned by his enemies for forged crimes, and ſacrificed to their malice. Charles VII. cauſed the ſentence to be reverſed by other judges, and Joan's honour to be retrieved, which by ſeveral is alledged in proof of her innocence. But this is a weak argument, ſince without ſtrong prejudice, the laſt ſentence can be no more depended upon than the firſt. This was paſſed by her enemies, whoſe intereſt it was to [illegible] her, and the other by her friends, who

who found their glory and advantage in proving her innocent [b].

[b] In a MS. diſſertation on the maid of Orleans, by de la Motte, late rector of Kettering in Northamptonſhire, the author thinks that Joan was neither inſpired by God nor by the devil, nor that the affair was wholly a contrivance to revive the courage of the French, but that it was entirely the effect of a warm head and a heated imagination. She was (he ſays) a downright viſionary and enthuſiaſt, and it is not to be conceived, what ſome people are capable of, under the power and poſſeſſion of that diſtemper. He obſerves, that the Spirit of enthuſiaſm viſibly appeared in all her behaviour, and particularly throughout her whole trial; but that after her condemnation to perpetual impriſonment, her head grew cool, and being brought to a ſober temper, ſhe made a publick abjuration: however, as ſoon as ſhe ſaw in priſon the man's habit ſhe had uſed to wear, ſhe returned to her old freake, and declared ſhe was ordered by a viſion to re-aſſume that dreſs. Hence he concludes, ſhe deſerved rather pity than puniſhment, rather to be confined to a mud-houſe than to be burnt like a malefactor at a ſtake. He farther obſerves, it was a manifeſt injuſtice to uſe a perſon in that manner, who was taken ſword in hand fighting valiantly for her ſovereign, and who to all intents and purpoſes was a priſoner of war. If, (adds he) this comes to be allowed in war, if generals were thus to bring their priſoners to a trial for witchcraft or hereſy, and burn them alive, no body can be ſecure from the malice and cruelty of an enemy. He wonders at two things in this affair, 1ſt, That the French king ſhould never claim her as a ſubject, nor ſo much as propoſe an exchange, to ſave the life of one who had ſupported his ſinking ſtate. 2d, That he never offered to revenge her death upon the Engliſh and Burgundians that fell into his hands.—Upon theſe accounts, the author is induced to queſtion the death of that famous virgin, and to believe there was ſome collution in the caſe. He obſerves that the biſhop of Beauvais who was the inquiſitor, and had power of life and death over the criminal was a Frenchman, and therefore inclined to be favourable to her: that it appears that there were no leſs than five weeks between the ſentence and execution; an uncommon reſpite, but very proper to cover the deſign of her eſcape: That there is now to be ſeen in France, a deed of gift from the duke of Orleans to one Meſſire Pierre "for that, to ſhow his loyalty "to the king and the duke, he has "left his own country with his ſiſter "Joan of Arc, and had continued in "their ſervice till the hour of her ab-"ſence." Which laſt words, ſeem to imply ſhe did not ſuffer death, which the petitioner would never have omitted (had it been true) to ſtrengthen his plea and make his merit the greater: that father Vignier of the oratory declared, he had ſeen in Lorrain a marriage deed between Joan and the ſieur des Armoiſes, who he ſuppoſes married her when ſhe returned to Lorrain. But what confirmed him the moſt in his conjecture, is the teſtimony of Mezerai, who ſays, that ſome time after the execution of the maid, there appeared a virgin in Lorrain, very warlike and expert in arms, who declared herſelf to be the maid of Orleans, was acknowledged as ſuch by her friends, had great honours done her, and was married to a noble perſon by whom ſhe had iſſue, whoſe poſterity remain to this day. Montfaucon eludes the force of this account and of the deeds, by ſuppoſing the young virgin was not unlike Joan of Arc, and ſo might be miſtaken for her by her friends. The author concludes, that it is his belief that ſome effigy, or perhaps ſome female criminal was caſt into the fire, and that the maid remained in priſon till the death of her great enemy the duke of Bedford, and then was ſent back to her own country, by a private agreement between the biſhop of Beauvais and the king of France, which hindered the king from revenging her death upon the Engliſh and Burgundians.

There are two ſtatues now to be ſeen in France of this celebrated maid; one at Roan, the other at Orleans, at which laſt place it is not ſafe nor prudent for an Engliſhman to appear on the anniverſary of her ſuppoſed execution, for fear of being inſulted by the mob.

The END of the FOURTH VOLUME.

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